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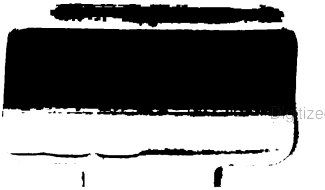

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University of Michigan Studies

HUMANISTIC SERIES

VOLUME II

WORD-FORMATION IN PROVENÇAL

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WORD-FORMATION
IN
PROVENÇAL

BY
EDWARD L. ADAMS
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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PREFACE

The following study had its origin as part of the work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University. The original plan was to write a complete treatise on word-formation in Provençal; but lack of time limited the doctoral dissertation to "The Formation of Nouns and Adjectives in Provençal by the Addition of Suffixes," or chapters i and ii of Part I of the present work. Since the time of the presentation of my thesis, however, acting on the advice of Professor Grandgent of Harvard, I continued to develop the subject according to the original plan, while teaching at the University of Michigan.

This work is intended to be a complete treatment of word-formation in Old Provençal. Its purpose is to study the various processes by which words were formed in that language, and to give complete lists of all such formations. The method of treatment differs somewhat from that employed by Meyer-Lübke in the second volume of his grammar, in studying all the Romance languages, and also from those used by Darmesteter and Nyrop for French; but I hope that it will be equally clear. The main sources for the words given in the lists are, of course, the dictionaries of Raynouard and Levy; but words from other sources are not excluded.[1]

An explanation of the method of treatment is perhaps necessary. To begin with, the work is divided into *Parts*, according to the process of word-formation

[1] Thus words found in any critical texts are included. There are very few such words, however. Many of them belong to the part of the alphabet not reached by Levy in his published volumes when this work went to press. All words not taken from Raynouard and Levy will be indicated in the notes.

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studied. Thus there are formations (I) by means of suffixes; (II) by means of prefixes; (III) by means of both used at the same time, or the parasyntheta; (IV) other methods of formation, including both the post-verbal nouns and the compound words; and (V) the hybrids, or the words in which the methods of Parts I and IV are combined. In each of these larger divisions or *Parts*, there are subdivisions, or *chapters*, according to the part of speech formed by the process under consideration. Thus there are the Formation of Nouns, the Formation of Adjectives, of Verbs, etc.; and, furthermore, in each chapter of the first three parts, each individual suffix or prefix is studied separately. Each one is taken up in its alphabetical order, and traced from its Latin origin to Provençal, all the words formed by means of it in Provençal being given in lists.

A further description of these word-lists, however, may perhaps be useful. The derived words are listed alphabetically in the left-hand column, and beside each word, in another column is given the simple word on which it was formed. The reason for this is obvious: since the meanings are given beside both the simple and the derived word, any change in meaning conveyed by the suffix or prefix is at once apparent. Yet in the case of the more complicated suffixes and prefixes, the word-lists themselves are sometimes subdivided. The subdivisions occur whenever these particles are used with two or more different parts of speech; and also, less frequently, when the meanings they give the simple word are greatly varied. Such, at any rate, is the plan generally followed in making the word-lists. In a few cases, however, whole lists have been treated in great detail, as, for example, the words in which the suffix -ADOR is

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apparently added to nouns.[1] The suffix most subdivided in its treatment to illustrate its different meanings is -ON.[2] A few other lists consisting of words whose formation is uncertain are treated in detail.[3]

Although the words formed in Provençal are placed in word-lists under the proper suffix or prefix, there is another kind of word having suffix or prefix that it would be improper to list in this way. These words, are, of course, the Provençal developments of words already existing in Latin: yet as such words are identical in form with the true Provençal formations, it seemed unwise to neglect them altogether. These words, therefore, with their Latin sources indicated, are brought together in a note at the end of each word-list. Such notes are placed below the ones on individual words, and are indicated by a dagger, a corresponding one being placed by the last word in the list. Obscure words also are treated in these notes, and their probable formation suggested. Thus all the words not clearly formed by the suffix, or the prefix, or the method under consideration, will be treated in notes of this kind.

Complete indices of all the words treated only in the notes, as well as indices both of the Provençal suffixes and prefixes and of the Latin ones are given; but as it should be a very simple matter to find any word in the lists, or, in other words, any Provençal formation, by looking under the proper suffix or prefix, it has not been thought necessary to make a general index of all these words. The only possible cases of difficulty are found among the words

[1] Beginning on p. 45. This list is so treated in order to illustrate from the very first how suffixes often came to be added to other parts of speech than those with which they are originally found.

[2] P. 243.

[3] Pp. 19, 73, 76, 83, 111, 127, 143, 179, 277, etc.

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having both suffix and prefix. In such cases, it may occasionally be necessary to look in two places, since the words may not be real parasyntheta. Such words are, however, listed twice, or even three times, and cross-referenced.

In order to find easily any word in the lists, nevertheless, a description of the system of spelling used is essential. The system adopted here is practically the same as that used by Levy in his *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*. Thus the voiceless sibilant is written *s*,[1] the voiced one *z;* palatal *l* and *n* are written *lh* and *nh;* *c* and *g* are written before *a* instead of *ch* and *gu;* *i* is regularly written for *y;* movable *n* is preserved whereas movable *t* (after *n*) is dropped; *ch* is used to indicate the development of the Latin *ct;* open *e* and *o* are not diphthongized; and the forms -ANSA, -ATGE, -EJAR, and -EZA are selected from the number of forms under which these suffixes are found. To all of these rules of spelling adopted from Levy, it has seemed wise to add some others in order that words may be found without difficulty. Thus, with the exception of double *r*, no double consonants are used; initial *h* is never used; *l* is not vocalized to *u*[2] (*fals*, *oltra*, etc.); *i* is written in *gitar* and *intrar* and their compounds instead of *e;* and where there is hesitation between *o* and *u* (*pojar*, *pujar*, *foc*, *fuc*) *o* is used. All these rules make the spelling system adopted here so exact that, with very few exceptions, it should be possible to find any word at once. Where the rules leave the slightest doubt, however, as to the spelling of any word, it will be found listed twice and cross-referenced.

[1] Double *s* is written in the few cases in which the prefix ends in *s* and the base-word begins with it. This is the only way to distinguish the prefixes DE- and DES-.

[2] Except in a very few cases in which the form with *u* is the only one found.

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In addition to the spelling, there are two questions of typography that should be mentioned—the use of italics and of abbreviations. The latter are used only in the notes, and a key to them is given below. The italics are used for the Provençal words in the lists, and for foreign words of all kinds wherever they occur. They are also generally used for the verbal endings *-ar*, *-ir*, etc. But when these endings are used in forming new words, as in chapter iii of Part I, they are treated just as suffixes.

In a work of the length of this one, the writing of which has occupied a number of years, it is impossible, I fear, in spite of the greatest of care, to avoid occasional inconsistencies of treatment and mistakes, and I am painfully conscious of their probable existence. A further difficulty lies in the fact that one of my principal sources, the dictionary of Levy, has been appearing while this work was in progress,[1] and this has necessitated additions and changes in it from time to time. The abridged edition of the complete work appeared some time ago, however, and has been of much service, particularly for the part not yet reached by the larger work.

In conclusion, I wish to thank all those who have helped me with advice and encouragement. First of all, to Professor Grandgent of Harvard, who suggested the subject, and to Professors Sheldon and Ford, who, with him read and made suggestions on the original manuscript, I wish here to express my gratitude for advice and kindness. To Professor Kelsey of the University of Michigan, for his help in matters connected with the printing of the work and his unfailing interest in it, and to Professor Canfield and Mr. W. A. McLaughlin

[1] It had reached the letter *r* when this work went to press.

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of the same university for suggestions on the proof, I am also greatly indebted. And, finally, to Professor Hamilton of Cornell, for his great care in reading the whole manuscript just before it went to press, his invaluable suggestions at all times and his encouragement, I can but inadequately express my appreciation and gratitude.

EDWARD L. ADAMS

February, 1913

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KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

I. Titles of Books and Periodicals

ALL = *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, herausgegeben von E. Wölfflin, Leipzig, 1884–.

Appel = Appel (C.), *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*. Leipzig, 1895.

Bonnet = Bonnet (M.), *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*. Paris, 1890.

Cooper = Cooper (F. T.), *Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*. New York, 1895.

Dic. Gen. = Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours, précédé d'un traité de la formation de la langue*. Paris.

Diez = Diez (F.), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*. Fünfte Ausgabe. Bonn, 1887.

Du Cange = Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, digessit G. A. L. Henschel. Paris, 1840–50.

Essais = Thomas (A.), *Essais de philologie française*. Paris, 1897.

Etym. Wörterb. = Meyer-Lübke (W.), *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1911–.

Godefroy = Godefroy (F.), *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes, du IXe au XVe siècle*. Paris, 1881–1902.

Goelzer = Goelzer (H.), *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de Saint-Jerôme*. Paris, 1884.

Grandgent = Grandgent (C. H.), *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*. Boston, 1905.

Gröber = Gröber (G.), *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*. Strassburg, 1888–97.

Herrig's Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, herausgegeben von L. Herrig. Elberfeld, then Braunschweig, 1846–.

Körting = Körting (G.,) *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*. 3e Ausgabe. Paderborn, 1907.

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Lené = Lené (G.), *Les substantifs postverbaux dans la langue française*. Upsala, 1899.

Levy = Levy (E.), *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch. Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards Lexique roman*. Leipzig, 1894–. Little Levy = Levy (E.), *Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français*. Heidelberg, 1909.

Litbl. = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, herausgegeben von. O. Behagel und Fr. Neumann. Heilbronn, then Leipzig, 1880–.

Mélanges = Thomas (A.), *Mélanges d'étymologie française*. Paris, 1902.

Meyer-Lübke = Meyer-Lübke (W.), *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Traduction française par E. Rabiet, A. et G. Doutrepont. Paris, 1890–1906.

Mistral = Mistral (F.), *Lou Tresor dou felibrige, ou dictionnaire provençal-français*. Aix-en-Provence, 1878.

Mod. Lang. Notes = *Modern Language Notes*. Baltimore, 1886–.

Mod. Phil. = *Modern Philology*. Chicago, 1903–.

Mots Composés = Darmesteter (A.), *Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française comparée aux autres langues romanes et au latin*. Paris, 1894.

Mots Nouv. = Darmesteter (A.), *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française et des lois qui la régissent*. Paris, 1877.

Murray = Murray (J. A. H.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, Founded on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society*. Oxford, 1884–.

Nouv. Ess. = Thomas (A.), *Nouveaux essais de philologie française*. Paris, 1904.

Olcott = Olcott (G. N.), *Studies in the Word-Formation of the Latin Inscriptions: Substantives and Adjectives with Special Reference to the Latin "Sermo Vulgaris."* Rome, 1898.

Raynouard = Raynouard, F. J. M., *Lexique roman, ou dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours, comparée avec les autres langues de l'Europe latine, précédé de nouvelles recherches historiques et philologiques, d'un résumé de la grammaire romane d'un nouveau choix de poésies originales des troubadours et d'extraits de poèmes divers*. Paris, 1838–44.

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Rev. des lang. rom. = *Revue des langues romanes, publiée par la société pour l'étude des langues romanes.* Montpellier, 1870–.

Romania = *Romania, Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes.* Paris, 1872–.

Rom. Forsch. = *Romanische Forschungen,* herausgegeben von K. Vollmöller. Erlangen, 1883–.

Rom. Stud. = *Romanische Studien,* herausgegeben von Ed. Boehmer. Halle, then Strassburg, then Bonn, 1871–.

Rönsch = Rönsch (H.), *Itala und Vulgata: Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache durch Beispiele erläutert.* Marburg-Leipzig, 1869.

Sternbeck = Sternbeck (H.), *Unrichtige Wortaufstellungen und Wortdeutungen in Raynouard's "Lexique roman."* I. Teil: Unrichtige Wortaufstellungen.

Stichel = Stichel (K.), *Beiträge zur Lexikographie des altprovenzalischen Verbums* (in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen a. d. Gebiet d. romanisch. Philologie,* LXXXVI). Marburg, 1890.

Stud. Rom. = *Studi di filologia romanza,* pubblicati da E. Monaci. Rome, then Turin, 1885–.

Suffixwandlungen = Cohn (G.), *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorlitterarischen Französisch nach ihren Spuren im Neufranzösischen.* Halle, 1891.

Zeitschrift = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* herausgegeben von G. Gröber. Halle, 1877–.

Works referred to only once are given with their complete titles in the text itself.

II. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

art. = article
chap. = chapter
cf. = *confer*, compare
dim. = diminutive
Engl. = English
fem. = feminine
Fr. = French; O. Fr. = Old French; Mod. Fr. = Modern French
Germ. = Germanic
Gr. = Greek
It. = Italian

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Lat. = Latin; Med. Lat. = Mediaeval Latin; Vulg. Lat. = Vulgar Latin; Class. Lat. = Classical Latin; Eccles. Lat. = Ecclesiastical Latin.
m. = masculine
n. = note
p. = page; pp. = pages
Port. = Portuguese
Prov. = Provençal; O. Prov. = Old Provençal; Mod. Prov. = Modern Provençal.
sec. = section
Sp. = Spanish
Vol. = volume
* placed before a word indicates that it is not found
< is used in giving the Latin sources of Provençal words
> is used in giving the Romance developments of Latin words

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PART I

SUFFIX-FORMATION

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INTRODUCTORY

SUFFIX-FORMATION IN GENERAL

By suffix-formation in Provençal is meant the addition of suffixes of any origin, whether Latin, Greek, or Germanic, to Provençal words. In order to be studied here, the cases found in Provençal of words ending with given suffixes must be not merely Provençal forms of words already existing in Latin, but actual Provençal formations. The suffix as well as the simple word itself may be of Latin origin, but the joining of the two must have been made in Romance times if the word is to be considered here. Yet this does not preclude a description of the Latin origin and use of each individual suffix. Provençal, like the other Romance languages, generally continued to make use of processes begun in Latin, but developed very extensively certain ones, while allowing other processes, and even certain suffixes, to drop out of use. It is difficult to name positively any one process as being of Provençal, or even Romance, origin: but as the developments of processes begun in Latin times are so very great, it may be worth while to study their aspects in Provençal. Suffixes of non-Latin origin, as the Greek and Germanic ones, have been mentioned above, but the Germanic forms are exceedingly few, and, even when existing, are found in relatively few words; and the Greek suffixes passed first, of course, through Latin, where they underwent some modifications. It is, therefore, to Latin that the forms and uses of almost all of the suffixes treated here will be traced.

Since the joining together of the simple word and the suffix must have been accomplished in Romance times,

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or after the Latin period, in order to be treated here, it is proper to mention the methods of determining this important and often difficult point. Frequently the form itself of the word gives sufficient indication of Latin origin to exclude it from our lists. Yet caution must be used in thus excluding words, for often the addition of the suffix, especially when it had become popular in forming words of any given type, occurred late. Generally, the process is one of elimination: if the source for any word is not to be found in any of the dictionaries of Latin, Mediaeval Latin, or books on word-formation in Vulgar Latin and in the inscriptions, or in works on the latinity of late writers such as Gregory of Tours and St. Jerome, and is not found in so many of the Romance languages as to indicate a common source in Latin, it is assumed to be a Provençal formation.

Before leaving the general subject of suffix-formation to study the formation of the different parts of speech, it is necessary to describe the forms and the order under which the suffixes are listed. In treating Provençal, it has seemed appropriate as well as convenient to deal with Provençal forms instead of the Latin suffixes from which they are derived. The difference in treatment thus necessitated may be made clear by an example: the Latin -MENTUM added to stems of verbs of the different conjugations gave in Provençal the three suffixes -AMEN, -EMEN, and -IMEN, or, in other words, -MEN plus the stem-vowel of each conjugation. In the same way the Latin -TIONE gave -AZON, -EZON and -IZON, and -TURA gave -ADURA, -EDURA and -IDURA.[1] Each of these groups, however, will be treated as a single

[1] These three forms are naturally found only when the suffix was added to verbs, but both nouns and adjectives are sometimes so formed.

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suffix and listed under the form of the first conjugation, the one beginning with *a*.

The first four chapters of this part will treat the formation of the different parts of speech by the addition of a single suffix, whereas the fifth chapter will deal with all the words formed by the addition of two or more suffixes.

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CHAPTER I

FORMATION OF NOUNS

The suffixes that form nouns constitute by far the largest and most important kind of suffix-formations. The study of them may be begun by classifying them according to the meanings they give the nouns that they form. Thus there are abstract suffixes, suffixes denoting the agent of an action or the instrument with which it is performed, collectives, augmentatives and diminutives, and a few suffixes that sometimes give no force to the words to which they are attached. Yet it is possible to give a general rule concerning the part of speech to which each kind of suffix was attached in order to form nouns. Thus the abstract suffixes—with the exception of -IA, detached from such words of Greek origin as *philosophia*, and later added to nouns to form abstracts—were added either to stems of verbs or to adjectives, the ones denoting an action being attached to verbs, as -AMEN, -ANSA, -ADA, -ADURA, -AZON, etc., and those denoting quality, as -EZA, -TAT, -OR, and -URA to adjectives. Of the suffixes denoting the agent of an action, only -ADOR, the commonest one, is attached to verbs as would be expected; but the other suffixes with this force, such as -AN, -ES, and -IER, originally formed adjectives, and their use as nouns came from the use of these adjectives without the modified noun, which was understood. The suffixes denoting the instrument with which an action was performed were usually attached to verb-stems. The augmentatives and diminutives are naturally added to nouns, as are the collectives and the suffixes denoting place.

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Before going farther, it may be well to describe the confusion that occasionally arises from the fact that the same Provençal form is sometimes developed from suffixes of entirely different origins, and having, consequently, different meanings. It should not be assumed, therefore, that because the same form may appear in Provençal words of very different meaning, the same suffix is necessarily represented. Several illustrations of this possible confusion may be given. Besides -IER, for example, denoting persons, from the masculine form of the adjective ending -ARIUS, and -IER denoting things, from the neuter form -ARIUM, there is, in addition, another -IER with abstract force added to verb-stems. This suffix can hardly be derived from -ARIUS, however, or we should have an almost incredible extension of meaning and use in a single suffix. This last -IER seems to come from -ERIUM, which ending is found in Latin in *improperium*. Properly, it is not a Latin suffix at all, however, and represents only the suffix -IUM added to the stems of verbs that end in *erare*, as seen in *imperium*, which is formed on *imperare;* yet it is the source of a number of Provençal words. Another example of this same kind of confusion may be seen in the Provençal -ALHA, derived from -ACULA, which was added to verb-stems, and -ALHA, from -ALIA, which was added to nouns, with collective force. One more example of this confusion is seen in the Provençal suffix -ENC, which seems to be derived both from a Germanic suffix -ING and the Latin -ENCUM. It is usually easy to distinguish in the Provençal word the origin of the suffix, both by its meaning and by the word to which the suffix is attached, although some words are real puzzles.[1]

[1] For example, *curalha*, p. 80, and some names of coins in -ENC, as *aigonenc, arnaudenc*, etc., p. 180.

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Leaving out of consideration, however, the cases in which one Provençal form represents different suffixes, it may be affirmed that suffixes actually did contract new meanings, a single suffix often having several of the kinds of meaning mentioned above. This acquiring of new meanings by a suffix is a process which had its origin in Latin, but which is, perhaps, especially noticeable in Provençal. That adjectives were often used substantively has been stated, and the various meanings which some of these new nouns contract may be shown by again making use of the convenient -ARIUS. All three forms of this adjectival suffix were used substantively, the masculine and neuter forms giving -IER, and the feminine, -IERA. The word made by the addition of the masculine form denotes the agent of an action, and that formed by the neuter meant originally a place for something, a specialized form of this meaning being found in some names of trees. From the meaning of a place for a thing to that of an instrument for using it is but a step, often a barely perceptible transition.[1] This extension of meaning may be carried still further, from the place containing many things to the number of things itself, or pure collectives.[2]

The developments of meaning found in -IER, from -ARIUM, make but a typical example of the extensions of meaning found in certain suffixes. -ATGE, from -ATICUM, will illustrate this process still further. This ending, originally an adjectival suffix attached to nouns with the meaning of a tax to pay, then, apparently, that of a feudal right, finally acquiring collective force, also

[1] As in such words as *brazier*, *gotier*, etc., which might be put in either list; see p. 223.

[2] For example, *ramier*, thicket, from *ram*, branch.

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forms abstracts denoting action, although in these last cases, in accordance with the rules stated above, it seems to be added to verb-stems. In these cases, however, it is difficult to determine with any certainty the base of the words, since in many cases both verbs and nouns are found as possible bases. An example of this may be seen in the existence of both the noun *aiga*, water, and the verb *aigar*, to water, beside the derived word *aigatge*. It is worth noting, however, that in cases of this kind, a verb alone is often found beside the derived word, whereas a noun without a corresponding verb is never found. The question, then, is how this nominal suffix came to be attached regularly to verb-stems. It seems possible that some such word as *drechuratge*, derived from *drechura*, right, and meaning "rent" or "duty"—that is, a kind of tax to be paid—may, from the nature of its meaning, gradually have acquired abstract force, and then was supposed, like other abstracts, to have been formed on a verb, particularly as the verb *drechurar*, manage or direct rightly, existed. Thus a possible starting-point may be found for the cases in which abstracts in -ATGE were added to verb-stems. At any rate, this is the ordinary use of the descendants of -ATICUM in the Romance languages of today. Just the reverse of this process may be seen in the suffix -ADURA, which was originally added with abstract force to verb-stems, but acquired collective force,[1] probably through some such word as *folhadura*—leafing, foliage. Here the suffix was probably attached to the verb *folhar*—put forth leaves, but as the noun *folh* existed also, it may have been supposed to be the base-word.

[1] For a modern example of the way in which a word regularly abstract (though sometimes used concretely) may acquire collective force, cf. the Fr. *jeunesse* or the Engl. "youth."

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The above examples illustrate how in many cases other parts of speech than those which might be expected are sometimes found as bases for Provençal formations. There are two important principles that serve to explain these variations: false analogy and suffix-change. There are very few of these peculiarly formed words that cannot be explained either by one or the other of these two principles. Often, however, the assumption of the existence of some base-word, either verb or noun, when the evidence seems to make this probable, is possible. Thus, for example, out of the 230 Provençal words ending in -ADOR and denoting the agent of an action, there are only 19—a comparatively large number—beside which no verb can be found. Now, in many of these cases in which a verb is not found, all the evidence tends to show that it must have existed, as might easily be true without the word's being found in any of our dictionaries or texts.[1] In some cases of this kind the assumed word is found in Modern Provençal, though not in the language of our period. *Bilhador*, for example, meaning a pack-servant, is found, but no corresponding verb appears to exist: yet in Modern Provençal we find the phrase *biha l'ase*, put [a saddle] on a donkey. In other cases, it is the existence in Old French or some other Romance language of a verb-form on which the noun with the suffix denoting the agent might have been formed that makes probable the existence of such a verb in Provençal also. So much, then, for the assumption of Provençal words not found in

[1] Thus it is not perhaps necessary to explain everything by the principle which Darmesteter expounds: that a suffix, being always used with one part of speech, came to contain the idea of that part of speech in itself. According to this principle, therefore, if a suffix was regularly added to verbs, it gradually acquired verbal force, and could then be as well added directly to the nouns from which the verbs sprang as to the verb itself. See *Mots Nouv.*, 71.

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the dictionaries. Of the two principles mentioned above, that of false analogy will be treated first. This principle may best be described by an example. Thus there is in Provençal a word *buzatador*, meaning a buzzard-hunter, apparently formed on *buzat*, buzzard. Here it is unnecessary to assume the existence of a verb *buzatar*, which is not found in any form in any of the Romance languages. There is, however, a noun *auzelador*, bird-hunter, formed on the verb *auzelar*, meaning "to hunt birds," and not on *auzel*, bird, which also existed. But *auzelador* was probably supposed to have been formed on the common form *auzel* instead of on the much less usual word, *auzelar*, and by analogy *buzatador* was formed on *buzat*.

The other principle explaining the addition of suffixes to other parts of speech than might be expected, that of suffix-change, will now be treated. Cohn,[1] in his work on suffix-change in Vulgar Latin and pre-literary French, mentions some common types of this phenomenon in Latin, and under the general heading of "change of a less usual suffix for a more usual one," he enumerates several principles which distinguish this process. Thus, as an example of one of these principles, namely, that the suffix substituted "depends on some word or words similar in form to the old one and related in idea," he mentions the change of *berbex* to *berbix* on account of the existence of *perdix*. Another change of suffix that must have taken place in Vulgar Latin is the one affecting the Classical Latin abstract suffix -ĬTIA. A vast amount has been written in order to explain the forms found in Old French, namely -EISE, -ISE, -ECE, and -ICE, but the question cannot be regarded as settled.

[1] *Suffixwandlungen.* For a classification of the different types of suffix-change, see the Table of Contents of his book.

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The Provençal forms are simpler—only -EZA, the phonetic development of -ĬTIA, and -ESA (spelled also -ESSA, to indicate more clearly the voiceless sound of "s"), which -ĬTIA could not have given phonetically. This form could, however, be explained by the change of the suffix -ĬTIA to -ĬCIA, which substitution has been suggested for French also. The Provençal descendants of the Latin *pigritia*, for example, are *pigreza* and *pigresa*, but also *pigricia* in Raynouard, which seems to represent a Latin *pigricia* unchanged. Now, examples of suffix-change just like this one are found in Provençal as well as in Latin. An interesting example of this may be seen in the Provençal word for spice-seller or grocer, *especiador*. In Italian, the word for grocer is *speziale*, and there is likewise a Provençal form, *especial*, both of which probably come from *speciale*, the neuter form of the adjective *specialis*. In the other Romance languages, however, as in French and Spanish, and again in Provençal, forms are found which must come from -ARIUS (*épicier*, *especiero*, *especier*), this suffix, whose usual force was to denote a person carrying on some trade, being substituted for -ALIS, with its variant -ARIS. This change may well have taken place in Latin: but besides the change to -ARIUS, we find also -TOREM, represented in *especiador* mentioned above. Here we see added to a noun a suffix that was generally added to verb-stems. -ARIUS and -TOREM, both describing persons, however, are more or less related in meaning, and the change was probably brought about by some analogy. Other examples of this kind of change may be seen in the substitution of -ANSA for -TAT in *amistansa*, *enemistansa*, and *piatansa*.[1]

[1]Another change of this kind which may have taken place in Lat. would be in **cenatorium* for *cenaculum*. Thus in Prov. beside the learned *cenacle*, we find *cenador*, which exists also in Sp. The adjective *cenatorius* exists in Lat.

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In words of the kind just mentioned we find examples of a principle whose importance was great in Provençal, namely, the addition of suffixes originally verbal to nouns. The participial endings -ATUS, -ITUS, and -UTUS[1] (Provençal -AT, -IT, and -UT) are used particularly commonly in this way and may have given a starting-point for other formations of the kind. Already in Latin we find such words as *barbatus*, bearded (formed on *barba*, beard) later used substantively to mean "the bearded man." In Provençal, also, we find these endings attached directly to nouns and forming nouns in such words as *iranjat*, orange-colored cloth, and *gabelat*, goods on which the *gabela*, a tax, is paid. Both of these words were probably originally adjectives used with a noun, but later used alone, substantively. Thus adjectives in -AT, the verbal ending, were built on nouns, and were exactly like the real past participles of verbs when used as adjectives, in both form and meaning. This addition of the participial ending to nouns was probably due to the vast number of cases in which simple nouns and verbs in -AR existed side by side: the noun may easily have been taken for the base-word.[2] Yet it is in the feminine forms that we must look for the greatest developments in meaning. Thus the forms -ADA, -IDA, and -UDA, from the verbal ending -TA plus the stem-vowel of the verb, give, in the first place, the meaning of the past participle used substantively, as in *espozada*,[3] bride, and then contract abstract force, as in *apelada*, calling, *departida*, departure, and *atenduda*, waiting.

[1] For the same process in Engl. see Murray, under the suffix -ED(²), where the function of the suffix is stated to be identical with that of the Lat. -TUS. Examples are "booted," "wooded," etc.

[2] Or possibly to Darmesteter's principle, stated in the note on p. 10.

[3] The masculine forms also have this first meaning, as in *donat*, lay brother; *bastit*, building, and *contengut*, contents.

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But when attached directly to nouns, just as in the case of the masculine forms given above, the feminine forms have their widest extension of meaning, and again it was the ending for the first conjugation, namely, -ADA, that was used in all cases. Its numerous meanings, as, something contained by the simple noun, then as much as it could contain (*brasada*), and as far as it could reach in space (*balestrada*), or in time (*matinada*), a tax to pay (*bladada*), and a blow (*coltelhada*), are all described under the suffix -ADA.[1]

Another principle of word-formation found in Provençal, one which can be traced back at least as far as Vulgar Latin, is that of the addition of a suffix which gives no change of meaning to the simple word. This is especially true of diminutive suffixes, and is mentioned concerning them by Bonnet in his work on the Latin of Gregory of Tours.[2] By the addition of these suffixes, objects in common use were designated, no diminutive force often being intended, and it is only in the form with the suffix that these words appear in the Romance languages. But besides the words which are found only with the suffix attached, Provençal has other examples showing forms both with and without the suffix existing side by side with no difference in meaning. This simultaneous existence of two forms without difference of meaning appears to be due to a continuation into Provençal of the Latin process rather than to the addition of the suffix in Latin, in which case the simple word would probably have disappeared, as in the cases mentioned above. Examples of these pairs of words identical in meaning found in Provençal may be seen in *ram* and *ramel*, and *laur* and *laurel*, whereas in Modern French it

[1] See p. 30. [2] P. 459.

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is only the derived words *rameau* and *laurelle* that are in use. The presence of the suffix in Modern French appears to indicate a repetition of the process that Provençal was undergoing at the period here studied—the addition of a suffix bringing no change of meaning, and the later disappearance of one of the words. In Modern French it is the simple word that has disappeared, as shown above; in Modern Provençal and in Spanish it is the simple word that is found today, as in *ramo*. It seems, therefore, that two words with no difference in meaning between them could not both persist long. When the suffix was added as early as in Latin times, hardly a trace of the simple word is to be found in Romance. For example, the word for "lamb" in the different languages is *agneau*, *anhel*, and *agnello*, but no trace of *agnus* is found, except in the Italian poetic form *agno*.

The addition of the suffix that brings no change to the simple word may be seen in other examples besides diminutives. This principle, which has been called the addition of a suffix for the greater length it gives a word, is very common in the formation of adjectives,[1] and in the case of nouns is found as one of the uses of the suffix -IER.[2] In dealing with the suffix -ARIUS, the source of -IER, Olcott[3] mentions the English word "fruiterer" as an illustration of the same principle. The second *-er* does, indeed, appear to be an example of the "unmeaning extension" of a word. Thus the word "fruiter" (compare the French *fruitier* and the Provençal *fruchier*), formed on a noun, was extended by analogy with such words as "caterer" and "upholsterer," in which the

[1] For its use in these formations, see p. 270.

[2] As in *broc* and *broquier*, *companh* and *companhier*. See p. 225, below.

[3] P. 139, n. 4.

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suffix was added to verbs already ending in *-er*, but had the appearance of being a suffix -ERER.[1] Exactly the same extension takes place in some Provençal words, such as *bandairier* and *carrairier*. The same suffix here appears under two forms, -AIR and -IER, -AIR representing its phonetic development, which it always has when not bearing the accent, and -IER the usual but non-phonetic development, which -ARIUS underwent when clearly felt as an individual suffix, and probably due to outside influences.[2] Whether -AIRIER was ever added as one suffix or always as two distinct ones is a matter concerning double suffixes.

This last question, the combination of two suffixes in Provençal, closely connected as it is with the principle of the forceless suffix, is another whose origin must be sought in Vulgar Latin. As an example of the way that the two suffixes were originally added, Thomas cites the Classical Latin *natalicius*,[3] and as examples of two suffixes combined and joined as one to the simple word, he mentions *gentilicius* and *sigillaricius*, the latter formed directly, as its meaning shows, on *sigillum*. Words like this

[1] In connection with forms like this, Murray gives several examples, but "fruiterer" is the only real example of the "unmeaning extension." Here is his statement as it appears: "In several instances -ER has the appearance of being an unmeaning extension of earlier words denoting trades or offices. Most of these words are of foreign origin, as 'caterer,' 'fruiterer,' and 'poulterer.' An analogous case in a native word is 'upholsterer.' The real formation of these words is obscure: some are probably formed from verbs, while in other cases formations on words in -ERY may be conjectured." This -ERY, however, is nothing but the Fr. suffix -ERIE (Prov. -ARIA) which is, in itself, a compound of -ARIUS plus the suffix -IA. According to this idea, therefore, we should here have a triple suffix, which it is entirely unnecessary to assume.

[2] Thomas suggests as responsible for the change of -ARIUS into -ERIUS the suffix found in Gothic as -AREIS. See *Nouv. Ess.*, 123.

[3] For a fuller description of these forms, see below, double suffixes, p. 389, or *Nouv. Ess.*, 62.

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served as a starting-point for the compound suffixes[1] -ALICIUS and -ARICIUS, found in many words in French and in some Provençal examples.[2] This welding together of two originally distinct suffixes may be further illustrated by one of the commonest of all Romance suffixes, the one which is found in Provençal as -ARÍA, in French as -ERIE, and in Spanish and Italian as -ERÍA. This is formed of the abstract suffix -ÍA added to the agent-suffix -ARIUS, and was used at first to designate a place in which the object denoted by the simple noun could be found in abundance, although later it acquired other new meanings. Here, it cannot be supposed that the two parts of the new suffix were added separately, or even that the word with the single suffix necessarily ever existed. All the Romance languages give evidence against this view, as they have words in -ARÍA or its other forms beside which no word with the single suffix is found or probably ever existed. We therefore have here a single suffix attached to a simple noun, whatever this single suffix may have come from. This is the theory for the compound suffixes[3] in Provençal, in which language, if we exclude diminutives, formations of this type are especially common. -ARIUS alone is found as the first part of the compound forms in a number of suffixes, as in -AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRET, -AIRIER, -AIROL, and -AIRON, in all of which -ARIUS has its phonetic development, and there are numerous other examples of compound suffixes.

The individual suffixes forming nouns will now be studied in alphabetic order.

[1] That is, two originally distinct suffixes added as one suffix to the simple word.

[2] This does not, however, preclude the formation of words by two suffixes added separately. There are many examples of words of this kind. See p. 381.

[3] For full treatment, see p. 389.

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-AC, -EC, -IC, -OC, -UC

The Provençal endings -AC, -EC, -IC, -OC, and -UC will be treated together here as a group of suffixes similar in form and identical in meaning[1] and development. As a source for the forms found in the Romance languages, it seems necessary to assume the suffixes -ACCUS, -ECCUS, -ICCUS, -OCCUS, and -UCCUS—that is, suffixes with a double *c*, instead of the forms with a single *c* found in Latin.[2] In Provençal, the suffixes are of relatively little importance, the endings being found in very few words as certain suffixes, and in the masculine forms, the endings -AC, -EC, -IC, etc., do not necessitate the hypothesis of original suffixes with a double *c*. It is rather the feminine forms -ACHA, -ECHA, etc., but more especially the words found in the other Romance languages, that make any such supposition necessary.[3] Just how this change from a single to a double *c* took place is not thoroughly clear. Meyer-Lübke claims that the suffix -ICCUS, which he admits as existing in the Iberian peninsula and in Roumania, was not Latin, although he says that both -ICUS and -ICCUS are found as early as the Roman period.[4] It would appear from this, rather that the suffixes found all represented the Latin -ICUS, and that the forms with the double *c* showed simply a doubling of the consonant, which occurred later, also, for the suffixes -ACUS, -ECUS, -OCUS, and -UCUS, and produced the forms found in the Romance languages. If -AC, -EC, -ACHA, -ECHA, etc., do really

[1] Except some of the words in -EC.

[2] These will not do phonetically, neither will the forms -ACEUS, etc., treated below.

[3] For lists of words, see Horning in *Zeitschrift*, XX, 335.

[4] II, 590.

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represent, then, the suffixes -ACCUS, -ECCUS, etc., the question arises of how and why the doubling of the consonant took place. Now the suffixes -AC, -EC, etc., seem generally to be diminutive in force, sometimes endearing, sometimes depreciative; and Horning, who has treated the question,[1] finds the reason for the doubling of the consonant in the idea that the suffixes pronounced with great energy or emotion caused an involuntary strengthening, and therefore doubling, of the consonant, a process to be seen today in French pronunciation.[2] Another suggestion that he makes also is that -ICCA and -UCCA may represent -ICULA, -UCULA, the doubling of the *c* taking place as compensation for the loss of the last syllables, a process which he finds occurring in some short forms of Greek endearing diminutives, which he gives. This last hypothesis would do very well were it possible to find any trace of -ICULUM or -UCULUM's ever having been in any of the words which have in Provençal -IC or -UC, but as they seem not to have had this suffix in Latin, and as no form which could represent a development of it[3] exists in the words which have -IC and -UC, it seems more reasonable to adopt the first and simpler hypothesis.

-AC, -EC, -IC, -OC, -UC will be treated again under adjective formations. As nouns with the suffix -AC, we find:

creac, sturgeon: The word is also written *creat*, -AC probably being confused with -AT < ATTUS, the suffix used to designate the young of animals. This latter suffix was also added to the full form of the word, giving

[1] *Zeitschrift*, XX, 335.

[2] *Ibid.*, 351. In Mod. Fr., however, it is the initial consonant that is strengthened. The example cited by Horning (350, n. 6) is the *p* of *polisson*.

[3] Such as -ILH or -OLH.

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us the word *creagat*, a young sturgeon.[1] Mistral derives *creac* from a late Latin *creacus*.

buzac, buzzard: Like *creac*, it is found also with the form in *-at*, *buzat*. -AC and -AT, then, both seem to denote the young of animals. The French word for "buzzard" is *buse* < *butia*,[2] which probably gave also some Provençal word to which the suffix -AC was added, the derived *buzac* originally meaning a young buzzard, but later losing its diminutive force. See also -OC.

patac,† a coin: This also is found with -AT in the form *patat*, and is found in Du Cange as *pata*, *patagus*, *patacus*, *patarus*, and *patatius*.

In the feminine, the suffix -ACCA should give -ACHA in Provençal, as indeed it does in most words. One word, however, has -ACCA. This is

boacca, a female ox, as given by Raynouard, and not given in Levy. The word is peculiar as showing the double *c* instead of *ch* or *c*.[3]

[1] -AT was probably added after -AC had lost its original diminutive force. See *buzac*, in the same list.

[2] For the Classic Lat. *buteo*. *Buse* (for *buise*) is irregular, and is probably due to the influence of *busard*. For *buteo*, see Diez, 536; Körting, No. 1,667; and Meyer-Lübke, *Etym. Wörterb.*, No. 1,423, with references there given.

[3] The word is probably, however, an artificial formation, made to resemble *vaca*, if we may judge by Raynouard's example: "vaca es dita quays boacca" (II, 244). The meaning given by Raynouard seems absurd enough, but yet it is a feminine formed on *bou*, ox, and absurdity seems intended, judging from the context.

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† Other words ending in -AC, but not representing any suffix, are: *andrac*, carbuncle (from the Gr. ἄνθραξ, coal); *eisac*, sluice (possibly a post-verbal formation on *eisegar*, dry up, its form being due to a confusion with *agar*, to water, and *eisec*, equal division, probably a post-verbal from *eisegar* [< *exaequare*?], divide equally); and *pelac*, sea, probably from the Lat. *pelagus*, with the accent-shifting often seen in learned proparoxytones. An obscure word is *mezac*, miller's boy (?), but even its form is uncertain.

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fornacha, oven-tax: Here the word has one of the principal uses of -ATGE<-ATICUM. There is also a form *fornatja*, oven-tax, as well as the regular *fornatge*< *fornaticum*, given by Raynouard. *Fornatja* seems to be derived from the feminine *fornatica*, feminine forms being represented in one or two other Provençal words also. *Fornacha* seems to show a confusion between the suffixes -ACCA and -ATICA, having taken the meaning of *fornatja*. *Fornacha* also means a small oven—the regular diminutive force which -ACCA should give. Du Cange gives a word, *fornacula*, which would suit Horning's second hypothesis, except that there he is dealing only with -ICULUM and -UCULUM. *Fornalha* is not found.

garnacha, a kind of overdress or toga: The stem appears to be *garnir*, from the Germanic **warnjan*,[1] plus the suffix -ACCA (compare the Italian *guarnacca*).

orbacha,† blind person: From *orb*, blind.

-EC appears in several words in Provençal, but its use is totally different from that of the other suffixes of the group. The only word in which the suffix -ECCUS seems at all sure is *cavec*, sparrow-owl, the meaning given by Mistral for the Modern Provençal *caveco*, "mâle de la chevêche." As Horning points out,[2] the word cannot be connected with *caput*, but must belong to the same stem

[1] Körting, No. 10,357. Here the suffix seems to be added to a verb-stem.

[2] *Zeitschrift*, XX, 340.

† Other words ending in -ACH(A) are:
carach, face (<*caractum*?). See Levy, I, 209, for a discussion of the word.
escaravach, scarab (<**scarafaius* for *scarabaeus*?). See Körting, No. 8,424.
garach, fallow land (<*vervactum*).
gavach, wen, excrescence (<*cavaticus*?).
orbacha (<*operaccia*?). See *Zeitschrift*, XXIV, 43.
A word in -ACA is *pozaraca*, but it is probably a compound word.

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that produced the French *chouette*. But why the masculine form should take the suffix -ECCUS and the feminine -ISCA (*cavesca*) is not clear.[1]

The other words in -EC, -ECHA, have no diminutive force, but are, instead, abstracts. *Eisec*, equal division of cattle, does not represent a suffix at all, but is a verbal substantive from *eisegar*, to divide cattle equally. But there are other words—a noun and an adjective—which add -EC with abstract force. Thus

domec, lordship, rule — *dom*, lord
lasec,† weariness — *las*, weary

and with the feminine -ECHA, we find

escazecha, property, fortune — *escazer*, fall due

-IC is found in some words, but in very few certain Provençal formations:

causic, footstep — *causa*, shoe
garric,[2] †† oakwood (Fr. *jarris*)

These seem to be the only Provençal formations that are at all likely. The stem of *garric* is not certain.

-OC is found only in *buzoc*, buzzard, in which it seems to represent the diminutive suffix -OCCUS, and in *paroc*. For the source of *buzoc*, see *buzac*, under -AC.[3]

Paroc should possibly be written *parec*. For *parec*, see note †.

[1] It seems barely possible that -EC in *cavec* should itself represent -ISCUS.

[2] Körting, No. 4,159, and Diez, 593. [3] Pp. 19 f.

† There is also a word *parec* of obscure origin and seeming to mean a flock.

†† Other words with the ending -IC, but uncertain in meaning as well as of obscure origin, are: *bestic*, *chairic*, *denzic* (or *genzic*), and *estric*, all given in Levy. *Meric* shows a substitution of -IC for -IT. *Eretic*, heretic (<*haereticus*), and *levestic*, lovage (<*levisticum*) are Lat., which appears to be also the case with *eboric*, danewort (<**ebulicus*, derived from *ebulum*?). *Piloric*, pillory (Fr. *pilori*), is of obscure origin (see Körting, No. 8,931). The usual Prov. form is *espillori*. *Pilori* may be connected with *pilar*, pillar.

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-OCHA seems not to exist as a suffix.[1]

-UC is found only in one word of Latin origin, *festuc*, straw, and in several rather obscure words:

bauduc,[2] trouble, dispute;	mixture *baut*(?), bold, gay
cantezuc, bad song	*can*(*t*), song
devertuc, ulcer, sore	
palhuc,† chopped straw	*palha*, straw

Cantezuc is peculiar in having an *ez* inserted instead of having the *uc* joined to the simple word. How it crept into the word is not at all clear, but it is possible that it came about in this fashion: several words in Provençal ended in -ZEL(A) or -CEL(A), coming from the Latin diminutive suffix -CELLUS. It appears, however, never to have been added as a suffix in Provençal, the words in which it is found being common to nearly all of the Romance languages, and showing in other ways their Latin origin. Such words are: *auzel*, *donzel*, *moncel*, *parcela*, *piuz*(*c*)*ela*. Now if we may assume a **canticellus*, like *avicellus* and the other sources for our Provençal words, it would become *cantezel*, and then *canzel*. In *cantezel*, -EL, due to the extreme commonness of this suffix, may have come to be regarded as the suffix instead of -ZEL. Then to the stem deprived of the supposed suffix another diminutive but also depreciative suffix was probably added.

Devertuc, ulcer, is a difficult word to explain. The only apparent source is *diverticulum*, in which word -UCLUM might have been substituted for -ICLUM, giving *divertuclum*. But this etymology is unsatisfactory, for aside from phonetic difficulties, *diverticulum* means a by-road, which has no obvious connection in meaning with *devertuc*.

[1] *Galopcha* is found, but is probably from *galopia*.

[2] See *Rom. Forsch.*, XXII, 986.

† Another word in -UC is *pesuc*, which appears to be a postverbal formation.

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-ADA, -IDA, -UDA

The next suffixes to be treated form in Provençal another group— -ADA, -IDA, and -UDA. This group-formation is the regular process in all verbal suffixes[1] in Provençal, where the *a* and *i* of suffixes come from the stem-vowel of the conjugation to which they are attached.[2] Thus, in this group, it is only -DA which is derived from the Latin form—the suffix -TA, the feminine of -TUS. The suffix -TUS was also used, giving in Provençal the forms -AT, -IT, and -UT, but most of the words with these endings are easily felt to be only verbal adjectives or past participles used substantively, and the missing noun can easily be supplied.[3] With the forms -ADA, -IDA, and -UDA from -TA, the process had gone a step farther than was usual with the masculine form,[4] and had come to be used almost exclusively with abstract force.[5]

[1] -TA, from which -ADA, etc., is derived, is the feminine form of the Lat. past participle.

[2] *a* and *i* are regular connecting vowels; *u* is found in the past participles of a whole conjugation in Prov., and is due to some Lat. forms that had it originally and to its analogical extension to past participles in -ĬTUM. Thus -UDA came about. Where a suffix was unconnected with participles, but was merely added to verb-stems, the connecting vowels in Prov. were *a*, *e*, and *i*. This fact is illustrated under the verbal suffixes -ADOR, -ADURA, -AMEN, -AZON, etc.

[3] See pp. 149–51.

[4] Masculine abstracts are seen in such rare words as *blasmat*, *ardit*, and *grevit*.

[5] See Meyer-Lübke, II, 575; *Dic. Gen.*, introduction, secs. 45 and 119, such clear abstracts as *durée* being referred to these sections; also Murray for such words as "delivery" and "recovery," which are apparently derived from the feminine past participle of the Fr. words from which the Engl. words developed. The preponderance of feminine forms may be partly due to the similarity of the forms of the neuter plural, and the preponderance of words with abstract force may be due to analogy with other verbal suffixes, which almost always have this force.

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The great popularity of the feminine form is attested by its widespread use as a suffix to be attached also to nouns,[1] in which formations new meanings are contracted. The formations on verbs will, however, be given first under the respective headings -ADA, -IDA, and -UDA. Under -ADA will be given the formations on verbs in *-ar;* under -IDA, the ones on verbs in *-ir;* and under -UDA, those made on verbs in *-er* or *-re*.

-ADA is found in:

aigada, flood	*aigar*, water
albergada, lodging	*albergar*, lodge
albirada, aim	*albirar*, imagine
alenada, respiration	*alenar*, breathe
apelada, naming	*apelar*, call, name
armada, army	*armar*, arm
arribada, landing, arrival	*arribar*, land
asemblada, assembly	*asemblar*, assemble
atropelada, union	*atropelar*, crowd together
avocada,[2] female lawyer	*avocar*, invoke
azirada, impetuosity	*azirar*, irritate
bailada, delivery	*bailar*, deliver
balada, ballad	*balar*, dance
brocada, sarcasm, taunt	*brocar*, prick
cairada, hewn stone	*cairar*, square off
caminada, road	*caminar*, journey
carbonada, grill, broil	*carbonar*, char, turn to ashes
casada, hunt	*casar*, hunt
colcada, going to bed; resting-place	*colcar*, lie
cridada, clamor, uproar	*cridar*, cry
crozada, crusade	*crozar* (*se*), take the cross
dalhada, space that can be cut with scythe	*dalhar*, mow, reap

[1] See p. 30.

[2] This word, though placed here because it is formed on a verb, is different from most of the others. It is merely the feminine form of *avocat* (from *avocar*), a past participle used as a noun. If, as seems probable, the -ADA in all the words goes back originally to the feminine past participle, words of this kind clearly belong here.

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demorada, delay	*demorar*, delay
destinada, destiny	*destinar*, destine
devalada, descent, slope	*devalar*, descend
devizada, division	*devizar*, divide
dinada, dinner[1]	*dinar*, dine
durada, duration	*durar*, last
eisartada, arable bit of land	*eisartar*, clear (land)
emboscada, ambuscade	*emboscar*, ambush
encontrada, meeting	*encontrar*, meet
endestinada, destiny	*endestinar*, destine
errada, error	*errar*, err
esluciada, flash	*esluchar*, flash
espozada,[2] bride	*espozar*, marry
estancada, halt	*estancar*, stop, stanch
estivada,[1] lease of live-stock for summer	*estivar*, harvest
filada,[3] bed, layer	*filar*, spin, let out
flagelada,[4] flail of war (kind of weapon)	*flagelar*, thrash
florada, a coin	*florar*, give splendor
forcada, fork of road	*forcar*, fork
fretada, sound thrashing	*fretar*, strike, rub
fumada, smoke	*fumar*, smoke
gelada, ice	*gelar*, freeze
girada, revolution; a kind of cake	*girar*, turn
gitada,[5] coping, drip	*gitar*, throw
gostada, luncheon	*gostar*, have light meal
intrada,[5] entry	*intrar*, enter

[1] *Dinada* and *estivada* show meanings which -ADA was much more likely to give when attached to nouns. *Dinada*, nevertheless, was formed on *dinar*. *Estivada* may have been formed on *estiu*, summer (though *estivar* exists), and certainly shows the influence of the noun.

[2] *Espozada* is admitted to the list for the same reason as *avocada*. It is simply a past participle in the feminine form used as a noun.

[3] *Filada* may be formed on the noun *fila*, row. *Jurada*, also, has a meaning similar to some of those found among the formations on nouns, and might be formed on *jur*, oath, although *jurar* seems its probable source.

[4] A very peculiar meaning unless the word is formed on the noun *flagel*, flail, which would be an example of the forceless use of the suffix.

[5] *Intrada* seems to be the usual spelling, though phonetically we might expect *e* instead of *i*. The change of *e* to *i* in the initial syllable is exceedingly common, however. See Grandgent, art. 44, sec. 3. All words derived from *intrar* and *gitar* (or *entrar* and *getar*) will therefore be spelled with *i*.

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jonc(h)ada, double handful	*joncar*, heap up, strew
jurada,[1] ward for choosing alderman	*jurar*, swear
laisada,[2] widow	*laisar*, leave
levada, raising, as of taxes	*levar*, raise
liada, a measure	*liar*, bind
liurada, delivery	*liurar*, deliver
martelada, hammering	*martelar*, hammer
mesclada, combat, mêlée	*mesclar*, mix
mezurada, a measure	*mezurar*, measure
molinada, grinding; ground corn	*molinar*, grind
montada, mounting; hill	*montar*, mount
murada, wall	*murar*, wall up
panada,[3] theft; stolen object	*panar*, steal
pasada, passage	*pasar*, pass
pecada, sin, fault	*pecar*, sin
pensada, thought	*pensar*, think
pescada, right of fishing	*pescar*, fish
plantada, planting	*plantar*, plant
plombada, sounding-lead; leaded club; leaden ball	*plombar*, fill with lead
pojada, ascent	*pojar*, ascend
randonada, rapidity, impetuosity	*randonar*, run swiftly
recobrada, recovery	*recobrar*, recover
renomnada,[4] renown	*renomnar*, name again
retornada, return	*retornar*, return
secada, dryness	*secar*, dry
soldada, pay, salary	*soldar*, pay
sopada, supper	*sopar*, sup
talhada, cutting	*talhar*, cut
tirada, reach, cast	*tirar*, draw, pull
tornada, refrain	*tornar*, turn
trencada, cutting, crossing	*trencar*, cut
trepelhada,[5] another form of *tropelhada*?	
tropelhada,[5] coming together, union	*tropelhar* (?)

[1] Cf. n. 3, p. 26.

[2] Same kind of formation as *avocada* and *espozada*.

[3] For *panada* from *pan*, see p. 33.

[4] Found also as *renomada*, which probably shows Fr. influence (*renom* and *renommée*).

[5] These two words are given in Appel's *Vocabulary*. They both occur, however, only in a variant reading.

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tustada, shock	*tustar*, shock
ventada, sudden wind	*ventar*, blow
virada, turning	*virar*, turn
volada, flight	*volar*, fly

-IDA is found in:

aizida, enjoyment	*aizir*,[1] welcome
bastida, fortified place, city	*bastir*, build
cobeida,[2] covetousness	
colhida, harvest	*colhir*, gather
complida, compline[3]	*complir*, fulfil, accomplish
consentida, consent	*consentir*, consent
definida, assignment, appointment	*definir*, determine, describe
demezida, lot, share	*demezir*, divide
departida, departure	*departir*, depart
desconfida, defeat	*desconfir*, discomfit
dormida, sleep	*dormir*, sleep
eisida, issue, exit	*eisir*, go out
envaida, attack, invasion	*envair*, invade, attack
esbrugida, making notorious	*esbrugir*, make known
escarnida, insult, outrage	*escarnir*, insult, mock at
escofida, overthrow, defeat,	*escofir*, kill, murder
escorrida, expedition	*escorre(se)*, run, flow
escremida, covering?[4]	*escremir*, fight, defend
esjauzida, rejoicing	*esjauzir*, rejoice
establida, dwelling	*establir*, establish
estampida, noise, resounding	*estampir*, resound
falhida, fault, failing	*falhir*, fail
fenida, end, conclusion	*fenir*, finish
fugida, removal, deviation	*fugir*, fly
ganchida, deception	*ganchir*, prevent
gandida, guaranty	*gandir*, guarantee
garentida, protection	*garentir*, guarantee

[1] Thomas (*Essais*, 233–34) gives examples of this verb.

[2] *Cobeir* is not found, but probably existed, being formed on *cobe*, covetous, a usual kind of formation.

[3] The *complines* (originally *compline*) was the last service of common prayer for the day. Its connection with the past participle of *complir* is therefore clear.

[4] This seems a peculiar meaning to be derived from the verb *escremir*, but the original meaning of the verb seems to have been "to defend" or protect, hence cover, whereas the meaning "to fight" also comes from the idea of "to defend." For source, see Körting, No. 8,788. See also *Rom. Forsch.*, XXII, 214.

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garida, refuge; help, saving	*garir*, cure
grazida, thanks	*grazir*, thank
mentida, lie	*mentir*, tell a lie
partida, departure	*partir*, depart
retentida, resounding	*retentir*, resound
semonida, admonition	*semonir*, admonish
sortida,† issue	*sortir*, go out

-UDA is found in:

atenduda, waiting	*atendre*, wait
caeguda,[1] fall	*ca(z)er*, fall
conoguda,[1] acquaintance	*conoiser*, know
creguda,[1] increase in price	*creiser*, grow
descenduda, sinking away (of melody)	*descendre*, descend
estenduda, extent	*estendre*, extend
jaguda,[1] night-quarters, resting-place	*jazer*, lie
moguda,[1] change	*mover*, move
paruda, appearance	*parer*, appear
retenguda, reserve, care	*retener*, retain
saubuda, acquaintance	*saber*, know
veguda,[1] sight	*vezer*, see

[1] These forms, however much they may differ from the corresponding infinitive forms, have the forms of the feminine of the past participles. Thus the past participle of *c(h)a(z)er* is *c(h)a(z)egut;* of *conoiser* is *conogut;* of *creiser*, *cregut;* *mover*, *mogut*, etc.

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† Some obscure words ending in -IDA also should be mentioned. In these, the ending does not appear to represent a past participle. Such words are:

brocida, whose meaning as well as origin are obscure. See Levy, I, 167.

casida, obscure: Of the same origin as the Fr. *chassie*.

causida, thistle: Obscure.

consolida, a kind of plant (see *Romania*, XII, 101): From the Lat. *consolida*.

There are also some words in -IA which seem to belong here. These are: *bruia* (found also as *bruyda*), public noise; *carpia*, lint; *departia* and *partia*, departure; and *repentia*, repentance. In these words the *d* of -IDA seems to have disappeared, owing to Fr. influence. They should be compared with the Fr. *charpie* and *partie* and the O.Fr. *departie* and *repentie*. The meanings are such as -IDA could give, whereas, on the other hand, -IA would not be likely to be added to verb-stems. *Partida* and *departida*, the regular Prov. forms, exist beside *partia* and *departia*.

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We come next to the use of -ADA, or the suffix -TA plus the stem-vowel of the first conjugation, as a suffix to be attached to nouns and wholly unconnected with verbs. This use has been mentioned above.[1] Its meanings in this case are rather varied, but are found in most of the Romance languages. The primary idea of the suffix seems to be that of something contained (by the noun to which it is attached). With this meaning are found *brasada*, *fornada*, *golada*, *olada*, and many others, to be seen in the list below. From this idea of as much as a thing can contain, or as far as it can reach, may perhaps be drawn such words as *balestrada*, reach of a crossbow, and this idea extended to time as well as to place gives such words as *jornada* and *matinada*, corresponding in meaning to the French *journée* and *matinée*. Other uses are those of a tax to pay (*bladada*, *vinada*, this meaning not being very common, however), and the addition without force (*ronhonada*, *rosada*). Another meaning that the suffix has is that of a blow, as *coltelhada*, knife-thrust, though in this particular case the suffix was probably added to a verb, *coltelar*, which, however, is not found.[2] The other words of this kind, as *bastonada*, *espazada*, and *morrada*, may have been formed by the analogy of *coltelhada* beside *coltelh*. The use of -ADA here may be compared with the use of -ADA in Spanish (as in *cuchillada*), which has almost the same meaning as -AZO,[3] a real verbal suffix.

balestrada, reach of crossbow	*balestra*, crossbow
bastonada, blows with cane	*baston*, cane
bladada, fine in corn	*blat*, corn

[1] P. 25.

[2] It probably existed, nevertheless. Cf. the O.Fr. *couteler* and the Prov. verbal derivative *coltelador*.

[3] The Prov. corresponding form -AZON has not this meaning of a blow. For this suffix, see p. 165.

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boada, conveyance by means of oxen	*bou*, ox
bocinada,[1] mouthful	*bocina*, mouth
boisada,[2] bushes	*bois*, box-tree
boisonada, bushes	*boison*, bush
borgada, small borough	*borc*, borough
brasada, armful	*bratz*, arm
budelada, bowels	*budela*, bowels
carnada, excrescence	*carn*, flesh
caronhada, carcass	*caronha*, body
carrada, carload	*car*, car
carretada, carload	*carreta*, car
cartairada,[5] sort of grain-measure	*cartier*, quarter
caupolada, shipload	*caupol*, ship
causada, footpath	*causa*, shoe
causinada,[3] slack-lime	*caus*, lime
cenrada, alkaline ashes	*cenre*, ashes
clergada,[4] tonsure	*clerc*, clerk, scholar
colada, blow	*col*, neck
coltelhada, knife-cut	*coltelh*, knife
cominada, drink with caraway-seed	*comin*, caraway
concada, amount of land which can be sown with a *conca*	*conca*, grain-measure
copdada, arm's length, elbow-room	*code*, *co(p)de*, elbow
corada, bowels	*cor*, heart
correjada, whip, lash	*correja*, strap
costada, blow on the ribs	*costa*, side
crampada, roomful, company	*crampa*, *cramba*, *cambra*, room
denairada,[5] penny's worth	*denier*, penny
drapada, cloth	*drap*, cloth

[1] See double suffixes, p. 382.

[2] This ending here would appear to give a kind of collective force to the simple word, as in *boisonada* below, and in several other words. The meaning of *boisada* appears to have been influenced by that of *boisonada*.

[3] *Causina* is not found, but undoubtedly existed. See Mistral under *caussino*. *Causina* probably went back to a Lat. *calcina* formed on *calx*.

[4] *Clergada* has a rather unusual meaning contributed by the suffix. This seems here to denote "the sign of."

[5] See -AIRADA under double suffixes, p. 398.

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erbada, medicated pillow	*erba*, herb
escambada,[1] stride	*camba*, leg
escudelada, a bowlful	*escudel*, bowl
espazada, sword-cut	*espaza*, sword
faldada, lapful	*falda*, skirt
figairada,[2] fig-tree	*figuier*, fig-tree
formatjada, dish of cheese and eggs	*formatje*, cheese
fornada, ovenful; also tax on ovens	*forn*, oven
fromentada, tax for cultivation of cornfields	*froment*, grain
frontada, street in front of house	*front*, front
gaiada, joke, teasing	*gai*, joy
golada, mouthful	*gola*, throat
grunada,[3] a kind of sour wine	*grun*, grain
joncada, bunch of flowers and branches	*jonc*, reed
jornada, day; day's work, etc.	*jorn*, day
latada, length of "lata"	*lata*, lath
legada, space of a league	*lega*, league
lensolada,[4] a sheetful; a plant	*lensol*, sheet, shroud
linhada, lineage	*linha*, line
luminada, hunting-torch	*lum*,[5] light
manada, handful	*man*, hand
matinada, day's length	*matin*, morning
mezalhada, what is worth a *mezalha;* agrarian measure	*mezalha*, a coin
mojada, amount of land that can be sown with a hogshead of grain	*moi*, hogshead
molada, dust formed on a grindstone by its friction against iron	*mola*, grindstone
moltonada, tax on sheep	*molton*, sheep
morrada, blow with the snout	*morre*, snout

[1] See also parasyntheta, p. 526.

[2] See -AIRADA under double suffixes, p. 398.

[3] Not in Raynouard or Levy. See *Romania*, XXXIV, 204, where *grun* is explained as coming from a Vulg. Lat. **grunus*, due to a confusion between *granum* and *grumus*.

[4] For this word, see *Romania*, XXXVIII, 555, where a Med. Lat. *lanceolata* is given as source.

[5] *Luminada* can, however, hardly be formed directly on this word. It apparently goes back to a Lat. *luminata* formed on *lumen*. *Luminatus* is given in Du Cange, although of late date.

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navada, shipload	*nau*, ship
olada, potful	*ola*, pot
olmada, place grown with elms	*olm*, elm
ostalada, household, family	*ostal*, house, dwelling
ovelhada, tax on sheep	*ovelha*, sheep
padelada, stoveful	*padela*, stove
padenada, panful	*padena*, pan
pairolada, kettleful	*pairol*, kettle
palada, shovelful	*pal*, shovel
palmada, slap	*palma*, palm of the hand
panada, tart, pie	*pan*, bread
pastada, flattened or pressed wax (?)	*pasta*, paste, glue
pastelada, remainder of the woad	*pastel*, woad
pebrada, pepper-sauce	*pebre*, pepper
peirada, reach of catapult; sidewalk	*peira*, stone
peiregada, hail or hailstorm	*peirega*,[1] hail
pelada, skin, wool	*pel*, skin
plaisada, inclosure formed of hedges (?)	*plais*, hedge
planada, side	*plana*, side
plumada, feather ball (used in curing falcons)	*pluma*, feather
pogezada, article worth a "poges"	*poges*, a penny of Puy
polgada, thumb's length; a tax	*polga* (?), thumb
pomada, cider	*pom*, apple
ponhada, handful	*ponh*, fist
porcada, drove of pigs	*porc*, pig
poscada, sour wine	**posca*, from Latin *posca*, a kind of drink
resclauzada, lock (on canals)	*resclauza*, mill-dam
ronhonada, kidney	*ronhon*, kidney
rozada, dew	*ros*, dew
saumada, load of a beast of burden	*sauma*, beast of burden
sestairada,[2] a measure of length	*sestier*, a measure
trascambada,[3] stride	*camba*, leg
valhada, valley	*valh*, valley
ventrada, belly-full	*ventre*, belly, stomach

[1] The little Levy dictionary lists this word beside *peiregada*; it does not appear, however, in the larger work or in Raynouard.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 398.

[3] See parasyntheta, p. 526.

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vesprada, evening's length	*vespre*, evening
vinada,† vintage; tax on vines	*vin*, wine

Besides -ADA, however, -UDA is found in a very few words attached to nouns. As will be seen later, -UT was added to nouns to form adjectives, with a special meaning in a few cases, being sometimes substituted for -ATUS of the Latin word. The words in which -UDA appears to be attached to nouns are probably feminine forms of the adjective in -UT used substantively. Such are

barbuda, kind of helmet	*barba*, beard
cornuda,[1] large pitcher or jar	*corn*,[1] horn

Another Provençal suffix which may be given here

[1] Referring to the handles on the pitcher. An obscure word ending in -UDA is *cocuda*, a kind of plant. *Menuda*, rough draft (also detailed account [?]), and in the plural, meaning "entrails," is the feminine form of the adjective *menut* used substantively.

† There is also a list of words ending in -ADA beside which no simple Prov. word is found, and which are more or less obscure. Such are:

bugada, wash: Du Cange gives *bugata* as *vox hispanica*.

camilhada, henbane: For this word, see *Romania*, XXXIV, 200. Here Thomas suggests that *camilhada* is a bad spelling for *canilhada* < *caniculata* for *calyculata*.

corogada, service, drudgery: Probably goes back to a Lat. **corrogata*, from *corrogare*.

esguilhada, a kind of pear: Is very obscure.

faisenada, burden: Apparently connected with *fais*, burden, but it is spelled in several ways, and is somewhat doubtful. See Levy, III, 390.

fegalada, mixture of drugs: Is obscure.

ferlada, place planted with southern wood: Probably from *ferla*, for *ferula*.

ferrada, entrails: Is obscure.

flasada, woolen covering: Du Cange gives *flaciata*, *flausada*, *flasciata*, and *flassada*.

gamada, a bowl: From the adjective *gammatus*, from Gr. *gamma* (γ).

garavasada, dry land: Very obscure. The first part is possibly connected with *vervactum*, but the *s* is difficult to account for.

ostada, woolen cloth: From Engl. "worsted." See *Nouv. Ess.*, 311.

pinganada, lamb's pluck: Obscure.

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is -EIA, coming, as it apparently does, from the same source as -ADA, -TA added to nouns. The form seems to be due to French influence in such words as *fumée*, *livrée*, etc. The Provençal examples[1] are:

fumeia, smoke	*fum*, smoke
liureia, delivery	*liurar*, deliver
mareia, tide	*mar*, sea
nuiteia, night	*nuit*, night

-ADITZ, -EDITZ

The suffixes -A-DITZ, -A-DIS, -E-DITZ, -E-DIS, seem to represent the Latin suffix -TICIUS with the stem-vowel of the verbs to which they were joined. The usual process was to form adjectives, as, for example, *plegadis;* but in a few words we find the suffix used in forming nouns, which nouns may be only adjectives used substantively. In Latin, a suffix -TICIUS is formed by adding -ICIUS to the supine or past participle of verbs, as in *adventicius*, *ascripticius*, *collaticius*,[2] *deditícius*, thus giving -A-DITZ and -E-DITZ in Provençal.

With the spelling -ADIS, we see -DIS (representing -TICIUS) joined to verbs of the first conjugation in:

capladis, carnage	*caplar*, slaughter
filadis, tow	*filar*, spin
rayadis, ray	*rayar*, shine

and with a feminine ending, there is

lauradisa, plowing (?)	*laurar*, plow

There is also a regularly formed adjective from *laborare: laboraditz*, plowable. *Lauradisa* looks like a substantive use of the feminine form.

[1] These words all have corresponding forms in Fr. Words besides which no simple form is found are *macleia*, stains, and *pureia*, "purée." The latter is probably an imitation of the Fr. *purée*, and *macleia* seems to come from the Lat. *maculata*.

[2] Goelzer, 143.

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With the spelling -ADITZ is found

cridaditz, uproar	*cridar*, cry
panaditz, theft	*panar*, steal
plaisaditz, hedge	*plaisar*, surround with a hedge
podestaditz, mighty lord	*podestat*, power

and under -EDITZ, we find

aveneditz, stranger	*avenir*, come
escroicheditz, breaking	*escroichir*, break

Both of these words may be regarded also as forms of adjectives used substantively; but in both of them, according to the rule, we should expect from the infinitive in *-ir* forms in -IDITZ rather than -EDITZ. Thomas explains the *e* in *escroicheditz*, the only word he mentions, by the dissimilating influence of the accented vowel *i* on a preceding vowel.[1] This principle might also apply to *aveneditz*. The other derived words here have *i*, as *avenimen*, *avenidor*, although besides *avenimen*, Raynouard gives *avenement*. Could there perhaps have been in Provençal a second infinitive in *-er* (*vener*) under the influence of *tener*—as in Gascon, where the infinitive is *bier*[2]—and such as is seen in *cosir* beside *coser*, with their derivatives *cosidura* as well as *cosedura*?

-ADOR, -EDOR, -IDOR

The Provençal suffixes coming from the Latin -TOR will be treated here together as a group, although there are two distinct forms for each conjugation; and as three suffixes already have been distinguished according to the stem-vowel to which they were attached, as in the case of the suffix -TA, there are here six forms in all. Thus for the first conjugation we find -AIRE and -ADOR;

[1] *Essais*, 16. Levy spells the words *escroisir* and *escroiseditz*.

[2] *Ibid.*, 17.

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for the verbs in *-er* and *-re*, -EIRE and -EDOR; and for the verbs in *-ir*, -IRE, and -IDOR.[1] The first form in each of these pairs represents the development of the nominative singular; the second, that of the other cases. Consequently, each word could be found in both forms originally, and if found only once, it might almost as well have one form as the other. Later, however, the two cases became confused and lost their grammatical value. As the forms in -DOR, being used for more cases, are far commoner, the Provençal form of the Latin -TOR is given under the heading -ADOR, or the form in -DOR for the first conjugation. Each word is likewise given with the ending in -DOR, but where Raynouard gives only the endings -AIRE, -EIRE, -IRE, this is indicated.[2]

As for the meaning of the group of suffixes, there is no great difficulty. It denotes the agent of the action expressed by the verb-stem to which the suffixes are attached. All cases where this meaning is not clearly expressed will be treated in the notes, and all cases in which the suffix is not added to a verb-stem will be given in a separate list.

[1] The forms -AIRE, -ADOR, and -IRE, -IDOR go back phonetically to -ĀTOR, -ATOREM, and -ITOR, -ITOREM, which were added to verbs of the Lat. first and fourth conjugations. -EDOR might be derived from -ÎTOREM (except that an unaccented vowel just before the primary accent should disappear), but -EIRE cannot possibly be derived from -ITOR. Instead, it must come from -ETOR, an ending formed by analogy with -ATOR and -ITOR. See *Essais*, 25.

[2] Many of these words formed a complete four-form declension in -ADOR, and some others had it with the ending -AIRE, whereas many still kept both forms. Levy always gives each word under the heading in -DOR, though the word quoted may often appear in his examples with the ending in -AIRE (as in *conquistador*). Raynouard often cites a form as ending in -AIRE, but generally gives both forms in the vocabulary in the sixth volume of his dictionary. For these reasons words with both endings will be listed under headings in -DOR, and cases where forms in -AIRE exist will be pointed out in the notes. In the second and third conjugations, the nominative forms in -EIRE and -IRE are very rare.

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abetador,* cheat, swindler	*abetar*, cheat
acomunalhador, sharer	*acomunalhar*, share
adobador,[1] arbiter, redresser	*adobar*, equip, arm
adoltrador, adulterer	*adoltrar*, commit adultery
adordenador,* administrator	*adordenar*, arrange
afachador, preparer	*afachar*, prepare
afanador, workman	*afanar(se)*, work
afinador, refiner	*afinar*, refine
agachador, spy	*agachar*, watch
aglaziador, kidnapper, soul-seller	*aglaziar*, kill
ajudador,* helper	*ajudar*, help
ajustador,* conciliator	*ajustar*, adjust
albergador, innkeeper	*albergar*, lodge
albirador, judge, critic	*albirar*, imagine, estimate
amador, lover (usual word is *aman*)	*amar*, love
amaestrador, teacher	*amaestrar*, arrange
amasador,* treasurer	*amasar*, heap up
amortador, destroyer	*amortar*, deaden
amparador, protector, invader	*amparar*, protect
anador,* traveler, one who goes	*anar*, go
anonciador, announcer	*anonciar*, announce
apelador, appellant (law)	*apelar*, call
apropchador, one who approaches	*apropchar*, approach
auzelador, fowler, bird-catcher	*auzelar*, hunt birds
avantador, boaster; also man of advance-guard	*avantar*, advance
avoutrador, adulterer	*avoutrar*, commit adultery
azemprador, solicitor	*azemprar*, solicit
baisador, carder	*baisar*, card
bescantador, slanderer	*bescantar*, murmur words
blasmador,* one who blames	*blasmar*, blame
bolador,* (1) one who marks boundaries; (2) *limitor* (a friar licensed to beg alms within a certain limit;[2] (3) also seller of indulgences	*bolar*, limit

[1] This word may not exist. It occurs in the text, but Levy, following its editor, Stickney, corrects to *adobat*, which he says the rhyme, the sense, and syllable-count all require.

[2] Compare the Middle Engl. "limitour" in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, l. 209.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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cambiador,* money-changer	*cambiar*, change
caminador, guide	*caminar*, journey
cantador, singer	*cantar*, sing
capdelador, leader	*capdelar*, lead
cardador, carder	*cardar*, card
casador, hunter	*casar*, hunt
castiador, teacher	*castiar*, correct, reprove
cavador, sapper, digger	*cavar*, dig
cercador, seeker, investigator	*cercar*, seek
citador,* one who quotes	*citar*, quote
cobezejador, one who covets	*cobezejar*, covet
coltivador, cultivator	*coltivar*, cultivate
compilador, compiler	*compilar*, compile
confesador, confessor	*confesar*, confess
conjurador,* enchanter	*conjurar*, conjure
conquistador, conqueror	*conquistar*, conquer
conrezador, preparer of leather	*conrezar*, equip
conselhador,* counselor	*conselhar*, advise
consirador,* dreamer	*consirar*, consider
conspirador, conspirator	*conspirar*, conspire
contador,* narrator	*contar*, narrate
contrariador,* contradictor	*contrariar*, oppose, contradict
contrastador,* slanderer; enemy (L)	*contrastar*, resist
cordador, ropemaker	*cordar*, make rope
cordalador, official who measures with a "corda"	*cordalar*, measure with a "corda"
cortejador,* courtier	*cortejar*, court
crcador,* creator	*crear*, create
criador,* crier	*criar*, cry
cujador,* *cuidador*, thinker	*cujar*, *cuidar*, think
curador, one who cures	*curar*, cure
damnatjador, damager	*damnatjar*, damage
dechador, one who composes	*dechar*, compose
defensador, defender	*defensar*, defend
demandador,* one who asks	*demandar*, ask
demorador, dweller	*demorar*, dwell
demostrador, demonstrator, teacher	*demostrar*, demonstrate
descausador, one who lays roots bare	*descausar*, lay bare
desliurador, deliverer, liberator	*desliurar*, deliver

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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desmador,[1] tax-collector	*desmar*, tithe
despauzador, depositor	*despauzar*, deposit
desperador, one who despairs	*desperar*, despair
destermenador, exterminator	*destermenar*, put beyond limits
destinador, administrator (?)	*destinar*, destine
destrador, measurer	*destrar*, measure
desvergenador,* ravisher	*desvergenar*, ravish
determinador, arbitrator, umpire	*determinar*, determine
detriador, judge	*detriar*,[2] distinguish, take account of
devinador,* spy, explorer; slanderer, soothsayer (R)	*devinar*, guess, divine
dezencuzador, excuser	*dezencuzar*, excuse
dezeretador, spoiler of inheritances	*dezeretar*, disinherit
dictador,[3] * author	*dictar*, write, compose
doctrinador, teacher	*doctrinar*, teach
domnejador, gallant	*domnejar*, pay court to
empachador, one who prevents, disturber	*empachar*, prevent
empenhador, pawnbroker	*empenhar*, pledge
empetrador, grantee, patentee	*empetrar*, obtain
enansador,* extoller, preacher	*enansar*, advance, raise
encantador, enchanter	*encantar*, enchant
encausador, pursuer	*encausar*, pursue
encolpador, accuser	*encolpar*, accuse
endresador,[4] * redresser (?)	*endresar*, set right
enganador,* deceiver	*enganar*, deceive
engenhador, engineer	*engenhar*, devise
engenrador,* creator, generator	*engenrar*, engender
enjuriador, insulter	*enjuriar*, insult
enquistador,[5] * inquirer, solicitor	

[1] In this word Levy finds only the ending -AIRE and the stem *deim-*. See II, 146.

[2] This should not be confused with *detriar* meaning "to stop." The *detriar* given above is found also as *destriar*, i.e., with the prefix *des-* instead of *de-*.

[3] Of the same origin as *dechador*, above.

[4] This word is doubtful according to Levy, who does not understand it.

[5] *Enquistar* is not found except with a special meaning; *enquistador* is apparently formed on *enquest*, the past participle of *enquerre*.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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ensegador, follower, disciple (in this word there is apparently a borrowing of -ADOR from the first conjugation)	*ensegre*, pursue
ensenhador,* teacher, master	*ensenhar*, teach
enterrador,* grave-digger	*enterrar*, bury
envejador, emulator, rival; an envious person (R)	*envejar*, envy
envidador, one who invites	*envidar*, invite
esajador, assayer, one who tests	*esajar*, assay, test
esbaralhador, fighter, brawler	*esbaralhar*, fight
escandalhador, one who gauges	*escandalhar*, gauge
escoltivador, cultivator[1]	
escrimador, fighter	*escrimar*, fight
escurador, one who scours	*escurar*, scour
esforsador, strengthener	*esforsar*, strengthen (?)
esgardador, onlooker	*esgardar*, look on
espaventador, that which terrifies	*espaventar*, terrify
esperador,* one who hopes	*esperar*, hope
esperonador, one who spurs	*esperonar*, spur on
esplanador, one who explains	*esplanar*, explain, smooth
esproador,* one who tests or verifies	*esproar*, test
estimador, appraiser	*estimar*, appraise
estivador, harvester	*estivar*, harvest
examinador, examiner	*examinar*, examine
exoniador, excuser	*exoniar*, excuse
fermador, witness	*fermar*, witness
ferrador, farrier, blacksmith	*ferrar*, bind with iron
filador, spinner	*filar*, spin
flatador,* flatterer	*flatar*, flatter
flaütador, flute-player	*flaütar*, play the flute
forsador,* seizer, violator	*forsar*, force
foljador, digger	*foljar*, dig
fraudador, defrauder, smuggler	*fraudar*, defraud
frondejador, sling-man	*frondejar*, use a sling
gabador, boaster	*gabar*, boast
gachador, sentinel	*gachar*, watch
galiador, deceiver, seducer	*galiar*, deceive
gardador, keeper	*gardar*, keep

[1] See nominal parasyntheta, p. 526.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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gardejador (or *gardiador*), protector	*gardejar*, hold watch
gastador,* devastator	*gastar*, lay waste
gatjador, one who makes a seizure	*gatjar*, make a seizure
gaujador, weigher, measurer	*gaujar*, weigh
gazanhador, pillager	*gazanhar*, gain
gazardonador,* remunerator	*gazardonar*, reward
glozador, commentator	*glozar*, gloss, explain
governador,[1] governor	*governar*, govern
grondilhador, telltale, backbiter	*grondilhar*, murmur
guerrejador, warrior	*guerrejar*, make war
guidador,* guide (spelled also *guizador*, *guiador*)	*guidar*, guide
guilador, deceiver	*guilar*, deceive
ichilhador,* destroyer	*ichilhar*, destroy
imaginador, one who carves images, sculptor	*imaginar*, decorate with sculpture
intrador,[2] one who enters	*intrar*, enter
janglador,* chatterer, mocker	*janglar*, chatter
jogador, actor	*jogar*, play
joglador, "*jongleur*"	*joglar*, do tricks
jostador, jouster, opponent	*jostar*, joust
justesiador, dispenser of justice	*justesiar*, give justice
jutjador, judge	*jutjar*, judge
laisador, testator	*laisar*, leave
laurador, plowman	*laurar*, plow
lauzenjador, liar	*lauzenjar*, lie
levador, tax-collector	*levar*, raise
liador, packer	*liar*, bind
logador, lodger, hired workman	*logar*, let, hire
mandador,[3] messenger, baker's boy	*mandar*, send
manejador, dealer, receiver	*manejar*, wield, handle
masador, murderer	*masar*, strike
meisonador, harvester	*meisonar*, harvest
menador,* conductor	*menar*, lead
menasador,* one who threatens	*menasar*, threaten
menuzador, joiner	*menuzar*,[4] diminish

[1] A feminine form in -ORA also exists.

[2] This same word is also found with another meaning. See p. 55.

[3] For *mandador* with another meaning see p. 55.

[4] The verb as well as the noun probably had also a more specialized meaning, though this is not found. Cf. the Fr. *menuiser*.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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meravelhador,* admirer	*meravelhar*, marvel
mercejador,* suppliant	*mẹrcejar*, ask mercy
mercenejador, sympathetic person	*mercenejar*, be sympathetic
mesprezador,* scoffer	*mesprezar*, scoff, scorn
mestivador, reaper, harvester	*mestivar*, reap
mezurador, measurer	*mezurar*, measure
minador, miner	*minar*, mine
ministrador, administrator	*ministrar*, administer
mirador,[1] * contemplator	*mirar*, look at
mondador, cleaner, winnower	*mondar*, clean
montador, climber	*montar*, mount
mostrador, indicator	*mostrar*, show
murador, mason	*murar*, wall up
murmurador, murmurer	*murmurar*, murmur
muzador, idler	*muzar*, waste time
navejador, sailor	*navejar*, sail
negociador, merchant	*negociar*, trade
nonciador, herald	*nonciar*, announce
oltracujador, bold person	*oltracujar*, be presumptuous
ostejador, one who takes part in a military expedition	*ostejar*, make war
pagador, payer, payee	*pagar*, pay
panador, thief	*panar*, steal
parador,* preparer	*parar*, prepare
pariador,* companion, partner	*pariar*, share
parlador,[1] * chatterer, go-between	*parlar*, speak
pazimentador, paver	*pazimentar*, pave
peatjador, toll-collector	*peatjar*, submit to toll; *peatjar-(se)* pay toll
pechador, collector of fines	*pechar*, fine
penador,* expiator	*penar*, punish, expiate
penhorador, one who makes a seizure	*penhorar*, make a seizure
pensador, thinker	*pensar*, think
perforsador, supporter, aid	*perforsar(se)*, strive
pergador, one who measures with a pole	*pergar*, measure with a pole
pervalador, grave-digger[2]	

[1] For *mirador* and *parlador* with other meanings, and of different origin, see p. 55.

[2] See nominal parasyntheta, p. 526.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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pilhador, plunderer	*pilhar*, plunder
pintador, painter	*pintar*, paint
plaidejador,* litigant; also attorney	*plaidejar*, go to law
plantador, planter, gardener	*plantar*, plant
plasejador,* itinerant peddler	*plasejar*, seek public squares[1]
plasmador, creator	*plasmar*, form, create
poblador,[2] settler, colonist	*poblar*, settle
ponchador,* an ecclesiastical office (Fr. *chanoine pointeur*)	*ponchar*, point
porgador, sifter	*porgar*, sift
potzador, drawer	*potzar*, draw, fetch
prejador,* suppliant; lover	*prejar*, pray
prestador,* lender	*prestar*, lend
prezador, appraise	*prezar*, appraise
prezentador, one who offers	*prezentar*, offer
proador,* examiner	*proar*, test
probajador, layerer of vines	*probajar*, layer (vines)
profetizador, prophet	*profetizar*, prophesy
prononciador, judge, arbiter	*prononciar*, pronounce
questador, collector of the "questa"	*questa*, a tax
questionador, person to be put on the rack	*questionar*, put on the rack
rapador,* ravisher	*rapar*, snatch away
raubador,* robber	*raubar*, steal
razonador,* reasoner	*razonar*, reason
regardador,* onlooker	*regardar*, look at
remendador, one who revives	*remendar*, revive
resemblador,* imitator	*resemblar*, resemble
scairador, one who cuts animals into quarters	*scairar*, quarter
segador, harvester	*segar*, harvest
sermonador,* preacher	*sermonar*, preach
sonador, crier, preacher	*sonar*, sound, ring

[1] With the purpose of selling goods. The verb is formed on *plasa*, public square, and the *plasejador* probably indicates one who seeks these places, although from another meaning of *plasa* given by Levy, namely, a "court of justice," *plasejador* might possibly indicate a member of the court. Raynouard's translation of "man out of work" hardly fits the example.

[2] A Lat. *populator* exists, but with another meaning.

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* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

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ermenador, one who sets boundaries	*termenar*, limit
testimoniador, witness	*testimoniar*, testify
tombador, tumbler, dancer	*tombar*, fall
tornejador, jouster	*tornejar*, joust
trafegador, merchant, trafficker	*trafegar*, traffic
trasgitador,* juggler, trickster	*trasgitar*, juggle
traspasador,* transgressor	*traspasar*, transgress, exceed
trencador, cutter	*trencar*, cut
triador,* a judge (one who appreciates)	*triar*, sort, choose
trichador, cheat, deceiver	*trichar*, cheat
trompador, trumpeter	*trompar*, play trumpet
trufador,* joker	*trufar*, joke
vairador,[1] * furrier	*vairar*, change
vanador,* boaster	*vanar*, boast
venjador,* avenger	*venjar*, avenge
ventozador,* cupper	*ventozar*, let blood
violador,*† one who plays the viola	*violar*, play the viola

Besides the words in the list just given, which have an obvious verb-source, there is a smaller list of words ending in -ADOR with no apparent verb at their base. Some of these must have been formed on verbs, as is often clear by a comparison with other languages (*dolador*, *violentador*), whereas others seem to have been formed on nouns (*compesador*, *especiador*), and some have no apparent source in Provençal. In many of the noun-formations, it is easy to find a starting-point among the regular verb-formations. The list follows:

bilhador: The word is listed in Levy, where the following translations are given: skittle-player or bowler, pack-

[1] *Vairador*, furrier, has not apparently much connection with the verb *vairar*, to change, and was undoubtedly constructed from the noun *vair*, a fur of different colors.

* In Raynouard with the ending -AIRE.

† Words of Lat. origin are *oblador*, contributor<*oblator; obrador*, artisan<*operator;* and *ponhador*, fighter, from *pugnator*. For *obrador* with another meaning, see p. 55.

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servant, and wood-cutter, all with interrogation points. The only apparent word at the base of the compound is *bilha*, cudgel-play, and the connection is not clear. Levy, however, quotes from Mistral the phrase "*biha l'ase*"[1] = "*serrer la charge sur le bât de l'âne.*" From this he draws the second meaning given above. This would seem to point to an old Provençal *bilhar*, from which the word *bilhador* may have been derived.[2]

brezador, bird-hunter, trapper: There is no verb *brezar*, but only the noun *bretz*, a trap. This word, as also *buzatador*, a buzzard-hunter (from *buzat*, a buzzard), might have been formed by the analogy of *auzelador*, a bird-catcher, which has, however, a verb *auzelhar* as its base-word.

buzatador: See preceding word.

charmador, enchanter, charmer: No verb *charmar*, but only the noun *charme* appears as the base-word. Here, again, analogy may explain the form, as, for instance, *encantador*, from *encantar*, not from *encant;* or *conjurador*, also meaning enchanter.

coltelador, one who fights armed with a knife: Only *coltel(a)* is found, but in Old French we find a word *couteler*. *Coltelar* probably existed also.

comentador, commentator: *Comentar* is not found. Compare, however, Latin, French, and Spanish.

compesador, land-register official: Apparently from *compes*, land-register, without any verb intervening.

[1] I, 288.

[2] The question is just what this verb meant. It was probably either to cut wood or to load it. If the first, *bilhador* might mean wood-cutter; if the second, it might mean pack-servant, or possibly skittle-player. *Bilha* probably originally meant billet and might give rise to the verb **bilhar*. It was a further development for it to mean the play of billets or cudgels. *Bilha* with this meaning may even be a post-verbal derived from the verb when the original *bilha* disappeared.

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conrezador, one who prepares leather: This comes from the verb *conrezar* or *conrear*, to equip. *Conrezar* is not found in the lists, but this word and *conrear* would be simply different developments, of course, of the *d* of the source. The specialization of the meaning in the noun is worthy of notice.[1]

contrajogador, opponent in play: This may be a compound of the word *jogador*, player, and the preposition *contra*, against,[2] or *contrajogar* may have existed.

contrarolador, controller: No verb appears here, but one probably existed. Compare French *contrôler* < *contra* +*rotulare*. *Contrarole*, on which the word is apparently formed, has the same meaning as *contrarolador*.

criminaire, criminal: No verb *criminar* is found, although there is the derived *encriminar* and the feminine noun *encriminairitz*. The prefix may perhaps have been dropped through some confusion, but it seems more probable that there was a verb **criminar*, or that the word *criminaire* was formed on *criminal* by the substitution of -AIRE for -AL,[3] or by a false analogy with the forms *raubaire* from *raubar*, and *rapaire* from *rapar*.

dardejador, a soldier armed with a javelin: Here it seems as though there must have been a verb **dardejar*. The *ej* before the termination seems to point only to the verbal ending -EJAR.

dolador, wood-cutter, wood-worker: Although no verb *dolar* appears in Provençal, it appears in Spanish with the meaning of "to plane wood," with a derivative *dolador*. The same verb probably existed also in Provençal.

[1] Undoubtedly influenced by *coirier*, leather-dealer. Murray, under *currier*, says: "a confusion between the two words appears already in O.Fr., where we find *coroier*, *couroier* as variants of *coriier*, in which the *oi* is due to *corroyer*, *corroyeur*."

[2] See nominal prefixes, p. 468. [3] See also *especiaire*, p. 48.

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especiaire, a spice-seller: There is no verb *especiar*, and here there is apparently a change of suffix from the -ALE of the Italian *speciale* and Provençal *especial*< *speciale* to the -ATOR represented by the -AIRE of this word. This suffix-change might explain also the -AIRE of *criminaire* (see p. 47).

estrolomiador, astrologist: This looks like a late addition of the suffix -ADOR to the learned *estrolomia*. There is also, however, a word *estronomejador*, which looks like a formation on a verb **estronomejar*, easily formed from *estronomia*.

estronomejador: See *estrolomiador*.

fezicador, physician: This appears to be formed on the noun *fezica* without any verb intervening, just as *estrolomiador* was formed. From these two words, this kind of formation would appear possible in learned and scientific words.

ginhador, engineer: Only *ginh* and not *ginhar* is found. *enginhar*, however, existed, as well as *enginhador*, and *ginhador* is probably due to the analogy of these words.

luquetaire,[1] locksmith: From *luquet*, lock.

muzicaire-ador, musician: Although there is no verb *muzicar*, but only the noun *muzica*, a starting-point for this word may be seen both in *trompaire*, trumpeter, from the verb *trompar*, and *violaire*, player of the "viola," from *violar*. See also *orguenaire*, below.

novelhador, novel-writer: Appears to be formed on *novelha*, novel.

[1] This word is interesting and peculiar in that it is given in Levy with the ending -AIRE instead of -ADOR, and is, with *orguenaire*, the only word that denotes persons given there with this spelling. -AIRE here may possibly represent -ARIUS, which was regularly added to nouns. But if so, it is not clear why it escaped the usual non-phonetic development into -IER.

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olivador, olive-gatherer: *oliva*, olive.

orguenaire,[1] organ-maker: *orgue*(*na*), organ.

parciador,[2] sharer, part-owner.

seglejador, worldly person: No verb *seglejar* is found, but in all probability it existed, just as **dardejar* did. It would, of course, have been formed on *segle*, world.

violentador, persecutor: The word is apparently formed on the adjective *violen*(*t*). There is, however, a verb *violenter* in Old French, and **violentar* probably existed in Provençal.†

The forms in -EDOR and -IDOR follow. Under -EDOR are found:

acreisedor, one who increases (L); protector (R)	*acreiser*, increase
coledor, worshipper	*coler*, worship
comonedor, warner, adviser	*comonre*, *comonir*, warn
conoisedor,* "connoisseur"	*conoiser*, know
conqueredor, conqueror	*conquerre*, conquer
corredor, partisan, runner	*corre*, run
cozedor, one who sews	*cozer*, sew
crezedor,* believer	*cre*(*ze*)*r*, believe
defendedor, defender	*defendre*, defend
destrenhedor, official who raises tax forcibly	*destrenher*, compel
dizedor (also *diredor*), talker	*dizer*, *dire*, say, speak
emprendedor, one who undertakes	*emprendre*, undertake

[1] Cf. n. 1, p. 48.

[2] *Parciador* seems to show a substitution of -ADOR for -IER. Cf. *parcier*.

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* In Raynouard with the ending -EIRE.

† There are also two words not put in either of the above lists because no simple word—whether verb or noun—is found on which they could be formed. These are:

borbolhador, deceiver: Cf., however, Sp. *borbolhar*, It. *barbogliare*. A Prov. *borbolhar* seems probable, therefore.

clincador, calker: A more obscure word. It may be connected in some way with the Dutch *klinken*.

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enfranhedor (R),[1] oath-breaker	*enfranher*, break (oath, truce)
entendedor, lover	*entendre*, attend to, court
esmoledor, grinder	*esmolre*, grind
fazedor, maker	*fazer* (for *faire*), make
fenhedor, hypocrite	*fenher*, feign
fotedor, cohabitor	*fotre*, cohabit
franhedor, one who abandons, or breaks, a rule	*franher*, break
jazedor, sodomist	*jazer*, lie
jonhedor, fighter	*jonher*, join (fight)
maldizedor,[2] blasphemer	*maldizer* (for *maldire*), blaspheme, slander
malfazedor,[2] evil-doer	*malfazer* (for *malfaire*), do ill
malvoledor,[2] ill-wisher, enemy	*malvoler*, wish ill
mantenedor,[2] protector, helper	*mantener*, maintain
metedor, generous person, spendthrift	*metre*, put
nozedor, one who injures (a person)	*nozer*, injure
ofendedor, offender	*ofendre*, offend
penhedor,* painter	*penher*, paint
perdedor, loser; destroyer	*perdre*, lose
posezedor,* possessor	*posezer*, possess
prendedor, receiver, cashier	*prendre*, take
prenedor, ravisher, taker	*prener*, *prendre*, take
prevezedor, provider; municipal treasurer	*prevezer*, provide
queredor, investigator, solicitor	*querre*, seek
razedor, shaver, barber	*razer* (for *raire*), shave
respondedor, interlocutor	*respondre*, answer
revendedor,* retailer	*revendre*, retail
rezemedor,* redeemer	*rezemer*, redeem
rompedor, one who breaks	*rompre*, break
sostenedor, sustainer	*sostener*, sustain
tanhedor, relative, friend	*tanher*, suit
tenedor,* possessor	*tener*, hold
tenhedor,* dyer	*tenher*, dye
tondedor,* shearer	*tondre*, shear
valedor,* defender	*valer*, be worth, defend (?)

[1] This is the form to be expected, but Levy can find only *enfranhidor*.

[2] See also hybrids, p. 578.

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* In Raynouard with the ending -EIRE.

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vendedor,* vendor	*vendre*, sell
vezedor,† one who sees	*vezer*, see

and under -IDOR:

cauzidor,** chooser	*cauzir*, choose
colhidor, one who gathers	*colhir*, gather
complidor, accomplisher, executor	*complir*, fulfil
conduzidor, leader	*conduzir* (for *conduire*), lead
consentidor, one who approves or consents	*consentir*, consent
elegidor, elector	*elegir*, choose
enfranhidor[1]	*enfranhir*
enquizidor, investigator	*enquizir*, investigate
envaidor, disturber	*envair*, disturb
esvazidor, transgressor	*esvazir*, transgress
exequidor, executor	*exequir* or *exsequir*, execute
falhidor, one who fails	*falhir*, fail
feridor, one who strikes	*ferir*, strike
forbidor, sword-cutler	*forbir*, equip
gandidor, preserver	*gandir*, preserve
garnidor, furnisher	*garnir*, furnish
gronhidor, one who murmurs	*gronhir*, grumble
regidor, governor (of a nation)	*regir*, rule

The Latin suffix -TOR which, as has been seen,[2] became -AIRE and -ADOR in verbs of the first conjugation in Provençal, and -EIRE and -EDOR in verbs of the second, had a corresponding form -TRIX for feminine nouns, as seen in *imperator*, emperor, and *imperatrix*, empress. This ending -TRIX becomes, in derivatives

[1] See *enfranhedor*, p. 50. [2] P. 36.

* In Raynouard with the ending -EIRE.

** In Raynouard with the ending -IRE.

† More or less obscure words ending in -EDOR are *doaredor* and *estrenhedor*. In the latter, both form and meaning are doubtful. *Doaredor* means "cooper," and is clearly connected with *doga*, stave. As in *doaredor*, the disappearance of the *g* is seen in *doela*, a diminutive of *doga*, and in *doalier*, also meaning "cooper," and apparently formed on *dogal*, not given in the dictionaries. In *doaredor* there is probably an assimilation of the *l* to the following *r*.

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of verbs of the first conjugations, -AIRITZ,[1] and in those of the second, -EIRITZ. The Latin word *imperatricem*, therefore, becomes the Provençal *emperairitz*. Then this suffix -AIRITZ was joined to verb-stems to indicate a female agent, just as -AIRE and -ADOR had been used to indicate a male one, exactly the same thing happening with -EIRITZ in verbs of the second conjugation. Generally we find the forms in -AIRITZ existing beside the forms in -ADOR; but occasionally only the feminine form is found, and in a few cases the masculine and the feminine words have taken totally different meanings. These words will be given and treated in the list which follows.[2] In the first conjugation are found:

abetairitz, female cheat	*abetar*, cheat
avocairitz,[3] female lawyer	*avocar*, invoke
avoutrairitz, adulteress	*avoutrar*, commit adultery
badairitz, woman who yawns	*badar*, yawn
balairitz, female dancer	*balar*, dance
camjairitz,[4] fickle woman	*camjar*, change
cantairitz, female singer	*cantar*, sing
coltivairitz, female inhabitant	*coltivar*, cultivate
comandairitz, female commander	*comandar*, command
contemplairitz, woman who contemplates	*contemplar*, contemplate
degastairitz, female spendthrift	*degastar*, lay waste
empetrairitz, woman who attains	*empetrar*, obtain
encriminairitz, female slanderer	*encriminar*, incriminate
enfantairitz, woman who bears children	*enfantar*, bear children

[1] Forms like -AIRITZ that represent nothing but a Lat. suffix (here -TRIX, -TRICEM) plus the stem-vowel of a verb are given as simple suffixes, though at first sight they may resemble double ones. -AIRITZ, for example, would seem to resemble -AIRADA, -AIRON, etc.

[2] Words formed in Lat., as *emperairitz*<*imperatricem*, are of course omitted.

[3] Beside *avocada* with the same meaning; the masculine form is *avocat*.

[4] The masculine form means a money-changer.

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enganairitz, female cheat	*enganar*, deceive
engenrairitz, mother	*engenrar*, engender
entrepretairitz, female interpreter	*entrepretar*, interpret
filairitz, female spinner	*filar*, spin
fondairitz[1]	*fondar*, found
galiairitz, female cheat; prostitute	*galiar*, deceive
gardairitz, woman teacher, governess	*gardar*, keep
gastairitz, extravagant woman	*gastar*, waste
gazanhairitz, female farmer	*gazanhar*, plow
governairitz,[2] governess	*governar*, govern
levairitz,[3] midwife	*levar*, raise
ministrairitz, executrix	*ministrar*, administer
mudairitz, fickle woman	*mudar*, change
orairitz, intercessor (?). (Levy gives no translation)	*orar*, pray
parsonairitz,[4] (female) co-owner	(*parson*, part)
portairitz, female peddler	*portar*, carry
sortejairitz,[4] sorceress	
trichairitz,[5] female cheat	*trichar*, cheat
venjairitz, female avenger	*venjar*, avenge

Under the suffix -EIRITZ there is the following list:

defendeiritz, female defender	*defendre*, defend
endevezeiritz[6]	
engeneiritz,[7] generator, mother	

[1] The word is not understood by Levy. It is evidently some legal term.

[2] Also *governadora* (p. 42).

[3] The masculine form means "tax-collector," both forms, however, being derived from *levar*, to raise.

[4] There are no such verbs as *parsonar* and *sortejar*, and the word *sortejairitz* is a puzzle in form.

[5] It seems as though the suffix -AIRITZ was at this time usually added to verbs of bad meaning. Thus, for example, *abetairitz*, *enganairitz*, *galiairitz*, and *trichairitz*, all meaning "female cheat."

[6] Levy, who gives this word, offers no translation; it is probably from **endevezir*, a compound of *devezir*. It evidently denotes some profession, such as *escarpeiritz*, and had something to do with wool-combing.

[7] No verb. Probably formed from the Prov. form of *ingignere*, in imitation of *geneiritz*<*genetrix*, derived from *gignere*.

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escarpeiri'z, female wool-comber	*escarpir*, slash, cut
malfazeiritz,[1] female criminal	*malfazer*, do evil
menteiritz, woman who lies	*mentir*, lie
ordeiritz, female weaver	*ordre*, weave
posezeiritz, female owner	*posezir*, possess

Aside from -AIRITZ, this is the only development of the Latin -TRIX that it seems possible to find. -EIRITZ seems to be joined to all stems except to those of verbs in *-ar*, which take -AIRITZ. Thus to verbs in *-ir*, as well as to those in *-er* and *-re*, the suffix -EIRITZ is added.

Before leaving the Provençal suffixes -ADOR, -EDOR, -IDOR, there is to be considered another class of words which do not denote the agent at all, but generally the place in which an action is performed, and sometimes the instrument used in its performance. These words will be treated here because of having the same ending in the masculine as the words denoting the agent (-ADOR, -EDOR, -IDOR) although their source is probably different. This seems to be the Latin suffix -TORIUS,[2] which was used in forming adjectives[3] and joined to a verb-stem, as seen in *amatorius*, formed on *amare*. The next step seems to have been the substantive use of the neuter form to indicate a place, as in *dormitorium*, for example. Then, also in Latin, is found the use of the feminine form in -TORIA as a noun, as in *natatoria*, also denoting a place. Now, as -A-TOREM certainly becomes -ADOR in Provençal, and as these words denoting the scene of an action appar-

[1] See also hybrids, p. 578.

[2] This would give -DOR regularly in Prov., its feminine form giving -DOIRA. See Grandgent, art. 73 (p. 67).

[3] See p. 280. The suffix was probably originally formed by adding the suffix -IUS to words ending in -TOR (Cooper, 157). Prov., however, regards (A)-TORIUS as a single suffix.

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ently go back to -A-TORIUS, we find these two suffixes giving the same form in Provençal. In most of the cases in which words in -DOR denote place or instrument, we may declare the source of the suffix -ADOR to be the Latin -A-TORIUM joined to the verb-stem, although a few words in the following list, for various reasons, will call for special treatment.

bufador, hiss, whistle	*bufar*, blow
calfador, kettle	*calfar*, heat
dinador, dining-room	*dinar*, dine
dreisador, dresser	*dreisar*, set up
eisagador, outflow	*eisegar* (for *eisagar*), flow out (?)
eisegador, bail, guaranty	*eisegar*, arrange, divide (?)
escorjador, place for skinning animals	*escorjar*, flay
escrasador, skimmer, slicing-machine	here the only possible verb appears to be *escarrasar*, to comb wool
esgotador, waste-pipe	*esgotar*, empty out
fizansador, surety, bail	only *fizansa*, the noun, is found
intrador, entry	*intrar*, enter
legador, smelting-pot	*legar*, smelt
mandador, surety, bail	*mandar*, summon
mirador, mirror	*mirar*, look at
nozador,[1] joining	*nozar*, knot
obrador,[2] workshop	*obrar*, work
parlador, parlor	*parlar*, speak
pasador, passage	*pasar*, pass
pestador, pestle	*pestar*, crush, stamp
plegador, instrument for bending hoops	*plegar*, bend
pojador, flight of steps	*pojador*, ascend
pozador, place (in river) from which water may be drawn	*pozar*, draw

[1] *Nozador del col* means "nape of the neck."

[2] Meyer-Lübke, II, 579, lists this word under -TOR instead of under -TORIUM, which certainly appears incorrect.

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ribador, shore, bank — *ribar*, approach
terrador,[1]† terrace (probably from **terratorium* for *territorium*.[1] There is also a verb *terrar*)

Under the suffix -EDOR, also, a word:

escorredor, gutter — *escorre*, flow

Under -IDOR there are several words to be added:

auzidor, acoustic duct — *auzir*, hear
bolidor, boiler — *bo'hir*, boil
esclafidor,[2] *esclatidor*, canal for carrying away superfluous waters
folpidor,[3] place where things are destroyed or corrupted
pestridor, bakery (kneading-place) — *pestrir*, knead

Under the feminine endings -ADOIRA, -EDOIRA, are found the following words, coming from the Latin feminine suffix -TORIA:

doladoira, broadax — *dolar*[4] is not found in Provençal
falcadoira, mowing instrument — *falcar*[5] is not found in Provençal

[1] See *Essais*, 14. The difficulty consists in the fact that there is also a form *terraire*. This seems, however, to be a nominative form coined by analogy with the nominative of words in -ADOR coming from -TOR.

[2] No verb is found.

[3] Also *felpidor*. No verb found.

[4] The Sp. *dolar*, however, means "to cut wood."

[5] But the Fr. *faucher* means "to mow."

† An interesting word of Lat. origin is *cenador*, upper story. The usual Lat. word is *cenaculum*, meaning, first a dining-room, and then, as these were generally in the upper stories, the word itself came to mean an upper story. (See Smith, *Dict. of Antiqu.*, I, 665.) But *cenatorium*, the neuter form of the adjective *cenatorius*, derived from *cenare*, also exists, and underwent the same change of meaning that *cenaculum* did. Sp. has two interesting words, *cenador*<*cenatorium*, and *cenadera*< *cenataria*, both meaning summer-house, apparently a further development of meaning. *Dinador*, formed in Prov., has only the meaning of dining-room. See *Etym. Wörterb.*, No. 1,808.

An obscure word in -ADOR is *graulador*, plane.

Dormidor and *lavador* are also omitted from these lists, as they are of Lat. origin.

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flamadoira, fire-shovel	*flamar*, flame up
foladoira, fulling-machine	*folar*, full
lansadoira,[1] weaver's shuttle	*lansar*,[1] throw
libradoira,[2] library	
manjadoira, manger, crib	*manjar*, eat
podadoira,[3] † pruning-knife	*podar*, prune

And under -EDOIRA, there is:

estrenhedoira, vise	*estrenher*, compel

-ADURA, -EDURA, -IDURA

The next group of suffixes in order is the one containing the three forms -A-DURA, -E-DURA, and -I-DURA, all coming from the Latin -TURA joined to verb-stems with abstract force, the -A-, the -E-, and the -I- of the suffix appearing according to the conjugation to which the suffix was attached, as was the case in -A-DOR, -E-DOR, -I-DOR from the Latin -TOR. Besides these regular forms, there are a few words in Provençal coming from this suffix but probably formed on past participles of irregular verbs in Latin when the connection with the original verb was lost. These will be given under -ŲRA.[4] As for the meaning of the Provençal -ADURA, etc., the original abstract force has been kept, and the formation on verb-stems is likewise the same. There is, however, a new use also: the suffixes -ADURA, -EDURA, -IDURA

[1] See *Romania*, XXXIV, 199. Thomas here compares the Prov. words with the Engl. "shuttle," in which the basic idea is that of throwing or shooting.

[2] There is no verb on which this is formed, but only *libre*, book. The word probably shows a change of suffix from -ARIUM to -TORIUM.

[3] See *Romania*, XXXIV, 195.

[4] See p. 261, n. 2, where a theory is given as to the origin of -ADURA.

† Another word in -ADOIRA is *mercadoira*, merchandise, which seems to have come from the Lat. adjective *mercatorius*, used substantively.

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were added to nouns, where they had regularly a collective force. The list of verbal formations will be given first:

Under -ADURA are found:

afermadura, guaranty	*afermar*, affirm
ambladura, ambling gait	*amblar*, walk, amble
aplanadura, smoothness, polish	*aplanar*, smooth
brodadura, embroidery	*brodar*, embroider
cabadura, fringe, valance	*cabar*,[1] fulfill, work
cargadura, load	*cargar*, load
casadura, flogging; erasure	*casar*, break
cavalcadura, riding	*cavalcar*, ride
cornadura, blow with the horns	*cornar*, gore
corratadura, brokerage	(only *corratejar* found),[2] deal in horses
crebadura, cranny, crevice	*crebar*, burst, break
cremadura, burning, burn	*cremar*, burn
damnadura, damage	*damnar*, injure
dauradura, gilding	*daurar*, gild
delogadura, displacement	*delogar*, displace
desboisadura, sketch, picture	*deboisar*, but also *desboisar*[3]
destradura, measuring	*destrar*, measure
dobladura, doubling	*doblar*, double
domdadura, taming	*domdar*, tame, lead
eiservigadura, dislocation of the neck	*eiservigar*,[4] (?)
empenhadura, pledge, security	*empenhar*, pledge
empenhoradura, right of mortgage	*empenhorar*, pledge
enclotadura, hollow, low place	*enclotar*,[5] become full of bumps (?) (L)
enfladura, swelling	*enflar*, swell

[1] Stichel, 23.

[2] That is, *corratar* is not found. The stem *corrat*, however, is found in a number of other words, as *corratier*, *corratatge*, etc., which see, especially *corratier* (probably formed on *corre*, to run, as in *clamatier*, p. 218), The suffix here being seen, *corrat* was taken for the stem, and gave rise to the other formation.

[3] Meaning originally "to carve" or "to chisel," but Levy gives the additional meanings of "to draw" and "to paint."

[4] The meaning of the infinitive as found in the example is not clear, but the past participle certainly has the meaning "with dislocated neck."

[5] See also Stichel, 42.

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engenradura, progeniture	*engenrar*, engender
entrelinhadura, interlining	*entrelinhar*, interline
envezadura, joy, gaiety	*envezar*,[1] rejoice
escaldadura, scald, burn	*escaldar*, scald
escorjadura, excoriation	*escorjar*, flay
esfasadura, extinction	*esfasar*, efface
esgardadura, look, glance	*esgardar*, look at
esmeradura, joy	*esmerar*, adorn, improve, shine
fermadura, treaty; closing; closed place	*fermar*, close
ferradura, ron-work or trimmings	*ferrar*, bind with iron
ficadura, nail marks	*ficar*, fix
filadura, material for spinning	*filar*, spin
fisadura, sting (of animals)	*fisar*, prick
folhadura, foliage	*folhar*, put forth leaves
folradura, fodder, provisions	*folrar*, feed, clothe
forcadura, forking	*forcar*, fork
frapadura,[2] scalloped hem of dress	*frapar*, strike
frezadura, embroidery	*frezar*, embroider
gardadura, look	*gardar*, look at
gatjadura, seizure, distraint	*gatjar*, pledge
gensadura, sweepings	*gensar*,[3] ornament (?)
gitadura, breaking open	*gitar*, throw (open)
grafinadura, scratch	*grafinar*, scratch
grosadura, copy, transcript	*grosar*, engross
laizadura, stains, spots	*laizar*, soil
lauzadura, tax on sales due to lord	*lauzar*, praise, approve, appraise, advise
lavadura, dish-wash	*lavar*, wash
levadura, leaven, yeast;[4] confinement	*levar*, raise
liadura, clothing, warp-thread	*liar*, bind

[1] Levy finds only *envezat*, merry.

[2] Peculiar meaning. See Du Cange, *frapatura*.

[3] Cf. the meanings of the other formations on *gensar*, as, for example, *gensum*.

[4] This is surely one of the meanings of the word. Mistral has *levaduro*, meaning "yeast." In the example of the word quoted from Flamenca, l. 307, Tobler, in *Herrig's Archiv*, CX, 464, suggests a correction to *alevadura*, with the meaning of "exaggeration." This seems to be the meaning, but is it necessary to change the form of the word?

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limadura, filings	*limar*, file
macadura, bad cut of cloth	*macar*, bruise
mandadura, payments for summonses	*mandar*, summon
mescladura, mixture	*mesclar*, mix
molhadura, wetting	*molhar*, wet
montadura, mount	*montar*, mount
obradura, work	*obrar*, work
orladura, hemming or trimming	*orlar*, hem
pageladura, measuring	*pagelar*, measure
paradura, adornment, decoration	*parar*, adorn
parelhadura, coupling	*parelhar*, couple
parladura, manner of speaking	*parlar*, speak
penhoraduras, tax paid on a seizure	*penhorar*, seize
pergadura, tax paid to the "pergador"	*pergar*, measure (the *pergador* being a measurer)
plaidejadura, pleading, speech	*plaidejar*, plead
plegadura, curvature, pliability	*plegar*, bend
ratonadura,[1] rat-gnawing	
sacrifiadura, sacredness; thing sacrificed	*sacrifiar*, sacrifice
saladura, salting	*salar*, salt
tempradura, temporization	*temprar*[2]
trencadura, act of canceling	*trencar*, cut
versifiadura, versification	*versifiar*, versify
violadura, playing of the viola	*violar*, play the viola

Under -EDURA are the following words:

cozedura, sewing	*cozer*, sew
escoisendura, tear	*escoisendre*, tear
fazedura, restoration, recovery	*fazer* (for *faire*), make, restore
fendedura, crack	*fendre*, crack
franhedura, breaking	*franher*, break
molendura,[3] miller's pay	*molre*, grind
mordedura, bite	*mordre*, bite

[1] No verb found; see formations on nouns and p. 62, n. 4, below.

[2] This verb is found only with the meanings of "temper" and "dip," but the existence of a *temprar*, to temporize, from *temporare* on *tempus* seems probable. *Temporare* with this meaning is indeed given in Du Cange. Fr., and through it, Engl., have added -IZARE instead of -ARE to the noun designating "time."

[3] We should expect *moledura*.

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ponhedura, pricking, prick	*ponher*, prick
premedura, kind of poor wine	*premer*, press
rompedura, fracture	*rompre*, break

and under -IDURA:

bolidura, boiling	*bolir*, boil
colhidura, crop, harvest	*colhir*, gather
devestidura, withdrawal of endowment	*devestir*, divest
envestidura,[1] investiture	*envestir*, invest
esmeutidura, dung	*esmeutir*, defecate
floridura, spreading	*florir*, flourish
garnidura, furnishing	*garnir*, furnish
mozidura, moldiness	*mozir*, become moldy
noiridura, food; education; family	*noirir*, nourish
partidura, fragment	*partir*, divide
poiridura, rottenness	*poirir*, rot
vestidura, clothing	*vestir*, clothe

In the words ending in -EDURA and -IDURA, then, the meaning seems to be nearly always purely abstract, and the formations are all perfectly regular. Among the words in -ADURA, on the other hand, the collective idea seems to have crept in in such words as *ficadura*, *folhadura*, *gensadura*, *grafinadura*, *laizadura*, *lavadura*, and *limadura*. Most of these words must have been formed on verbs, though some of them, as, for example, *folhadura*, might have been formed on either noun or verb. The next step was the addition of the suffix to nouns with no corresponding verb-stem, and generally giving a collective force. Such formations are seen in:

auradura,[2] folly	*aura*, air
botonadura, set of buttons	*boton*, button
cabelhadura, head of hair	*cabelh*, hair
carnadura, flesh	*carn*, flesh

[1] *Investitura* is in Du Cange.

[2] *Auratura*, gilding, is found in the inscriptions (see Olcott, 53), but this is connected with *aurum*, gold, whereas the present word, meaning airiness, lightness, is clearly formed on *aura*, air.

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femadura, manure-pile	*fem*, manure
flamadura, kind of plant	*flama*, flame
letradura, lettering on coin	*letra*, letter
lobadura[1]	*loba*, wolf
machacoladura,[2] machicolation	*machacol*, machicolation
mercadura, business, commerce	*merc*, merchandise
pageladura,[3] small house (?)	*pagela*, dialect
pezadura, footprint	*pe*, foot
ratonadura,[4] rat-gnawing	*raton*, rat
teladura, canvas	*tela*, cloth

-AIRE

Aside from the list of words in -AIRE with the object-case -ADOR (under which heading the words have been given), derived from -A-TOR, and denoting the agent, there are several other words with an entirely different meaning which cannot be traced to the Latin -TOR,[5] but must be derived from -ARIUM, which would phonetically give -AIRE. The complete list will be given, although most of the words were pretty certainly formed in Latin:

doaire, dowry	
eiviaire, intention	*esviar*, *eiviar* (?), send
fruchaire, fruit-tree	*fruch*, fruit
luminaire, light	
notaire, notary	
obraire, workshop	*obra*, work
pezaire, scales	*pezar*, weigh
plantaire, plantain	*planta*, plant
pozaire, bucket for drawing water	*pozar*, draw

[1] Levy gives no meaning for *lobadura*. It is evidently connected with an adjective *lobat*, also unexplained, and is used several times in describing horses.

[2] See also hybrids, p. 578, for *machacolamen*.

[3] The meaning of the suffix here it seems impossible to explain. Raynouard's citations are too short to be certain that his translations for both words are correct. In other examples the word means "measuring." See p. 60.

[4] From its meaning this should be formed on a verb. *Ratonar* is not found in Prov., but is in Sp.

[5] For two words in -AIRE denoting the agent of an action and derived from -TOR, see p. 48, n. 1.

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The usual development of -ARIUS, -ARIUM, however, was -IER, under which heading the suffix will be treated in detail. These words would therefore be exceptional, although not phonetically irregular. It seems probable that none of them are Provençal formations, but that they are derived from Latin words in -ARIUS or -ARIUM. *Doaire* appears to go back to **dotarium* (which is in Du Cange as *dotalis*, found also in classic Latin). *Luminaire* is from *luminarium*, *notaire* from *notarius*, *obraire* from *operarium*, *plantaire* from *plantarius* (apparently confused in meaning with *plantago*), *pozaire* from *putearium*. *Fruchaire*<*fructuarium* exists beside *fruchier*, probably a Provençal formation. *Eiviaire* is not clear. *Pezaire* is the only word in -AIRE from -ARIUM that really resembles a Provençal formation, but it also is probably Latin.

-AL

The Provençal suffix -AL is from the Latin -ALE, which is, in turn, a substantive form of the adjective suffix -ALIS.[1] In most of the derived words which have any difference of meaning at all from the simple forms, the original adjective use seems clear. For example, in *fogal*, a hearth, it seems as though *loc fogal*, or something similar, might be understood. In the same way the words denoting all of the pieces of armor and articles of dress might have been formed—that is, each piece would be thought of as a covering for the eyes, the nose, or the thighs (*olhal*, *nazal*, *cuichal*). Then, next, the adjective would be used without the noun, and finally the adjective use was forgotten. In this way it may come about that there are so many pairs of words—a form with the suffix -AL

[1] The neuter plural of this suffix, -ALIA, gave the Prov. -ALHA. See p. 77.

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and one without it, in which there is no perceptible difference of meaning—as in *centenal*, *ronhonal*, and *rozal* existing beside *centena*, *ronhon*, and *ros*. Although Levy corrects some of Raynouard's words, and thus shows a difference of meaning—for example between *banc* and *bancal* or *dent* and *dental*, which had precisely the same meaning in Raynouard—the word with a suffix showing no difference in meaning from the simple word is still common. It seems probable that this forceless use was the latest development of meaning that the suffix assumed. The first meanings were probably those of place, as in *fogal* and *boal*, and, more usually still, of objects of dress,[1] particularly pieces of armor, as *bocal*, *brasal*, *cambal*, *cuichal*, *dedal*, *nazal*, and *olhal*, for in all of these the original adjective use is discernible. It was probably only after the nouns with which they were used had disappeared and had been forgotten, and the original force was no longer clear, that the suffixes, used more freely, gave no clear development of meaning to the word to which they were attached. There are also several cases of words in -AL beside which no simple word can be found, but they are probably all Latin formations. Those, however, which are not actually found in Latin are given in the list and treated in the notes. The suffix seems to be attached only to nouns:

agraral,[2] cultivated field	*agrier*, field-tithe
avespral, evening	*avespre*, evening
bancal, carpet for a bench	*banc*, bench

[1] Meyer-Lübke (II, 524) states that this use of the suffix was common in Lat.

[2] This noun, if it exists as a noun, is only the adjective *agraral*, plowable, used substantively. *Agrairalis*, plowable, is found in Du Cange, and *agrairal* is the form that we should expect for Prov., in accordance with the other words that end in -AIR plus a suffix (-AIRADA, -AIRON, etc.). -ARAL, both here and in *fumaral*, given below, is

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bezal,[1] acqueduct, drain	
boal, ox-stall	*bou*, ox
bocal, mouth-hole in helmet	*boca*, mouth
brasal, armpiece	*bratz*, arm
cabal, capital, power	*cap*, head
cambal, gaiter	*camba*, leg
carral, roadway for wagons	*carra*, car
cazal,[2] a kind of farmhouse	*caza*, house
centenal, hundred	*centena*, hundred
corral,[3] free, open space	*corre* (?), to run
costal, hill, side of fort	*costa*, side
coisal (*cuichal*), thigh-plate	*coisa*, thigh
dedal, thimble	*det*, finger
denairal,[4] a penny's worth	*denier*, penny
deptal, rent, tribute	*depte*, debt
especial, spice-seller	*especia*, spice
farinal, flour-dust	*farina*, flour
feiral, market-place	*feira*, fair, market
fenestral, window; also wing of window	*fenestra*, window
ferratjal,[4] field planted with fodder	*ferratje*, fodder
feual (*feuzal*), vassal	*feu*, fief
fogal, hearth, fire-place	*foc*, fire
foratal,[5] foreigner, stranger	*for*, out of
fromental, kind of pear	*fromen*(*t*), wheat

very hard to explain, although -ARIS instead of -ARIUS would give the form we find. But Du Cange's *agrairalis* would seem to indicate that a form in -AIRAL had existed in Prov. Both *agralis* and *agrarius* existed in Lat., and *agraralis* seems to be a combination of the two forms (see double suffixes, p. 398, n. 1). A similar kind of formation in -AIRIL is *fromentairil* (see p. 69, n. 1).

[1] A simple word *beso* is found in Modern Prov. Thomas (*Nouv. Ess.*, 127) finds its source in a Germanic *badi*.

[2] Of Lat. origin. Cf. the O.Fr. *chesal* and the Sp. and Port. *casal*.

[3] This word is the only probable example of a formation in -AL on a verb.

[4] See double suffixes, p. 398.

[5] See also double suffixes. As for *foratal*, it exists beside *foratan* and also the simpler adjective forms *foral* and *foran*. It seems to be an adjective used substantively.

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fruchal, harvest; fruit garden	*fruch*, fruit
fumaral,[1] chimney, flue	
gaudal, bowl (?)	*gauda*, dish
grosal, coarse wheat (?)	*gros*, coarse
joial, prize (?), present (?)	*joia*, jewel
jornal, day's work, day's pay, etc.	*jorn*, day
liural, scales; a grain-measure	*liura*, pound
menestairal,[1] artisan	*menestier*, trade
menestral, artisan	*menestre*, servant
mercadal, market-place	*mercat*, market
minal, measure of capacity	*mina*, a weight
molinal, place fit for building mills, or one on which mills are built	*molin*, mill
monjal, nun	*monja*, nun
mostral,[2] sign, mark	*mostra*, sign
nazal, nosepiece	*nas*, nose
nervial, nerve	*nervi*, nerve
olhal, eyehole	*olh*, eye
ombral,[2] shade, penthouse	*ombra*, shade
ortal, garden; gardening; pot-herb	*ort*, garden
paredal, supporting wall	*paret*, wall
pezal, weight	*peza*, weight
pilasal,[3] pestle	*pila*, pestle
pogezal,[3,4] kind of measure	
pojal, hill, ascent	*poi*, hill
porcal, pig, sow	*porc*, pig
portal, portal	*porta*, gate
pradal, meadow	*prat*, meadow
prebostal, courthouse	*prebost*, provost
presal, mark at which quoit is thrown	*presa*, quoit
ribal, shore	*riba*, bank
ronhonal, kidney	*ronhon*, kidney
rozal, dew	*ros*, dew
ruscal, hull, shell	*rusca*, bark

[1] See double suffixes, p. 398.

[2] Found also with -ALH.

[3] See also p. 401 for other double suffixes beginning with -AS.

[4] *Pogezal* is simply an adjective used substantively.

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sanctoral, book of saints	*sanctor*, saints
semal,[1] kind of bowl or vat	*sem*, sowing
sestairal,[2] measure of capacity	*sestier*, a measure
veirial,† glass windows	*veiria*, glass

-IL

With -AL from -ALE, the neuter form of the adjective -ALIS, used in making nouns in Provençal, may be treated the suffix -IL, arising, similarly, from -ILE, the neuter form of the adjective -ILIS.[3] Again, the adjective use which these nouns had originally seems to have given the idea of place for a thing, but with a different specialization of meaning from that seen in -AL. The latter seems to

[1] I.e., a thing for seed. Found only in the *Croisade contre les Albigeois*. Du Cange gives *semalis*, one of his examples being taken from a Lat. chronicle of this crusade. A Lat. *seminalis* also exists, but *semal* may be a Prov. formation.

[2] See also double suffixes, p. 398.

[3] For -ILHA, from -ILIA, the neuter plural of -ILIS, see p. 80.

†A good many words ending in -AL, but not formed in Prov., are to be observed: (*a*) words clearly formed in Lat.: *canal*, canal<*canalis*; *cervigal*, skull<*cervicalis*; *clergal*, clerk<*clericalis*; *coronal*, forehead-bone<*coronalis*; *dental*, axle-tree of a plow<*dentalium* (we should expect *dentalh*); *estadal*, taper<*statalis*, instead of *statarius*, standing; *final*, end<*finalis*; *frontal*, façade, also altar-cloth<*frontale*; *ivernal*, winter crop<*hibernalis*; *leial*, wine measure<*legalis*, legal; *logal*, dwelling<*localis*; *majal*, pig<*majalis*; *maestral*, north<*magistralis*; *mecinal*, medicine-book<*medicinalis*; *ostal*, lodging<*hospitalis*; *perdigal*, partridge<*perdicalis* (given also under -ALH); and *peitral*, breast-strap of a horse<*pectoralis*. All of these words seem to be adjectives used substantively.

(*b*) Words coming from forms probably existing in Lat.: *anoal*, All Souls' Mass<*annualis* (because celebrated every year); *barral*, barrel (Du Cange gives *barrale*); *coral*, a kind of ship (see Du Cange, *corale*); *citoal* or *citoar*, sedoary (Du Cange gives *zedoari*).

(*c*) Words in which the ending is not a Prov. suffix, but is of other than Prov. origin: *estival*, boot; *gazal*, prostitute; *manescal*, blacksmith; and *mangonal*, mangle. *Estival* looks like a deformation of the Germanic *Stiefel*. *Gazal* seems to be of Celtic origin (see Körting, No. 4,107, and *Romania*, II, 237). *Manescal* is from a Germanic *mareschalc*. *Mangonal* may have been formed in Prov., but probably comes from a Lat. **mangonalis*.

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have generally given the meaning of place for the parts of the body in Latin—that is, objects of dress and pieces of armor—whereas -ILE in Latin seems to have meant a stable or shed—that is, a place for animals. Meyer-Lübke[1] gives a list of words that had this meaning in Latin, and there are some new words of this kind found, but most of the words show a less specialized meaning. Some of them denote place in a more general way, whereas most of them show little difference of meaning from the simple noun on which they are based, as was the case with some words in -AL originally adjective. One or two of the words tend toward collective force—*carnil*, *cambril*—and a few seem to be formed on verbs, although still retaining the meaning of place.

The new formations that have any trace of the meaning of a barn or shed are:

bordil, barn	*borda*, house
fenasil,[2] haystack	(*fenas* not found), *fen*, hay
fornil, bakehouse or -room	*forn*, oven
porcil, pigstye	*porc*, pig

In the other words that are found, no trace at all of this meaning is visible. The words showing little difference of meaning from the simple word, or in which the original adjective force is otherwise clear, are as follows:

agacil, ambush	*agach*, *agaze*, ambush
camsil, hempen cloth	*camisa* (?), shirt
capil, gable, housetop	*cap*, top, head
clapil, heap	*clap*, heap
costil, couch, bed	*costa*, side
estatgil, a feudal obligation, according to Raynouard, though Levy questions the meaning	*estatge*, dwelling

[1] II, 526.

[2] *Fenil* also exists, but is not a Prov. formation, coming from the Lat. *fenile*. For *fenasil*, see double suffixes, p. 401.

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mercadil, market-place	*mercat*, market
navigil, ship	*naveg*, ship
nazil, band or cloth before the face; has the kind of meaning so common in words in -AL derived from adjectives, an article of clothing	*nas*, nose
atil, truce, agreement	*pati*, truce
peatgil, toll-post; or land where toll is asked	*peatge*, toll
polpil, fleshy part	*polpa*, flesh, muscle
ramil, branch	*ram*, branch
tendil, tent	*tenda*, tent
vergil, † rod	*verga*, rod

The words mentioned above as showing a kind of collective force are probably also merely adjectives used substantively. Such are:

cambril, wainscoting (?)	*cambra*, room
carnil, carrion	*carn*, flesh

Cambril, however, in Modern Provençal as given by Mistral, means "small room."[1]

Other words that seem to have diminutive force exist also, and this meaning is harder to explain in a suffix which originally simply formed adjectives on nouns. Some of these words are also spelled -ILH, and this form may be derived from -ĪCULUM, a regular diminutive suffix—thus *dozil(h)*, faucet, and *branquil(h)*, small branch, from *branc*—as there is great confusion between words in -AL and -ALH, -EL and -ELH, -IL and -ILH, or the palatalized and the unpalatalized *l*. *Fontanil*, small fountain,

[1] Possibly due to a confusion of -IL and -ILH.

† A word of Lat. origin is *mandil*, napkin, mantle, from *mantile*.

A word ending in the double suffix -AIRIL is *fromentairil*, from *fromen(t)*. Cf. the words in -AIRAL given on p. 398, and see also p. 64, n. 2. For commentaries on the word, see *Romania*, XXXVII, 113; 444.

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is another of these diminutive words. We find also *fontanilha* but no *fontanilh*. The word seems to represent another confusion between -IL<-ILIS and -IL(H)< -ICULUM. Other diminutives in -IL are:

maionil, farmhouse	*maio(n)*, house
pontil, small bridge	*pon(t)*, bridge

On verbs we find the following words still keeping apparently the meaning of place, though showing a tendency toward abstract force in *auzil:*

auzil,[1] ear, hearing	*auzir*, hear
badil, watch-tower (?)	*badar*, watch, gape at
corril, way, road	*correr*, run
eisartil,† bit of arable land	*eisartar*, make arable

A word formed, apparently, on an adjective is:

planil, flat country (?)	*plan*, flat

-ALH(A), -ELH(A), -ILH(A), -OLH(A), -ULH(A)

The suffixes of the next group, -ALH(A), -ELH(A), -ILH(A), -OLH(A), and -ULH(A), are certainly extremely puzzling to deal with from many points of view. The suffix -ALH evidently comes from the Latin neuter suffix -ACLUM, which was added to verb-stems, and appears to have no clearly defined meaning in later formations,

[1] Another word, *auzil*, birds, has only an apparent suffix -IL, as the word really comes from *avicelli*, the *i* being due to the analogy of *cabil*< *capilli*, in which a phonetically regular close *e* had become *i* under the influence of the following long *i*. See Grandgent, art. 28, note 3.

† Other words ending in -IL, but not of Prov. origin, are *ganguil* and *letril*. For *ganguil*, hinge, see Körting, No. 1,817, and Diez, 374. The word seems to come from the Gr. χάγχαλος, and Körting supplies a Lat. intermediary, **canchalus*. *Ganguil*, dragnet, is of obscure origin. *Letril*, reading-desk, is from the Lat. *lectorile* (Körting, No. 5,503).

Espil, mirror, should likewise be mentioned here. Its source is the Lat. *speculum*, the suffix -IL being therefore only apparent. *Speculum*, phonetically, should give *espelh*, which is likewise found.

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although originally it served to designate the instrument,[1] as in *governalh*<*gubernaculum*. Occasionally the suffix appears to be added to nouns without bringing any noticeable change of meaning, and here it seems as though the form -ACLA were used in one or two words. Next, there is the suffix -ELH(A) from -ĔCLUS or -ĭCLUS, and a suffix -ILH(A) from -ĭCLUS. These suffixes from -ĭCLUS and -ĭCLUS were early confused, and forms representing different suffixes are found in the developments of the same word among the various Romance languages. In Provençal, the forms in -ELH appear to be the commoner, most of the forms in -ILH either going back to Latin or being hard to explain, and probably coming from some other source than -ĭCLUS. The meaning which the suffixes had in Latin, which is also usually found in Provençal, is diminutive, though often their addition brings no change of meaning to the simple word, as the diminutive force was lost. There is also a Latin suffix -ŭCLUS attached to stems in *u-*, and it is found in the Provençal -OLH(A) in several words, although most of them seem to have been formed in Latin, and some of the words with the ending have other sources. The ending -ULH(A), from -ūCLUS, appears to be found only in *agulha*<*acucla*, a Latin formation. There is one more word ending in -ULHA—*escapulha*—but it does not appear to represent the suffix -UCLUS.

Some of the difficulties in treating the suffix are as follows: In the first place, the *l* of the suffixes -AL and -EL is sometimes palatalized and written -ALH and -ELH, as, for example, we find *cortal* and *cortalh*. In such a case as this, it does not appear as though the noun *cort* were given a suffix in -ALE and another one in -ACLUM,

[1] Meyer-Lübke, II, 510–15.

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but rather that the *l* is palatalized[1] in one case and not in the other. This palatalization often makes it difficult to recognize the suffix added, which has to be determined often by the meaning given to the simple word by its addition. The greatest difficulty, however, is caused by the identity of form of the suffixes -ALHA<-ACLA, and -ALHA<-ALIA; also -ILHA<-ICLA, and -ILHA from -ILIA.[2] -ALIA and -ILIA are plural suffixes generally forming collective nouns, often with a touch of contempt, as in *gorinalha* and *ribaudalha*, both meaning "rabble." Generally, the original suffix can be traced by the meaning of the derived word, but occasionally this is difficult. Besides the neuter plural forms -ALIA and -ILIA, the singular forms -ALIUM and -ILIUM were used, becoming the masculine -ALH and -ILH in Provençal, and completing the confusion with -ACLUM and -ICLUM.

The words in which -ALH represents -ACLUM and is attached to Provençal verb-stems to form nouns denoting the instrument for the performance of an action will be given first.

afiblalh, clasp, buckle	*afiblar*, clasp
amagatalh,[3] hiding-place	*amagar*, hide
apogalh, support (correction of Raynouard's *pogalh*, wrist)	*apojar*, support
batalh, clapper, hammer	*batre*, beat
defendalh, intrenchment	*defendre*, defend
devendalh,[4] fan	

[1] Possibly through the influence of -ALHA, from -ALIA.

[2] As the Prov. form of these suffixes of different origin is the same, they are given together. It would be more strictly logical to give -ALHA and -ILHA under -AL and -IL.

[3] We should expect *amagalh*. See double suffixes, p. 384.

[4] This word is peculiar in several ways. It seems to represent a Lat. **deventaculum*. *Deventar* is not found in Prov., the verb being *esventar*, corresponding to the Fr. *éventer*, on which *éventail* was formed. The word is peculiar also in being written with a *d* instead of a *t* (*deventalh* not found). The *d* appears to be due to the analogy of some other word, possibly *benda*, *venda*, band.

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eisugalh, veil with ends to dry tears	*eisugar*, dry
espantalh, scarecrow	*espantar*, scare
espaventalh, scarecrow	*espaventar*, scare
fermalh, buckle	*fermar*, close
mostralh, sign, mark	*mostrar*, show
muralh, rampart	*murar*, wall up
sonalh, bell	*sonar*, ring
sospiralh, airhole	*sospirar*, breathe, sigh
ventalh,† airhole	*ventar*, blow

Next, there are several words ending in -ALH and -ALHA which do not appear to be formed on any Provençal verbs that are to be found, yet which do not appear to have the collective idea which -ALIA as a source would give. These words will be taken up individually.

arenalh, sand-beach: Although only the form with the ending -ALH is found, the suffix added appears to be -ALE and not -ACLUM. Compare, for example, the Italian *arenale* and the Spanish *arenal*.

brazalh, coal-fire, from *braza*, embers: This word appears to be formed on a noun, which must be the case unless the verb **brazar* be assumed. It is found in compounds, such as *abrazar* and *embrazar*, and Körting gives the verb as existing in Rhaeto-Romance.[1]

caisalh, jaw-tooth, from *cais*, cheek: This word really appears to be formed on the noun, there being no verb on which it could be formed. -ALH may possibly represent here the neuter singular suffix -ALIUM, which is occasionally found in Romance words.

cortalh, fortification (?), from *cort*, court: This appears

[1] See *brasa*, No. 1,546. The *Etym. Wörterb.* also gives examples of such a verb.

† Prov. words formed in Lat. are: *miralh* (Olcott, 132, *miraculum*); *espiralh* < *spiraculum*, and *serralh* < *serraculum*. *Escalh*, splinter, also is not a Prov. formation (see Körting, No. 8,763, *skalja*). The source of *mosclalh*, fish-hook, seems obscure.

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to be nothing other than the word *cortal*, about the meaning of which there is some doubt.[1] Possibly it is the same as *costal*, which has the meaning of "fortification."

ombralh, shade, from *ombra*, shadow: Here we appear to have the suffix ALH<-ACLUM added to a noun. *Ombralh*, however, probably comes from *umbraculum*, a late Latin formation, and was probably formed on the stem of *umbrare*.

peiralh, stony place, pavement: Seems to have been formed on *peira*, stone, by means of -ALH, from -ALIUM.

perdigalh, a young partridge: Here the suffix seems to be -ACLUM and to denote the young of an animal, a meaning which it has in Italian,[2] though no other example of such a meaning is found in Provençal. The word is also found spelled *perdigal*,[3] which, however, goes back to the Latin adjective *perdicalis*. The only simple word meaning "partridge" in Provençal is *perdiz*.

trebalh, work: In this word the ending -ALH does not appear to represent any suffix at all. *Trebalh* was at first supposed to be derived from *trabaculum*, together with *travail* and the other Romance words meaning "work." On account of the *e* in the initial syllable, however, Thomas[4] objected to this derivation, and suggested as source *trepalium*, meaning "an instrument of torture."

The next group of words contains those ending in -ELH(A) and -ILH(A), which represents -ĒCLUS or -ĭCLUS, and -ĬCLUS. With respect to meaning, they are hard to classify. Some of them appear to have diminutive value, but in most the derived word shows little change of meaning.[5]

[1] See Levy, *cortal*, I, 384.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, II, 511.

[3] P. 67, n. †.

[4] *Romania*, XVII, 421.

[5] Probably originally diminutive. The derived word shows the usual loss of force.

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The words ending in -ELH follow:

arborelh,[1] shrub	*arbre*, tree
calmelh,[2] heath, plain	*calm*, heath
fadelh, fool	*fat*, fool
fornelh, hearth	*forn*, oven
jupelh, petticoat	*jupa*, skirt
somelh, summit	*som*, summit
tendelh, pavillion	*tenda*, tent
tenselha,† dispute	*tensa*, dispute

Under -ILH(A) there appear even fewer probable Provençal formations, although there are several words of obscure origin.

The following are apparently Provençal formations:

cotilha, shred of clothing	*cota*, coat
crozilha, covering (with crosses)	*crotz*, cross
falsilha, sickle	*falsa*, scythe

[1] Even this word can hardly be formed on the Prov. simple word or we should have *arbrelh*. It would appear to be derived from **arboric*(*u*)-*lus*. The forms in the other languages, however, are such as would be derived from *arboricellus* and *arboriscellus*.

[2] See *Essais*, 13, note.

† It may be seen from the above list that there are comparatively few words ending in -ELH that show any possibility of having been formed in Prov. There are, notwithstanding, many other words with this suffix, but most of them were certainly formed in Lat., and all of them probably were. These are: *abelha*, bee < *apicla*; *artelh*, toe < *articlum*; *aurelha*, ear < *auricla*; *corbelh*, basket < *corbiclum*; *dentelh*, battlement < *denticlum*; *folelh*, flake < *folliclum*; *manelha*, handle < *manicla*; *ovelha*, sheep < *ovicla*; *parelh*, couple < *pariclum*; *solelh*, sun < *soliclum*; *somelh*, sleep < *somniclum*, and *ventrelh* (also *ventrilh*), ventricle < *ventriclum*. The unaccented *u* of this suffix -ICULUS and the others is regularly omitted, as it did not exist in Vulgar Lat., where -CULUS and -CLUS had the same form. There is also a word *vertelh*, meaning a joint, which appears to be from *verticlum* (though Körting gives only *verticla*), and a curious word *ambolelh*, navel, evidently connected with *umbilicus*. -ICLUS appears to have been substituted here for -ICUS, a shifting of the accent likewise taking place. But the word is furthermore peculiar in the fact that if derived from *umbilicus* both the initial and intertonic vowels have been altered. *Vaiselh*, vessel, is undoubtedly from *vascellum*, for *vasculum*, a diminutive of *vas*, vessel. *Meravelha*, marvel, is from *mirabilia*.

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fornilha, cut branch (for heating the oven, according to Levy)	*forn*, oven
narilhas,[1] nostrils	*naras*, nostrils, nose
polilh, reel on crossbow	*pol*,[2] chicken
polilha, pulley (?)	

Also a few words which seem to be built on verb-stems:

departilh, division	*departir*, divide
estampilha (?), a stamp or marker	*estampir*, resound. Here the ending seems to designate an instrument
gandilh,† refuge	*gandir*, protect

There are also a few words with the ending -OLH(A), but apparently none of them (except *janglolh*) are Provençal formations, and not all of them even represent a Latin -UCLUS. These words are: *capdolh*, chief-town, or county-seat, authority, sway<*capitolium; fenolh*, fennel < *fenuclum; ferrolh*, bolt, also fire-shovel < *veruclum* (under the influence of *ferrum?* There is also a word *verrolh*); *granolh*, frog<*ranuclum;*[3] *janglolh*, foolish talk,

[1] In the plural because the word on which it was formed was plural.

[2] The Latin *pullus*, besides "chicken," seems to have meant "small thing." Or are these words derived from a Germanic root meaning "to pull"?

[3] Körting, No. 7,756; also *ALL*, V, 130, where the *g* is explained as due to the influence of *graiset*, tree-frog, which word is not in the Prov. dictionaries. *Graisan*, toad, is, however, found.

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†Some words in -ILH not formed in Prov. by means of -ICLUS should be observed. One word appearing to be a post-verbal formation (see p. 541) is *grazilh*, tickling, from *grazilhar*.

A few words ending in -ILH(A) seem to have been formed in Lat. Thus, *anadilha* (or *nadilha*), piece of iron fixed to the center of a millstone<*anaticla* (Class. Lat., *anaticula*); *canilha*, caterpillar <*canicla; cavilha*, ankle; peg, pin<*cavicla; dozilh*, faucet<*duciclum; embonilh*, navel<*umbilicus*, whose Prov. derivatives are spelled in various ways (as *ambolelh* above); *esmerilh*, sparrow-hawk, which appears to represent a Lat. *merula* plus the prefix ES-; *estrilha*, currycomb<*strigula* (Class. Lat., *strigilis*).

Two rather obscure words with the ending -ILH are *gorbilh*, trick (?), and *gornilha*, evidently denoting some fabulous animal.

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nonsense < *janglar*, talk foolishly, rail at, on the noun *jangla*, foolish talk (this appears to be a Provençal formation by adding a Latin suffix to a word of Germanic origin); *peolh*, louse < *peduclum;* and *verrolh*, bolt < *veruclum*.

The only word in -ULH(A) is *escapulha*, a kind of cape, which appears to be derived from the Latin *scapula*.

-ALHA

Next come the words in -ALHA, from the neuter plural ending -ALIA. These retain their collective force,[1] and frequently add the idea of contempt to that of number, as in the many words meaning "rabble"[2]—*canalha*, *garsonalha*, *gorinalha*, *ribaudalha*. *Frairalha*, meaning "community," "brothership," appears to be a possible starting-point for words where the collective force is less clear and the tendency is toward an abstract meaning.[3]

The list of words in -ALHA formed on nouns (and adjectives) follows. Those formed on verbs will be given later.

baralha, trouble, dispute	*bar*, man
boairalha, collection of oxherds	probably from **boaire*, a regular development of *bovarium*. The only word found, however, is *bovier*, oxherd
cabesalha, throat, collar, opening for the throat	from *cabetz* (also written *cabes*), meaning also throat or collar[4]

[1] This suffix is the neuter plural form of the suffix -AL (from -ALE), given above. This was added to nouns, naturally giving collective force. It originally denoted names of feasts in particular.

[2] The word "bowels" also appears under the three forms *coralha*, *intralha*, and *ventralha*.

[3] This tendency is rare in Prov. Cf., however, the O.Fr. *arriveaille*, arrival, from which the Engl. word comes, and some other words in -AILLE.

[4] On the meaning of *cabesalha*, see *Mod. Phil.*, III, 543, n. 4, with the references.

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canalha, rabble	*can*, dog
comunalha, community	*comun*, common
coralha, bowels	*cor*, heart
diablalha, devil's band	*diable*, devil
fermalha, betrothal	*ferm*, firm
ferralha, iron-work	*fer*, iron
ferratalha,[1] old iron	*ferrat*, iron pail
filadalha,[1] spun yarn	*filada*, layer, from *fil*, thread
fonsalha, bottom of dish	*fons*, bottom
frairalha, community, brothership	*fraire*, brother
fustalha, woodwork	*fust*, wood
garsonalha, rabble	*garson*, vagabond
gorinalha, rabble	*gorin*, sucking pig
limalha, filings	*lima*, file
mitralha,[2] old iron	
moralha, horse-twitchers	*mor*, snout
mortalha, epidemic; infected place; massacre	*mort*, dead, dead person
mostalha, mustard (a commoner form is *mostarda*)	*most*, must
obralha, works	*obra*, work
ortalha, fruits of the garden, vegetables	*ort*, garden
ortolalha,[3] fruits of the garden, vegetables	*ort*, garden
pezonalha, infantry	*pezon*, foot-soldier
pipalha, pipes, casks	*pipa*, pipe, cask
plancalha, bridge (?) or boarded-up room	*planca*, plank
polalha, poultry	*pol*, chicken
postalha, collection of boards	*post*, board

[1] See double suffixes, p. 383.

[2] *Mita*, the apparent source of *mitralha* (cf. Fr. *mitraille*, derived from *mite*), as found in the Prov. examples, seems to mean only "mitten." *Mite* in O.Fr. means a small coin as well as "mitten," and it seems probable that a *mita* with this meaning existed also in Prov. Both apparently go back to the same Germanic source. See Körting, No. 6,221, and *Dic. Gen.*, *mitraille*.

[3] As *ortolan*, gardener (< Lat. *hortulanus*), exists, -AN may have been taken for a Prov. suffix, and the existence of *ortol* assumed. Then to this word -ALHA was joined, just as it was to the simple *ort*.

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ribaudalha, rabble	*ribaut*, ribald
sirvendalha, servants	*sirven(t)*, servant
ventralha,† entrails	*ventre*, belly

Many of the above words, the base-words for which have been given as nouns, could equally well have been formed on verb-stems. The verb *limar*, to file, exists, for example, beside the noun *lima*, and the verb *obrar* beside the noun *obra*. Besides cases of this kind, there are other words which must have been formed on verb-stems, or which, at least, are formed on no nouns that are now to be found. Such forms as *obrar* beside *obra*, *limar* beside *lima*, and also *fermar* beside *ferma*, in which pairs the simple word might not always be clear, give a starting-point for these formations. Beside the formations ending in -ALHA we find, however, many ending in -ALH, which might equally well, from their form, find a source in -ACLUM. Their meaning, though, seems to speak against this derivation, as there is no idea of "the instrument with which a thing is done" to be found in them. There is, on the other hand, no collective idea, but rather an abstract one; yet the suffix -ALIA seems often to have lost its collective force, so that when that idea was intended to be expressed, a plural *s* was sometimes added, as in *fondralhas* and *levalhas*. Moreover, this -ALH does not represent the plural -ALIA, but the neuter singular -ALIUM, and should not, therefore, be expected to have collective force.

† There is also another word of non-Prov. formation, *gazalha*, lease of live stock. See Du Cange's *gasalia; Essais*, 377; Gröber, *Grundriss*, I, 387; also below, p. 110. The word is of Gothic origin.

A Lat. formation is *intralhas*, bowels (for the *s* see above). *Intralia*, found in popular Lat. (see *entrailles* in *Dic. Gen.*), appears to be a deformation of *intranea* through the influence of -ALIA. *Intranea* is a neuter plural, and is due to the analogy of *extraneus*. See also Meyer-Lübke, II, 548. Obscure words in both form and meaning are *mintalha* and *prentalha*.

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Verbal formations in -ALHA still retaining the -ALHA collective idea are seen in:

cizalha, clippings, parings (especially of metal used in coining)	from *cisum*, for *caesum*. Probably a Latin formation
fendalha, clefts, chinks	*fendre*, cleave
fondralhas, dregs, sediment	*fondre*, melt
levalhas, first churchings of a woman in childbed	*levar*, rise

Here may be added also three more words, *curalha*, *divinalha*, and *mesclalha*. These have the plural ending -ALHA and are formed on verbs, *curar*, *divinar*, and *mesclar*, but have no clearly collective force:

curalha, falling off, descent	*curar*, trouble oneself
divinalha, talk, rumor, gossip (in the sense of "divinings" having a perceptibly collective idea)	*divinar*, divine
mesclalha,[1] fight, scuffle	*mesclar*, mix, fight

In -ALH and formed on verbs by means of the neuter singular -ALIUM, with certainly no collective force, but rather an abstract one, we find:

arribalh, arrival, landing	*arribar*, land
cercalh, investigation	*cercar*, seek
definalh, end	*definar*, end
demoralh, recreation	*demorar*, dally
devinalh, investigation, search	*devinar*, guess
refrenalh, reserve, prudence	*refrenar*, restrain
retenalh,† prudence, discretion	*retener*, retain

-ILHA

Like the words in -ALHA, the words in -ILHA are generally formed on nouns, though occasionally without any noun as source in Provençal. -ILHA represents

[1] The noun *mescla* with the same meaning as *mesclalha* exists, but it was probably a postverbal formation (see p. 546, below).

† Another word in -ALH from -ALIUM is *esgotalh*, dregs, having collective force. It seems to be the only example of the singular -ALIUM with this force. It occurs only once, and its meaning is not wholly clear.

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the Latin neuter plural -ILIA. Added to nouns, it is seen in:

escobilha, sweepings	*escoba*, broom
escombrilha,[1] rubbish	*escombre*, rubbish
nervilha[2]	*nervi*, nerve
ordilha, descent	*orde*, order

It is found added to nouns and adjectives which are at the same time past participles of verbs, in:

fachilha, charms, sorcery	*fach*, deed (also past participle of *faire*)
frechilha, fried stuff	*frech*, fried (from *fregir*)
sofrachilha, destitution	*sofracha*, want (*sofrach*, from *sofranher*)

One word is formed on a past participle without the intermediary of any noun or adjective:

remazilha,† remains	from *remas*, the past participle of *remaner*, remain

Some words also are formed on verb-stems:

jazilha, childbed	*jazer*, lie
mondilha, siftings	*mondar*, sift

-AM, -IM, -UM

The suffixes -AM, -IM, -UM are found in a few words in Provençal, and represent the Latin -A-MEN, -I-MEN, and -U-MEN, which were added to verb-stems to form abstract nouns, as in *aequamen*, *regimen*, *documen*, although already in Latin another meaning had begun to appear—

[1] Another word just like this is *escolilha*, dregs, but there is no simple Prov. word on which to base it. It appears to have been formed in Lat. Du Cange gives *sculellae* with the same meaning.

[2] See Du Cange, *nerbilium*. The word seems to mean "group of nerves," and is apparently used, together with *budellum*, bowels, to denote the worthless parts of fish.

† A word of Lat. origin that might be placed here is *ostilha*, utensil, coming from **usetilia*, from **usetile*, a changed form of *utensile*. Cf. Fr. *outil*.

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the collective idea, as seen in *calceamen*. Meyer-Lübke[1] explains the origin of this meaning by deriving, in the first place, from *calceus*, a shoe, the verb *calceare*, to shoe, and from this the noun *calceamen*, shoes (collective), which takes the idea of the thing, as seen in the original word, rather than that of activity, as seen in the verb. This word, then, serves as a starting-point for future formations made directly on nouns,[2] without any verb intervening as an intermediate stage, and these new formations have in almost all cases the collective idea, as seen in *calceamen*. In Provençal, under -AM there are a good many new words with purely collective force:

agriam, sour fruit	*agre*, sour, sharp
bestiam, cattle	*bestia*, animal
cordam, cordage	*corda*, cord
dogam, stave-wood	*doga*, stave
frejam, pluck (heart, liver, etc., of animals)	
funam, ropework	*fun*, rope
lenham, wood	*lenha*, wood
pelam, skins	*pel*, skin
postam,† boards	*posta*, post, stake

And also one word with different force, and formed apparently on a Provençal verb:

lauram, workmanship (?)	*laurar*, to work

This word, however, may represent a Latin *loramen* with the change of *o* to *au*.[3]

[1] II, 530, where a treatment of these suffixes is given.

[2] Also on an adjective (used substantively), in *agriam*.

[3] See Levy, IV, 336. *Loramen* meant "strap" or "straps" and was formed on *lorum*, strap. Cf. the O.Fr. *lorain*. *Lorain* probably means "straps" instead of "workmanship."

† Other words, mostly with this collective idea, seem to be simply descendants of words already formed in Lat. Thus *estam*, carded wool <Lat. *stamen; estram*, straw, fodder<Lat. *stramen; liam*, fetter<Lat. *ligamen* (Olcott, 125); *mairam*, staves, probably derived from the Lat. *materiamen;* and *pergam* or *pargam*, parchment, found beside *pergamen*.

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The suffix -IM, from a Latin -IMEN, is of very infrequent occurrence in the Romance languages, and Provençal has only the following words to offer, many of which are not real Provençal formations: *aguzim, blastim, gaim, noirim, ordim, revolim.*

aguzim, point: From *aguzar*, sharpen (?), given by Thomas,[1] but not explained.[2]

blastim, blame: Appears to be only a post-verbal substantive from the verb *blastimar*, to blame.[3]

gaim, after-growth: Seems to represent the Germanic root **waid* plus the suffix -IMEN. The derivation is not certain, but Thomas makes it appear probable.[4] The other words in the list, except *blastim* and *noirim*, show the use of the suffix in Gaul.

noirim, nourishment; young animals; plant: Seems to be only the Latin *nutrimen*, and therefore not a Provençal formation, although there is a verb *noirir*, nourish.

ordim, warp of a tissue; *ordir*, weave.

revolim, whirlwind: Is explained by Thomas[1] as a probable gasconism for *revolum*, the form to be expected from *revolver*, to turn about.

The suffix -UM, from the Latin -UMEN, is of more frequent occurrence in Provençal, and is added more freely to the various parts of speech. For Provençal, we have seen -AM added to nouns to form collectives and -IM added to verb-stems to form abstracts in a few more or less doubtful Provençal formations.[5] The regular abstract

[1] *Essais*, 375.

[2] Possibly a gasconism. Thomas says that the suffix -IM was common in Gascony.

[3] See nouns formed from verbs, p. 539.

[4] *Essais*, 372.

[5] As the above examples show, the use of -IM in Prov. is hard to describe. No definite meaning or kind of base-word can be assigned it.

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suffix of this group for Provençal appears to be -UM, which was added both to verb-stems and to adjectives to give this idea. It appears to have been added indiscriminately to verbs of all conjugations (cf. *comolum* from *comolar*, and *farsum* from *farsir*) and to have taken occasionally a collective meaning when added to a verb-stem (cf. *gensum* from *gensar*). In Modern Provençal this suffix appears to be still important.[1]

On verbs, we find the following formations:

arsum, burning	From *ars*, burnt, from the verb *ardre*, apparently the only case of the formation of a word in -UM on a past participle
comolum, full measure	*comolar*, heap up
farsum, stuffing	*farsir*, stuff
frachum (given by Levy[2] without meaning, and may be another formation on a past participle —that of the verb *franher*). Here the force would be collective	
gensum, sweepings	*gensar*, ornament

On adjectives, the following abstracts are found:

amarum, bitterness	*amar*, bitter
autum, height	*aut*, high
frescum,† freshness	*fresc*, fresh

In one word, the suffix appears to be attached to a noun without bringing any change of meaning. The word itself, however, is a collective noun:

poblum, people	*poble*, people

[1] Meyer-Lübke, II, 535. [2] III, 578.

† Non-Prov. formations are seen in *batum*, wax, putty, possibly from the Lat. *bitumen*, and *legum* from *legumen*. *Elecrum*, a kind of plant, is probably also Lat. (connected with *alacer* [?]) though not found. Another word, *nersum*, is given by Appel in his vocabulary, but omitted in the text, and placed instead in a footnote as not understood.

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-AMEN, -IMEN, -UMEN

The group of suffixes arising from the Latin -MEN-TUM, namely -AMEN, -EMEN, and -IMEN, is, from the number of words in which it is found, perhaps the most important of all Provençal suffixes. Here are found again the connecting vowels A-, E-, and I-, the signs of the conjugation of the verb to whose stem the suffix was ordinarily added (as was the case with -ADOR, -EDOR, and -IDOR, -ADURA, -EDURA, and -IDURA), showing the suffix to be a verbal one.

Like nearly all suffixes attached to verbs, the principal use of -AMEN, etc., is abstract. Indeed, it may be said to be pre-eminently the abstract suffix in Provençal, both from the number of words in which it had this force and the few words in which any other meaning can be seen. Yet it did not always contain this idea exclusively. In treating the suffix in Latin, Roediger gives many examples of concrete as well as abstract words, and supposes, as is natural enough, that the concrete use preceded the abstract.[1] Most of the concrete words that he gives are formed on verbs: (1) with the idea of means, or (2) with that of some particular thing coming as a result of some action; but other words are formed directly on nouns. Most of these denote the thing resulting from an action, and a few denote material, whereas in others the suffix brings no change of meaning. The true abstracts, on the other hand, are all real verbal formations.

With such an array of Latin uses before one, it is rather hard to find many new uses among the Provençal formations. The individuality of Provençal and of the other Romance languages lies not so much in the creation of new uses for any given suffix, as in the extent to which

[1] *Die Bedeutung des Suffixes* -MENT, 4.

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certain methods were developed as compared with the relative neglect of others. In the case of the suffix -MENTUM, the most striking phenomenon is the enormous development which the abstract use of the suffix has taken, from being in Latin only one of several uses to being in Provençal almost the only one. The tendency to give verbal suffixes abstract force is universal in Provençal. Even the descendants of Latin words with other meanings have, for the most part, this force in their Provençal representatives. There are, nevertheless, many words formed in Provençal without any real abstract force, but rather the meaning of some concrete thing resulting from the action described by the verb on which they are formed. *Demamen*, for example, means, not "tithing," but "a tithe," and *dechamen*, formed on *dechar*, means "a writing-copy," also "a rule." All words of this kind will be pointed out in the complete list of words in -MEN. In the vast number of pure abstracts, words of this kind are comparatively rare.

New formations on nouns are also comparatively rare in Provençal, numbering, all told, under twenty. For words of this kind in Latin, Roediger gives only the meanings mentioned above, whereas in Provençal most of these words also have taken abstract force. Some of them may have been coined and used only by the authors in whose works they are found, but they show, at any rate, how important -MENTUM had become as a purely abstract suffix. *Fermalhamen* shows the use of the suffix without force. One other use of the suffix in Provençal is with collective force, which appears to be a Romance rather than a Latin usage. In Provençal, most of the words with this force are parasyntheta[1] rather than simple

[1] I.e., they added a prefix as well as a suffix, and simultaneously.

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suffix-formations, although *ferramen* is of the latter class. But in forming collectives, the plural -MENTA was generally used, giving -MENTA in Provençal.

The complete lists of the words in -AMEN, -EMEN, and -IMEN will now be given in order. Words whose meanings are in any way peculiar will be treated in the notes. The words in -MENTA, from the Latin plural suffix -MENTA, will be given at the end.

The words containing the suffix -AMEN are as follows:

abjuramen, abjuration	*abjurar*, abjure
abrazamen, burning	*abrazar*, burn
abrivamen, impetuosity	*abrivar*, hasten
acampamen, collection[1]	*acampar*, assemble
acaptamen,[2] recognition of the "acapte"	
acertamen, proof	*acertar*, assure
acesamen, assessment	*acesar*, assess
aclinamen, bow	*aclinar*, bow
acoindamen, intimacy	*acoindar*, become acquainted
acordamen, accord	*acordar*, agree
acostamen, intercourse	*acostar*, approach
acujamen,[3] idea	
acuzamen, accusation	*acuzar*, accuse
adobamen, adornment	*adobar*, arm
adoctrinamen, teaching	*adoctrinar*, teach
adordenamen (also *az-*), order, arrangement	*adordenar*, order
afachamen, artifice, manner	*afachar*, disguise
afermamen, affirmation	*afermar*, affirm
afilhamen, affiliation	*afilhar*, adopt, affiliate
afinamen, end	*afinar*, end
afizamen, agreement	*afizar*, assure, intrust

[1] This type of meaning in words in -MEN is not unusual. The force seems to be not so much abstract or to indicate the action itself as to indicate its result.

[2] See Du Cange's *accaptare* and *accapitamentum;* also *Etym. Wörterb.*, No. 65. The word appears to be formed directly on the noun *acapte*, a post-verbal derived from *acaptar*.

[3] Apparently formed on *cujar*. See, therefore, parasyntheta, on p. 527.

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afolamen, damage, injury	*afolar*, injure
agardamen, look, appearance	*agardar*, look at
agensamen, disposition, arrangement	*agensar*, arrange
agreujamen, aggravation	*agreujar*, aggravate
airamen, anger (see *az-*)	*airar*, anger
ajornamen, adjournment	*ajornar*, become day, adjourn
ajostamen, arrangement	*ajostar*, arrange
alargamen, wildness,[1] wantonness (L)	*alargar*, enlarge, free, deliver
alascamen, release	*alascar*, release
albergamen, lodging	*albergar*, lodge
alenamen, breathing	*alenar*, breathe
aleujamen, lightening	*aleujar*, lighten
alinhamen, alignment	*alinhar*, align
alongamen, lengthening (L); removal (R)	*alongar*, lengthen
alumnamen, lighting	*alumnar*, light
amagamen, act of hiding	*amagar*, hide
amaestramen, teaching	*amaestrar*, teach
amasamen, amassing	*amasar*, amass
amelhoramen, improvement	*amelhorar*, improve
amenamen, house, lodging[2]	*amenar*, bring
amendamen, amend, fine	*amendar*,[3] repair, make amends for
amermamen, diminution	*amermar*, diminish
amonestamen, admonition	*amonestar*, advise
amostramen, showing	*amostar*, show
amparamen, protection; also rampart	*amparar*, protect
anonciamen, announcement	*anonciar*, announce
apanamen, nourishment	*apanar*, give bread
aparcelamen, division	*aparcelar*, divide up
apariamen, association, company	*apariar*, join, unite
apelamen, appeal, invocation	*apelar*, call
apoblamen, colonization	*apoblar*, populate
apoderamen, authority, power	*apoderar*, surpass, subdue

[1] The meaning of the noun seems to come from the idea of freeing.

[2] There is not only concrete force here, but it is hard to see the connection with the verb, meaning "to guide," "bring," "lead," on which it is apparently formed, though the meaning given appears correct.

[3] See Stichel, 12.

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apontamen, treaty	*apontar*, agree
aprimairamen,[1] primacy	*aprimairar*, go to the front
aprobencamen,[2] reconciliation	*aprobencar*, approach
aproismamen, approach, access	*aproismar*, approach
apropjamen, approach, access	*apropjar*, approach
apropriamen,[3] property	*apropriar*, appropriate
aquitamen, acquittal	*aquitar*, acquit
arendamen, renting	*arendar*, rent
arestamen, arrest	*arestar*, arrest, stop
arezamen, order, preparation	*arezar*, order, prepare
aribamen, landing, arrival	*aribar*, arrive
arnescamen, fitting out, equipment	*arnescar*, equip
arozamen, watering, irrigation	*arozar*, water
artiamen,[4] art, skill	
asaboramen, savor	*asaborar*, delight, savor
aseguramen, assurance	*asegurar*, assure
asermamen, arrangement	*asermar*, prepare
asetjamen, sitting	*asetjar*, seat
asinhamen, assignment	*asi(n)har*, assign
asuavamen, stillness, peace	*asuavar*, quiet
atalentamen, desire	*atalentar*, desire
ateiramen, succession	*ateirar*, put in line (?)
atermenamen, limit	*atermenar*, limit
atilhamen, charm, consent	*atilhar*, arrange
atrachamen, action, deed	*atrachar*, arrange, bring about
atrobamen, invention	*atrobar*, find
auzamen, boldness	*auzar*, dare
aviamen, removal, transportation	*aviar*, transport, move

[1] This is a very interesting word, in that it appears to be an example of a suffix added to a parasyntheton. This is not unusual (cf. *alongamen*), but as *prim* as well as *primier* exists, the word has the appearance of adding a double suffix to the parasyntheton.

[2] A less literal meaning than in *aproismamen*. A rather obscure word is *aplaisamen*. Levy gives no meaning for it, and its formation is obscure.

[3] Concrete force. Here we have an example of a thing resulting from the action expressed by the verb.

[4] No verb is found, yet the addition of a suffix *-IAMEN to a noun hardly seems probable. Raynouard, in the last volume of his dictionary, lists a word *artejar*, but gives no meaning or reference. *Artiamen*, or the other spelling, *artejamen*, was probably formed on such a verb.

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avizamen, warning	*avizar*, warn, advise
aziramen, anger	*azirar*, anger, hate
baizamen, kiss, kissing	*baizar*, kiss
banejamen, banishment	*banejar*, banish
barrejamen, robbery, plunder	*barrejar*, rob
bautugamen, confusion	*bautugar*, trouble
blasmamen, blame	*blasmar*, blame
bobansamen, ostentation	*bobansar*, surround with pomp
bolamen, limiting, bounding	*bolar*, limit, bound
bufamen, breathing	*bufar*, breathe
calcamen, trampling	*calcar*, trample
caminamen, march, wandering	*caminar*, journey
capdelamen, leadership	*capdelar*, lead, guide
caplamen,[1] slaughter	*caplar*, hew, cut into
cavamen, excavation	*cavar*, dig
cercondamen, circumference	*cercondar*, wander through
colliamen, binding together	*colliar*, bind together
coltivamen, reverence, adoration	*coltivar*, respect
comandamen, command	*comandar*, command
comensamen, beginning	*comensar*, begin
comparamen, comparison (R), punishment (L)	*comparar*, compare
comportamen, conduct	*comportar*, behave
confesamen, confession	*confesar*, confess
confortamen, courage, encouragement	*confortar*, comfort, encourage
confrontamen,[2] limit, boundary	*confrontar*, confront
conjuramen,[3] conspiracy	*conjurar*, conspire
conortamen, encouragement	*conortar*, encourage
conquistamen, conquering	*conquistar*, conquer
conselhamen,[2] advice	*conselhar*, advise
conservamen, preservation	*conservar*, preserve
consiramen, care	*consirar*, consider
consolamen, consolation	*consolar*, console
consolidamen, strengthening	*consolidar*, strengthen
contamen, recital	*contar*, relate, tell

[1] Levy gives as *chaplamen*, which seems in contradiction with the statement in his preface that *c* coming from a Lat. *c* before *a* would be written *c* and not *ch*.

[2] Apparently denotes the result of an action: concrete force.

[3] This is the type of words whose meaning may be either the action itself or the result of an action.

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contraponchamen,[1] counterpoint	
contrastamen, opposition	*contrastar*, oppose
conversamen, frequenting, also company	*conversar*, converse
cornamen, buzzing	*cornar*, buzz
cortejamen, visiting	*cortejar*, hold court
creamen, creation	*crear*, create
cremamen, burning	*cremar*, burn
crezensamen,[2] surety, bail	*crezensar*, give bail for
cridamen, cry, uproar	*cridar*, cry out
curamen, care; cure	*curar*, care about, worry
damnamen, damnation	*damnar*, damn
dauramen, gilding	*daurar*, gild
debaisamen, lessening	*debaisar*, lose value
debotamen, expulsion	*debotar*, reject
decapitamen, beheading	*decapitar*, behead
dechamen,[3] writing-copy; precept, rule	*dechar*, compose
declaramen, declaration; explanation (?)	*declarar*, declare
decostamen,[4] payment of expenses	
defasamen,[5] distortion, defacement	
deformamen, deformity	*deformar*, deform
deguizamen,[6] kind, species (also *des-*)	*de(s)guizar*, make different, distort
dejunamen, fasting	*dejunar*, fast
delechamen, delectation	*delechar*, delight
deliamen, loosing	*deliar*, loose
demamen,[6] a tenth, tithe	*de(s)mar*, tithe

[1] *Contraponchar* is not found. *Contraponchamen* is probably formed of *contra* plus *ponchamen*, pointing, derived from *ponchar*. See the prefix CONTRA-, pp. 467 f, below. It is interesting to note the forms without suffix in the other languages (Fr. *contrepoint;* It. *contrapunto;* Engl. *counterpoint*).

[2] Result of an action denoted here.

[3] Concrete force here.

[4] *Decostar* is not found. See parasyntheta, p. 527.

[5] *Defasar* is not found, so that the word appears to be a parasyntheton formed on *fasa* (see parasyntheta, p. 527). *Defasar* may have existed, however. Cf. the O.Fr. *desfacier*.

[6] These words denote the result of an action rather than the action itself.

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demenamen, discussion, negotiation	*demenar*, lead, conduct
demoramen, dwelling, remaining	*demorar*, remain
demostramen, demonstration	*demostrar*, demonstrate
denegamen, denial	*denegar*, deny
denombramen,[1] specification, bill	
denonciamen, denunciation	*denonciar*, denounce
deportamen, conduct	*deportar*, behave, amuse
depuramen, purification	*depurar*, purify
derivamen, derivation	*derivar*, derive
derocamen, upsetting	*derocar*, upset
descoloramen, paleness	*descolorar*, discolor
desconortamen, distress	*desconortar*, discourage
desfizamen, challenge	*desfizar*, challenge
desguizamen, see *deguizamen*	
deslasamen, separation	*deslasar*, untie
desliuramen, delivery	*desliurar*, deliver
desmembramen, dismemberment	*desmembrar*, dismember
desmembramen, forgetting	*desmembrar*, forget
desmemoriamen,[2] loss of memory	
desmuramen, breaking open of a wall	*desmurar*, break open (a wall)
despagamen, disappointment (?)	*despagar*, disappoint
despechamen, scorn	*despechar*, scorn
despoblamen, abandonment	*despoblar*, abandon a place
despolhamen, spoliation	*despolhar*, despoil
despreziamen,[3] depreciation	*desprezar*, depreciate
desrazonamen,[4] unreason	
dessaboramen, disgust	*dessaborar*, disgust
dessicamen, drying up	*dessicar*, dry up
destardamen, prejudice, injury	*destardar*, injure, delay
destempramen, disturbance	*destemprar*, unsettle
destermenamen, extermination	*destermenar*, exterminate

[1] No verb. See parasyntheta, p. 527.

[2] See parasyntheta, p. 527.

[3] The form of this word as given in Raynouard, and not changed by Levy, is peculiar. There existed also a learned form, *despreciar*, from which there was formed a post-verbal noun, *despreczi*. *Despreziamen* seems to show the influence of these forms.

[4] *Desrazonar* is not found, although it may have existed (cf. Fr. *déraisonner* and O.Fr. *desraisnier*). Or the word may be *razonamen* plus -DES. See prefixes, p. 470.

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destorbamen, disturbance	*destorbar*, disturb
destriamen, sorting, choosing	*destriar*, distinguish
destrigamen, delay	*destrigar*, delay
detrencamen, cutting down	*detrencar*, cut in two, split
devalamen, lowering	*devalar*, lower
devedamen, prohibition	*devedar*, forbid
devinamèn, idle speech	*devinar*, guess
devoramen, swallowing up	*devorar*, devour
dezeretamen, disinheritance	*dezeretar*, disinherit
dezesperamen, despair	*dezesperar*, make desperate
dezoblidamen, forgetfulness	*dezoblidar*, forget
dezordenamen, disproportion	*dezordenar*, put in disorder
dictamen, judgment	*dictar*,[1] dictate
dilatamen, dilation	*dilatar*, dilate
disipamen,[2] disturbance	*disipar*, dissipate
doctrinamen, teaching	*doctrinar*, teach
domnejamen, gallantry	*domnejar*, court
donamen, gift, giving	*donar*, give
doptamen, doubt	*doptar*, doubt
dresamen,[3] putting up, building (?)	*dresar*, set up
edificamen, building[4]	*edificar*, build
egalamen, equal taxation	*egalar*, make equal
eisilhamen, exile; injury; punishment[5]	*eisilhar*, disturb, destroy, exile
eisausamen, approbation, praise	*eisausar*, approve of
embanamen, outwŏrks of fortress[6]	*embanar*, fortify
embargamen, embarrassmènt	*embargar*, embarrass
embrazamen, burning	*embrazar*, burn

[1] From the same source as *dechar*, above. It is interesting to note the different meanings that these words and their derivatives, *dictamen* and *dechamen*, have taken in their learned and their popular forms.

[2] Levy, like Raynouard, gives the word spelled as above, but states that he can find only the form *desipamen*.

[3] The meaning is not thoroughly clear, and Levy gives no translation, but from the example it seems to have the force given above. The usual form of the verb is *dreisar*, therefore *dreisamen* might be expected here. The only text in which the word is found is in the Gascon dialect.

[4] Concrete force here (result of an action rather than the action itself).

[5] This translation given in the little Levy. The first two are Raynouard's. The larger Levy does not mention the word.

[6] Concrete, with tendency toward collective force.

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embrocamen,[1] soft poultice	
empachamen, empaitamen, attachment, seizure	*empachar*, prevent, seize, attach
emparamen, prohibition, protection (see also *amparamen*)	
empastramen, hindrance	*empastrar*, prevent
empejoramen, deterioration	*empejorar*, deteriorate
empenhamen, pawning	*empenhar*, pawn
empensamen, undertaking, project	*empensar*, invent, devise
emperilhamen, peril	*emperilhar*, imperil
emplegamen, purchase	*emplegar*, employ, make purchases
empoestamen,[2] authority	*empodestir*, put in possession
empontamen,[2] scaffold, stage	
empreizonamen, imprisonment	*empreizonar*, imprison
enamoramen, enamorment	*enamorar*, enamor
enartamen,[2] dexterity, skill	
encapamen, whetting of millstone	*encapar*, whet a millstone
encargamen, accusation	*encargar*, charge
encartamen,[3] chart	*encartar*, inscribe
encegamen, blindness	*encegar*, blind
encercamen, investigation	*encercar*, seek, strive
encolpamen, accusation	*encolpar*, accuse
encombramen, encumbrance	*encombrar*, encumber
encontramen, meeting	*encontrar*, meet
encuzamen, accusation	*encuzar*, accuse
endenhamen, indignation	*endenhar*, be indignant
endoloiramen,[4] suffering	
endreisamen, guidance	*endreisar*, set up
enebriamen, drunkenness	*enebriar*, inebriate
enfachamen,[5] conceit, whim (?). Levy gives no meaning; not "imagination," as in Bartsch	

[1] *Embrocar* exists but has different force. *Embrocamen* (with concrete force) seems to be derived from *embroca*, poultice (<Lat. *embrocha;* Gr. ἐμβροχή).

[2] For these words see parasyntheta, p. 527, below. *Enartar* exists, but has a different meaning.

[3] Concrete force seen here. The result of the action expressed by the verb is shown.

[4] The word probably does not exist, and is in Raynouard owing to a confusion. See nominal prefixes, p. 472, n. 1.

[5] See also parasyntheta, p. 527.

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enfalagamen,[1] over-fatigue; delusion (?)	
enfivamen,[2] loan	
enflamen, swelling	*enflar*, swell up
enfranchamen (?),[3] hurt; infraction; violation (of rule)	
engalamen, see *egalamen*	
enganamen, deception	*enganar*, deceive
engarramen, insult, injury	*engarrar*,[4] injure
engenramen, engendering	*engenrar*, engender
engorjamen, gluttony	*engorjar*, cram
engraisamen,[5] manure	*engraisar*, fatten
engroisamen, increase	*engroisar*, increase
enlasamen, entwining	*enlasar*, entwine
enlumenamen, picture	*enlumenar*, illumine
enmuramen, walling up	*enmurar*, wall up
enojamen, annoyance	*enojar*, annoy
ensenhamen, teaching, treatise	*ensenhar*, teach
ensolhamen,[6] foundations of sill or threshhold	
entalentamen, desire	*entalentar*, desire
entaulamen,[6] beams, timber-work	
entergamen,[7] question	
enterramen, plastering	*enterrar*,[8] cover with mortar
entregamen, truce	*entregar*, have truce
entrelaisamen, interruption	*entrelaisar*, interrupt
entrencamen, breach[8]	*entrencar*, break

[1] No verb *enfalagar* found; *enfalaga*, however, exists in Mod. Prov. (see Mistral, I, 906), and *enfalagar* is in Catalan. It probably existed in O.Prov.

[2] This word is very obscure.

[3] We should expect *enfranhemen* here, as the verb "to break" is *enfranher*, coming from *effringere*. *Enfranchamen* and *enfrancha* are found in the same Gascon text a few pages apart, and seem to be dialect forms.

[4] *Engarrar*, formed on *garra*, leg, first means "to injure in the knee," then injure in any way.

[5] Concrete force, with an idea of the instrument.

[6] See parasyntheta, p. 527. *Entaulamen* has collective force. It is clearly formed on *taula*, table, and not on *entaular*.

[7] As the verb is *entervar*, *entervamen* might be expected. *Entergar* would, however, be the phonetic development of *interrogare*.

[8] As well as the more usual meaning of "cover with earth," "bury."

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entricamen, intricacy, running over	*entricar*, run over
enujamen, annoyance, see *enojamen*	
enverenamen, poisoning	*enverenar*, poison
envilhamen,[1] cheapness	
environamen, circle	*environar*, surround
envolopamen, envelopment	*envolopar*, envelope
eretamen, heredity	*eretar*, inherit
erramen, wandering	*errar*, wander
esajamen, investigation	*esajar*, try
esalsamen, see *eisausamen*	
escalfamen, heating	*escalfar*, heat
escampamen, effusion	*escampar*, pour out
escoltivamen,[2] cultivation	
escomergamen, excommunication	*escomergar*, excommunicate
esconjuramen,[3] (charm in conjuring)	*esconjurar*, conjure
escuramen, cleaning	*escurar*, clean
esgardamen, glance	*esgardar*, look at
eslenegamen, slip, slide	*e(s)lenegar*, slip, slip down
eslevamen, raising	*eslevar*, raise
eslumenamen, illumination	*eslumenar*, illuminate
esmelhoramen, improvement	*esmelhorar*, improve
esmendamen, amendment	*esmendar*, amend
espachamen, sending away	*espachar*, despatch, discharge
espaventamen, fright	*espaventar*, frighten
esperamen, hope	*esperar*, hope
esperitamen, inspiration, suggestion[4]	
espiamen, espionage	*espiar*, spy on
esplechamen,[5] implements	*esplechar*, exploit

[1] No verb. Formed on the adjective *vilh* (?). See parasyntheta, p. 527.

[2] No verb *escoltivar*. The word may be a prefix-formation or a parasyntheton. See nominal prefixes, p. 475; and parasyntheta, p. 527.

[3] Concrete force, showing the idea of the instrument (for conjuring).

[4] No verb found. The word seems to be formed on the noun *esperit*, spirit.

[5] Shows collective force. The word is apparently not derived directly from the verb *esplechar*. *Explicitum* existed in Lat., and is given by Du Cange with the meaning of "implement." This would give *esplech*, and the collective force may have been contributed by the suffix -AMEN added to the noun.

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esproamen, proof	*esproar*, prove, try
espurgamen, purgation	*espurgar*, purge
esquintamen, tearing	*esquintar*, tear
esquivamen, hindering, obstacle	*esquivar*, avoid
estamen, stopping-place[1] (L); state (R)	*estar*, stand
estatjamen, delay	*estatjar*, prop up, support
estrangolamen, strangling	*estrangolar*, strangle
estranhamen, estrangement	*estranhar*, estrange
exaltamen, see *eisausamen*	
examinamen, examination, test	*examinar*, examine
fachilhamen, enchantment	*fachilhar*, bewitch
fadiamen, prohibition, protestation	*fadiar*, take pains
fendilhamen,[2] crevice	*fendilhar*, cleave
fermalhamen,[3] buckle	
figuramen[4] (a term used in geomancy)	
finamen, end	*finar*, end
flagelamen, beating	*flagelar*, beat
fonsamen, foundation	*fonsar*, found (?)
forgetamen, expulsion	*forgetar*, cast out
formigamen, swarming	*formigar*, swarm
fortificamen, fortification	*fortificar*, fortify
fraudamen, fraud	*fraudar*, defraud
fregamen, rubbing	*fregar*, rub
fretamen, rubbing	*fretar*, rub
fructifiamen, fructification	*fructifiar*, fructify
frustramen, frustration, disappointment	*frustrar*, flog; also frustrate, in one example
gaimentamen, groaning	*gaimentar*, groan
gardejamen, inspection, survey	*gardejar*, contemplate
gastamen, spoiling	*gastar*, spoil
gatjamen, seizure	*gatjar*, pledge, pay
gavanhamen, damage, injury	*gavanhar*, injure

[1] The idea of place is exceedingly unusual in this suffix.

[2] Concrete force here. The thing resulting from the action of the verb is seen.

[3] No verb found. The word seems to be formed on the noun *fermalh*, and the suffix added without force.

[4] Formed on the noun *figura*? *Figurar* is not found, but may have existed. Cf. Fr. and Sp. verbs. No meaning is given in Levy.

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gazanhamen, gain	*gazanhar*, gain
gazardonamen, see *guierdonamen*	
gemamen, groaning	*gemar*, groan
getamen, see *gitamen*	*getar*, throw
giramen, rotation	*girar*, turn
gitamen, throwing overboard	*gitar*, throw
gostamen, taste	*gostar*, taste
gotejamen, dripping away	*gotejar*, drop
governamen, treatment, management	*governar*, guide, manage
gravamen, injury, harm	*gravar*, injure
greujamen, *grevamen*, damage	*greujar*, injure
grondilhamen, tale-telling	*grondilhar*, mutter
guidamen or *guizamen*, leading, conduct	*guidar* or *guizar*, guide
guierdonamen,[1] reward, rewarding	*guierdonar*,[1] reward
guinhamen, wink, sign	*guinhar*, wink
intramen, entry	*intrar*, enter
inviscamen, viscosity, sliminess	*inviscar*, catch, ensnare
iramen, anger	*irar*,[2] be angry
istigamen, instigation	*istigar*, instigate
jutjamen, judgment	*jutjar*, judge
laizamen, spotting	*laizar*, stain
largamen, remission, dispensation	*largar*, relax, discontinue
lasamen, binding, joining, fetter	*lasar*, bind
latinamen,[3] erudition	
lauzengamen, calumny	*lauzengar*, slander, deceive
lavamen, washing, etc.	*lavar*, wash
leujamen, lightening	*leujar*, lighten
levamen, elevation	*levar*, raise
liuramen, delivery	*liurar*, deliver
lochamen, struggle, combat	*lochar*, struggle
lonhamen, self-removal	*lonhar*, remove
lotjamen,[4] quarters, lodging	*lotjar*, lodge.
lunamen,[5] lunation	

[1] Raynouard gives only *gazardonamen*.

[2] The infinitive probably exists, though it is not certain. See Levy, IV, 237, under *irat*.

[3] Formed on the noun *latin*, but has abstract force.

[4] Cf. the Engl. "lodging" or "dwelling." Indeed, the suffix -ING may itself be compared with -AMEN. See -ING in Murray.

[5] A formation on *luna*, but having abstract force.

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maduramen, maturity	*madurar*, mature
maisnamen,[1] welcome	
maizonamen,[1] lodging	
malmenamen,[2] ill-treatment	*malmenar*, ill-treat
mancamen, lack	*mancar*, lack
mandamen, command, dominion, etc.	*mandar*, command
manjamen, eating, food	*manjar*, eat
maridamen, marriage	*maridar*, marry
martelamen (*de dens*), chattering of teeth	*martelar* (*de dens*), chatter
martiriamen, torture	*martiriar*, torture
meitadamen, halving	*meitadar*, halve
melhoramen, improvement	*melhorar*, improve
membramen, remembrance	*membrar*, remember
menamen, guidance	*menar*, lead, guide
mendamen, improvement	*mendar*, improve
mercejamen, indulgence, pity	*mercejar*, beg for mercy
mesclamen, mixture	*mesclar*, mix
mesprezamen, scorn	*mesprezar*, scorn
mezuramen, measuring	*mezurar*, measure
ministramen, aid	*ministrar*, minister
molhamen, wetting	*molhar*, wet
montamen, climbing	*montar*, climb
mostramen, proof	*mostrar*, show, prove
mudamen, change	*mudar*, change
multiplicamen, multiplication	*multiplicar*, multiply
muramen, walling up	*murar*, wall up
murmuramen, murmuring	*murmurar*, murmur
naframen, wound, damage	*nafrar*, wound
navejamen,[3] ship, voyage	*navejar*, navigate
nedejamen, cleansing, purification	*nedejar*, purify
negamen, denial	*negar*, deny
negocejamen, act of trading	(only *negociar*, do business, is found)
nocejamen, wedding	*nocejar*, have wedding
nomnamen, naming	*nomnar*, name

[1] Formations on the noun *maizon*, but having abstract force.

[2] See also hybrids, p. 579.

[3] Concrete force. The instrument for accomplishing the action expressed by the verb is denoted.

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nozamen,[1] joining, alliance	*nozar*, bind
nozelamen, knotting	*nozelar*, knot
oblidamen, forgetfulness	*oblidar*, forget
oltrecujamen, presumption; also imagination, conceit	*oltrecujar*, rave
onramen, honor	*onrar*, honor
orbamen, blinding	*orbar*, blind
ordenamen, order, arrangement	*ordenar*, order
orgolhamen, pride	*orgolhar(se)*, be proud
ostamen, shortening	*ostar*, take away
panamen, theft	*panar*, steal
paramen, ornament	*parar*, adorn
parelhamen, interview	*parelh*,[2] pair; interview
parlamen, interview	*parlar*, talk
pauzamen, rest	*pauzar*, rest
pavamen,[3] pavement	*pavar*, pave
pejoramen, deterioration	*pejorar*, deteriorate
penhoramen, pledge, security	*penhorar*, give pledge for
perbocamen, rough casting	*perbocar*, roughcast
perdonamen, pardon	*perdonar*, pardon
perilhamen, risking, endangering	*perilhar*, endanger
perpauzamen, proposition	*perpauzar*, propose
perpensamen, meditation	*perpensar*, meditate
perseveramen, perseverance	*perseverar*, persevere
pertorbamen, disturbance	*pertorbar*, disturb
pescamen, fishing, right of fishing	*pescar*, fish
pesejamen, act of breaking, shipwreck	*pesejar*, break to pieces
pezamen weighing	*pezar*, weigh
pilhamen, plundering	*pilhar*, plunder

[1] A Lat. *nodamen* (not *nodamentum*) exists.

[2] A verb *parelhar* is found but has the meaning of "to prepare," and is of different origin.

[3] It is interesting here to compare the Fr. forms *pavement* and *paver*. *Pavement* comes from *pavimentum*, and *paver* seems to have been derived from it through the analogy of several pairs of words. See *paver* in *Dic. Gen.*, though Diez (p. 656) suggests a change of conjugation to have taken place in the verb. *Pavamen* is probably due to the analogy of the Fr. form, though it might have come from *pavimen* with a change of suffix. See Cohn, 109, note, and for the form *pazimen*, also the note † at the end of the list of words in -IMEN, p. 109, below.

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plagamen,[1] wound	*plagar*, wound
plaidejamen, litigation	*plaidejar*, go to law
plantamen, planting	*plantar*, plant
plegamen, suppleness	*plegar*, bend
ploramen, affliction	*plorar*, weep
poblamen, peopling; right of settling	*poblar*, people
podamen, cutting, breaking	*podar*, cut, break
pojamen,[2] hill, height; ascent; ascension	*pojar*, ascend
polsamen, pulsation	*polsar*, beat
pregamen,[1] prayer	*pregar*, pray
preparamen, preparation	*preparar*, prepare
prepauzamen, intention, resolution	*prepauzar*, propose, present
prestamen, taking of oath	*prestar*, lend
prezentamen, presentation	*prezentar*, present
prezicamen,[2] exhortation; sermon	*prezicar*, preach
prezuramen,[1] rennet for curdling milk	*prezurar*, press, squeeze
proamen, proof	*proar*, try, prove
profechamen, profit	*profechar*, profit, be useful
prononciamen, pronunciation	*prononciar*, pronounce
protestamen, protestation	*protestar*, protest
purgamen,[2] purification; purge	*purgar*, purify
querelhamen, complaining, complaint	*querelhar*, complain
rasaziamen, satiation	*rasaziar*, satiate
ratifiamen, ratification	*ratifiar*, ratify
raubamen, theft	*raubar*, rob
razonamen, reasoning	*razonar*, reason
refinamen, end	*refinar*, cease, end
reflamamen, heating	*reflamar*, heat
refrenamen, prudence, reserve	*refrenar*, restrain
relaisamèn, relaxation	*relaisar*, relax
remembramen, remembrance	*remembrar*, remember

[1] *Plagamen*, *pregamen*, and *prezuramen* seem to have only concrete force. *Prezuramen* is one of the few clear examples of a word ending in -AMEN having the idea of the instrument for accomplishing the action expressed by the verb.

[2] Words that seem to have both abstract and concrete force are *pojamen*, *prezicamen*, and *purgamen*. The latter has the concrete force seen in *prezuramen*. *Prezicamen* and *pregamen* (in note 1) seem to denote things produced by the action of the verbs on which they are formed.

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renhamen, reign	*renhar*, reign
renonciamen, renunciation	*renonciar*, renounce
renovelamen, renewal	*renovelar*, renew
resinhamen, resignation	*resinhar*, resign
resemblamen, resemblance	*resemblar*, resemble
retardamen, delay	*retardar*, delay
retornamen, return	*retornar*, return
revocamen, revocation	*revocar*, revoke
ronsamen, overturning	*ronsar*, overturn
ruamen,[1] wrinkle	*ruar*, wrinkle
sacrifiamen, sacrifice	*sacrifiar*, sacrifice
sadolamen, satiation	*sadolar*, satiate
salvamen, saving	*salvar*, save
saziamen, satiation	*saziar*, satiate
senhoramen,[2] superiority, domination	
senhorejamen, superiority, domination	*senhorejar*, master
sermonamen, preaching	*sermonar*, preach
serramen, stricture	*serrar*, confine
signifiamen, signification	*signifiar*, signify
sinalinfamen, elision	*sinalinfar*, elide
sincopamen, syncopation	*sincopar*, syncopate
sincopizamen, fainting	*sincopizar*, faint
soanamen, scorn, disdain	*soanar*, disdain
sobreversamen, overflowing	*sobreversar*, overflow
sonamen, ringing, resounding	*sonar*, resound
sonjamen, dream	*sonjar*, dream
tardamen, delay	*tardar*, delay
teisamen,[3] weaving	*teiser*, weave
termenamen, limit, bound	*termenar*, limit, end
testimoniamen, testimony	*testimoniar*, give testimony
tiramen, twitching	*tirar*, twitch
tocamen,[4] sense of touch	*tocar*, touch
torbamen, perturbation	*torbar*, disturb
tornejamen, tournament	*tornejar*, turn about
trabalhamen, trouble, agitation	*trabalhar*, torment

[1] Concrete force.

[2] Formed on the noun *senhor*, and having abstract force.

[3] -AMEN instead of -EMEN.

[4] A specialized meaning here, as in the Engl. "hearing" = sense of hearing.

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trabucamen, stumbling, fall	*trabucar*, stumble
trachamen, treatise	*trachar*, treat
trasportamen, transportation	*trasportar*, transport
trastornamen, upsetting	*trastornar*, upset
tremblamen, trembling	*tremblar*, tremble
trencamen, cutting, rupture	*trencar*, cut
udolamen, howling	*udolar*, howl
uzamen, usage, habit	*uzar*, use
vanamen, boasting	*vanar*, boast
variamen, variation	*variar*, vary
venjamen, vengeance	*venjar*, avenge
verenamen, poisoning	*verenar*, poison
vizitamen,† visit	*vizitar*, visit

Next comes the list of words with the suffix -EMEN:

abatemen, lowering	*abatre*, beat down
acorremen, increase	*acorre*, run up
acreisemen, increase	*acreiser*, increase
aduzemen, conduct (implies infinitive **aduzer* instead of *aduire*)	
airemen (Levy gives no meaning, and the word is not clear)	
apertenemen, one's own sphere	*apertener*, belong
aprememen, compulsion	*apremer*, compel
ardemen, burning	*ardre*, burn
atendemen, waiting	*atendre*, wait
aucizemen, killing (implies infinitive **aucizer* instead of *aucire*)	
cazemen, origin, extraction (no meaning of fall)	*cazer*, fall
colemen, worship, reverence	*coler*, worship
complanhemen, complaint	*complanher*, complain
complazemen, pleasure, satisfaction	*complazer*, accede to
comprendemen, inclosed space[1]	*comprendre*, include, comprise

[1] Concrete force denoting a place. The other words in -EMEN are nearly all pure abstracts.

† Words of Lat. origin are *adornamen*, adornment < *adornamentum* (see Olcott, 128, and recent Lat. dictionaries); *coronamen*, crowning < *coronamentum* (see Cooper, 86); *enterpretamen*, interpretation < *interpretamentum; ferramen*, iron tool, having, therefore, concrete force < *ferramentum; liamen*, head-dress, interesting on account of its specialized meaning < *ligamentum; metjamen*, remedy, medicine < *medicamentum;* and *moderamen*, moderation < *moderamentum*.

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conqueremen, conquest	*conquerer, conquerre*, conquer
constituemen,[1] foundation, founding	*constituir*, constitute
constrenhemen, constraint	*constrenher*, constrain
contenemen, maintenance	*contener*, contain
contradizemen, contradiction (implies infinitive **contradizer*, instead of *contradire*, contradict)	
contrafazemen, counterfeiting (implies infinitive **contrafazer*, counterfeit)	
contranhemen, constraint	*contranher*, constrain
corremen, course	*corre*, run
corrompemen, injuring, corruption	*corrompre*, corrupt
creisemen, increase, improvement	*creiser*, increase
decreisemen, decrease	*decreiser*, decrease
delinquemen,[1] evil deed, guilt	*delinquir*, abandon, be delinquent
derompemen, interruption	*derompre*, interrupt
desconoisemen, misunderstanding	*desconoiser*, misunderstand
descorremen, running about	*descorre*, run about
desdizemen, denial (implies infinitive **desdizer*, instead of *desdire*, deny	
destrenhemen, embarrassment	*destrenher*, press, force
detenemen, detention	*detener*, detain
detrazemen, calumny (implies *detrazer*, for *detraire*, detract)	
empenhemen, emission	*empenher*, push, put forth
emprendemen, enterprise	*emprendre*, undertake
enclauzemen, confinement (implies *enclauzer*, for *enclaure*, shut in)	
enfenhemen, deception	*enfenher*, feign
entendemen, intelligence	*entendre*, understand
entretenemen, entertainment	*entretener*, entertain
envelhezimen, aging	*envelhezir*, grow old
esbatemen, gambol, merriment	*esbatre*, gambol
escomovemen, stiring up, excitement	*escomover*, move, stir up

[1] -EMEN instead of -IMEN.

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escomprendemen, arson	*escomprendre*, burn
esmovemen, movement	*esmover*, move
esparsemen, pouring	*esparser*, pour out
esperdemen, despondency	*esperdre*, distract
estendemen, extension	*estendre*, extend
estenhemen, extinguishing	*estenher*, extinguish
estorsemen, deliverance	*estorser*, twist; free, save
estreisemen (R), *estreisedat* (according to Levy), narrowness	verb is *estreisar*, narrow
estrenhemen, crowding, pressing	*estrenher*, press
fazemen, doing, fashion (implies **fazer*, instead of *faire*, do)	
fenhemen, fabrication, fiction	*fenher*, feign
fondemen, ruin	*fondre*, melt away
franhemen, breaking	*franher*, break
gememen,[1] also *gimemen*, groaning	*gemir*, groan
jazemen, lying together	*jazer*, lie
maldizemen, malediction (implies infinitive **maldizer*, instead of *maldire*, curse	
mantenemen,[2] maintenance	*mantener*, maintain
marfondemen,[2] glanders	*marfondre*, chill (a horse)
metemen, putting, setting	*metre*, put
mordemen, bite	*mordre*, bite
movemen, movement	*mover*, move
naisemen, birth, beginning, race	*naiser*, be born
nozemen, damage	*nozer*, injure
onhemen, ointment	*onher*, anoint
perdemen, loss	*perdre*, lose
planhemen, complaint	*planher*, complain
plazemen, will, pleasure	*plazer*, please
prometemen, promise	*prometre*, promise
queremen, search	*querer*, *querir*, seek
requeremen, claim, demand	*requerre*, *requerer*, claim
resplandemen, resplendence	*resplandre*, shine
resorzemen, resurrection	*resorzer*, run through
retrazemen, regret, affliction (implies **retrazer* instead of *retraire*)	
rompemen, breaking	*rompre*, break
solvemen, discharge, acquittal	*solver*, loose, free

[1] -EMEN instead of -IMEN. *Gemimen* is also found.

[2] See also hybrids, p. 579.

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sostenemen, support	*sostener*, sustain
sostrazemen, subtraction (implies infinitive *sostrazer*, instead of *sostraire*, subtract)	
tendemen, tension	*tendre*, stretch
tenemen, tenancy	*tener*, hold
tolemen, separation, removal	*tolre*, take away
torsemen, twisting	*torser*, twist
trazemen, act of throwing (implies infinitive **trazer*, instead of *traire*, draw)	
vencemen, conquest, victory	*vencer*, conquer
vezemen, sight	*vezer*, see

Lastly, is given the list of words containing the suffix -IMEN:

abelhimen, pleasure, satisfaction	*abelhir*, please
acolhimen, welcome	*acolhir*, welcome
afigimen, adjunction	*afigir*, adjoin
afligimen, pain	*afligir*, afflict
afortimen, solidity, power	*afortir*, strengthen
aizimen, adjustment, arrangement (?)	*aizir*, welcome
aparturimen, birth	*aparturir*, bear
asentimen, assent	*asentir*, assent
aunimen, scorn	*aunir*, scorn
avenimen, arrival	*avenir*, come up
bandimen, proclamation, ban	*bandir*, proclaim
baudimen,[1] courage, trust	
cabimen, employment; use	*cabir*, as well as *caber*, find place for (have space)
circoncezimen, cutting	*circoncezir*, for *circoncire*, cut
cofimen, seasoning	*cofir*, preserve, season
complimen, accomplishment	*complir*, accomplish
condimen, seasoning	*condir*, season
confimen, see *cofimen*	
conoisimen,[2] acquaintance	*conoiser*, know
conseguimen, reaching, attaining	*conseguir*, attain
consentimen, consent	*consentir*, consent

[1] The verb *baudir* is not found. *Baudimen* seems to be from *es-baudimen* by a loss of the prefix.

[2] -IMEN instead of -EMEN.

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convertimen, conversion	*convertir*, convert
defalhimen, absence, lack	*defalhir*, fail, lack
defugimen, flight	*defugir*, fly
demolimen, demolishment	*demolir*, demolish
departimen, separation, division	*departir*, divide
deperimen, perishing	*deperir*, perish
desazimen, deprivation of property, abandonment	*desazir*, let go of
descobrimen, disclosing, exposing	*descobrir*, disclose
desconfimen, rout	*desconfir*, discomfit
desconfizemen, rout	*desconfizer* for *desconfir*
deservimen, merit	*deservir*, deserve
desestablimen, destruction, see *dez-*	
desfornimen,[1] wrong, hurt	
deslenquimen, relinquishment	*deslenquir*, give up
destru(z)imen, destruction	*destru(z)ir*, destroy
desvestimen, cession, abdication	*desvestir*, divest, take off
devezimen, division	*devezir*, divide
dezestablimen,[2] destruction	*dezestablir*, disestablish
dezobezimen, disobedience	*dezobezir*, disobey
eisernimen, wisdom	*eisernir*, discern
eisimen, exit, end	*eisir*, go out
elegimen, election	*elegir*, elect
embandimen, order, ordinance	*embandir*, seize
embolezimen, heat, anger	*embolhezir*, boil up
enantimen, advantage	*enantir*, advance
enfecimen, infection	*enfecir*, poison, infect
engordimen, stiffening	*engordir*, stiffen
enluzimen, whitewashing	*enluzir*, whitewash
enquizimen, investigation	*enquizir*, investigate
enseguimen, following, consequence	*enseguir*, follow
envazimen, attack	*envazir*, attack
envelzimen, humiliation	*envelzir*, degrade, humiliate
envergonhimen, causing of shame	*envergonhir*, shame
envestimen, placing in possession	*envestir*, invest, put in possession
esbaimen, anxiety	*esbair*, astonish

[1] Probably is formed of *fornimen*, supply, provision, plus the negative prefix DES-. *Desfornir* is not found. See nominal prefixes, p. 470.

[2] The opposite word, *establimen*, is derived from a word formed in Lat.

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esbaudimen, rejoicing, gaiety	*esbaudir*, rejoice
escarnimen, insult	*escarnir*, insult
escautrimen,[1] slyness, cunning	
escopimen, spitting	*escopir*, spit
escremimen, fighting	*escremir*, fight
escurzimen, darkness	*escurzir*, become dark
esdevenimen, happening	*esdevenir*, become
esjauzimen, contentment	*esjauzir*, rejoice
esmarrimen, uneasiness	*esmarrir*, sadden
estobezimen, astonishment	*estobezir*, astonish
faidimen,[2] confiscated property	*faidir*, banish
falhimen, error, fault	*falhir*, fail
fenimen, accomplishment, end	*fenir*, end
ferimen, striking	*ferir*, strike
fornimen, provision, maintenance	*fornir*, provide
fugimen, flight	*fugir*, fly, flee
gandimen, refuge, safety	*gandir*, guarantee
garimen, safety, protection	*garir*, protect
garnimen, equipment	*garnir*, equip
glatimen, howling	*glatir*, howl
grazimen, thanks	*grazir*, thank
grunimen, growling	*grunir*, growl
guerpimen, leaving, quitting	*guerpir*, pack off
languimen, dejection	*languir*, languish
malazautimen,[3] discourteous, insulting words	
marrimen, sadness	*marrir*, grieve
negrezimen, blackening	*negrezir*, blacken
obrimen, act of opening	*obrir*, open
ordimen, warp, weaving	*ordir*, warp, weave
partimen, division; departure; dislocation; a kind of verse	*partir*, divide; remove; propose
pentimen, repentance	*pentir*, repent
pervenimen, revenue	*pervenir*, reach, belong
podestadimen,[4] power	*podestat*, power

[1] No verb is found. The word is obscure, however.

[2] A kind of concrete force is here, denoting the thing coming as the result of the action expressed by the verb. The other words with this suffix are pure abstracts.

[3] See also hybrids, p. 578, below.

[4] Apparently formed on a noun without change of meaning.

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prautimen, act of trampling under foot	*prautir*, trample under foot
provenimen, revenue (?)	*provenir*, originate, proceed
poirimen, rottenness	*poirir*, rot
polimen, polishing	*polir*, polish
prezumimen, presumption	*prezumir*, presume
pruzimen, itching	*pruzer*,[1] itch
raubimen, ravishment	*raubir*, ravish
rugimen, flatulence	*rugir*, roar
seguimen, accompaniment	*seguir*, accompany
servimen, servitude	*servir*, serve
sofrimen, suffering, privation	*sofrir*, suffer
somsimen, absorption	*somsir*, swallow up
tarimen, drying up	*tarir*, dry up
tradimen, treachery	*tradir*, betray
valimen, price, merit	*valer*,[1] be worth
venimen, arrival	*venir*, come
vilzimen,† degradation	*vilzir*, degrade

The collectives in -MENTA from the Latin plural -MENTA, mentioned above,[2] will now be given. Under -AMENTA, joined to the stems of verbs in *-ar*, we find:.

causamenta, shoes	*causar*, to shoe
ferramenta, ironwork	*ferrar*, to iron

and, on a noun,

osamenta, bones	*os*, bone

Under -EMENTA joined to stems of verbs in *-er*, is:

franhementa, fragments	*franher*, break

[1] The infinitive is found only with the ending *-er*.

[2] P. 87.

† An interesting word is *pazimen*, pavement, not given above because of its Lat. origin. Its source is clearly *pavimentum*, which should give *pavimen*. The *z* for *v* is difficult to explain. Grandgent (48, sec. 5) explains it by the analogy of *aizimen*, but the connection between the two words does not seem clear. His remark that *pazimen* = *pavamen* hardly seems exact (see p. 100, n. 3). Another form of *pavimentum* is *paymen*. A word of Lat. origin is *munimen;* an obscure one is *engarzimen*.

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-AN, -ANA

-AN and -ANA in Provençal are derived from the Latin -ANUS and -ANA, used in Latin in forming both adjectives and nouns. In forming nouns, -AN regularly gives the idea of the inhabitant of a place (as *castellanus* > Provençal *castelan*, inhabitant of a castle, lord of a manor) and also that of a person addicted to a subject (as *negromancian* on *negromancia*, necromancy). Besides these uses, we find -AN has one or two others, that will be fully described below.

As for the feminine form, -ANA, the meaning of "the inhabitant of a place" seems to be generally absent, although such a feminization as *castelana* is found in Levy.[1] There are only a few words with this ending, however, and most of these appear to be substantive uses of words originally adjectives.

Under -AN with the meaning of (1) "inhabitant of a place" or (2) "person addicted to a thing" attached to nouns, are found the following words:

arman, armed man, one addicted to arms	*arma*, arm
astronomian, astronomer	*astronomia*, astronomy
estatjan, lodger, dweller	*estatge*, dwelling
forestan, stranger	*forest*, forest
gazalhan,[2] one who raises live stock on shares	*gazalha*, (1) community; (2) lease of live stock
geomancian, geomant	*geomancia*, geomancy
gramairian, grammarian	*gramaire*, grammar
letran, master (?), one addicted to letters	*letra*, letter
marquezan,[3] inhabitant of La Marche	

[1] I, 226.

[2] There is also a feminine form, *gazalhana*. For *gazalha*, see above, p. 79, n. †.

[3] Apparently a double suffix here.

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mercadan, merchant	*mercat*, market
mesatjan, messenger	*mesatge*, message
negromancian, necromancer	*negromancia*, necromancy
omicidan, murderer	*omicidi*, murder
parofian, parishioner	*parofia*, parish
pasatjan,† passenger	*pasatge*, passage

Besides the use of -AN just treated, the ending is found with other meanings. In a good many nouns with this ending, -AN represents nothing but the present participle of verbs of the first conjugation used substantively; in a few examples the suffix appears not to change the meaning of the simple word, whereas in one or two cases, the meaning it gives is hard to classify; and other words are obscure in form.

1. In such words as *auzulan*, *demoran*, *levan*, *manan*, *marejan*, *montan*, *parlan*, *pezan*, and *poblan*[1] the ending -AN is the sign of the present participle of verbs in *-ar*.

2. In *planetan*, *putan*, and *vergan* the suffix appears to give no change of meaning to the simple nouns *planeta*, planet, *puta*, prostitute, and *verga*, branch.

In *putan*, however, -AN seems to represent simply a different case-ending. See *putana*, below.

In *planetan* and *vergan*, the -AN may have been added to form adjectives on *puta* and *verga*, these adjectives later being used substantively.

3. In *albaran* and *bausan* the force of the suffix is less easy to classify.

albaran, however, was probably originally an adjective. It means scrap of paper or ticket, and was probably derived from *albar*, sapwood, or *alburnum* (Latin

[1] For the meaning of these words, see nouns formed from verbs, pp. 548–49.

† Also, of Lat. origin: *castelan*<*castellanus*, and *capelan*<Low Lat. *cappellanus*.

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alburnum), the new wood next the bark of a tree. *Albaran* was apparently a small article made of this *albar*.[1]

bausan, a kind of horse, also a standard of the Templars, is surely not derived from *baus*, an abyss, and is probably not a Provençal formation.[2]

4. Clear examples of adjectives used substantively are seen in—

ferran,[3] gray horse	*ferran*, gray
foran, foreigner	*foran*, foreign
persan,† Persian	*persan*, persian

-ANA

Words in -ANA are fewer in number than those in -AN and will be studied individually. Exclusive of such feminizations of masculine words as *castelana* and *gazalhana*, these are:

[1] Cf. the Lat. *liber*, book, with its original meaning of "bast."

[2] Körting, No. 1,198, suggests *balteanus* from *balteus*, a belt or girdle, as source. This would be a possible source both as regards the form and the meaning. The development is phonetically regular, and "belted" was used to describe dappled horses. The word, therefore, was originally an adjective, as might be seen from the phrase *cheval bauçant*. See *Romania*, XXIV, 586; also XXXV, 456. The second meaning, a standard of the Templars, undoubtedly refers to its color. The Fr. *bauçant* may be compared with *bausan*, and is, in all probability, a borrowing. For its original form see the note in *Romania*, XXIV, 588. See also *Rom. Stud.*, I, 260, where the It. *balsano*, dotted with white, is explained as coming from *balzare*, to leap, because one color stands out from another. But even *balzare* may be connected with *balteus*. See Meyer-Lübke, III, 20.

[3] See *Rom. Stud.*, I, 258.

† A word of this kind of Lat. origin is *crestian*, cretin, from *christianus*, Christian.

Other words of Lat. origin are *mejan*, intermediary<*medianus*; *mercan*, merchant<*mercans*, from *mercor*; *opidan*, citizen<*oppidanus*; *ortolan*, gardener<*hortulanus*. Still other words not Prov. formations and probably of Lat. origin are *niblan*, kite (a bird of prey), probably from **milvanus*, from *milvus*, and showing a metathesis; *parran*, back-garden (see Du Cange's *paranus*); *parsan*, district, from **partianus* (?) (*partiarius* is found); *polan*, colt, from **pullanus*, derived from *pullus* (cf. Fr. *poulain*).

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bezana: Not clear in meaning. Raynouard gives beehive, and Levy suggests sheepskin, as in French *basane*. At any rate, it is probably not a Provençal formation.[1]

forana, fair, or the place in which it is held: Probably here we have the adjective suffix -AN, as in *foran*, foreign, taking this meaning by a false etymology, connecting it with *feira*.

colana, column: This is probably simply the Latin *columna*, Provençal *colona*, in a different form, perhaps a bad spelling. Körting[2] gives the Lombard *colaña*, from Latin *columna*.

laizana, dirt, filth: Seems to be a Provençal formation, and to be connected with the verb *laizar*, to soil, although there seem to be no other cases of the attachment of the suffix to a verb-stem.[3]

lugana, opening in the roof: Seems to be a Latin formation—*lucana*—on the stem *luc*.

meliana, noontime: Is simply the Latin *meridiana* (compare the Old French *meriene*).

mercadana, utensil of commerce, from *mercat*, market: Probably originally an adjective, and this word a substantive use of the feminine.

mitana, mitten	*mita*, mitten (compare the French *mitaine*)
pezana, foot-disease of animals	*pe*, foot

putana, prostitute, from *puta*, with the same meaning: The -ANA is probably here not a suffix but a case-ending, the word being declined in Mediaeval Latin, *puta, putanis*.[4]

[1] *Besana* is given in Du Cange with both meanings, but cited only from late texts. The *Dic. Gen.* derives *basane* from an Arabic *bithana*.

[2] No. 2,343.

[3] Possibly the feminine form of the present participle used as a noun, through the disappearance of some accompanying word.

[4] See Meyer-Lübke, II, 27, 539.

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-ANHA, -ANH, -ENHA, -ENGA, -ENJA, -ENH, -ONHA

The endings -ANHA and -ANH are found in several words in Provençal, and are derived from a Latin -ANEUS, used generally in forming adjectives, as *extraneus*, and its opposite of later date, *interaneus*, whose neuter plural, with the meaning of "bowels," "entrails," is found in several of the Romance languages. Then other neuter plurals are found used as substantives, giving such words as *montanha* in Provençal. Most of the words found in Provençal appear to be Latin formations, but the following words appear to have been made in Provençal by using the suffix -ANHA:

coanha, wool of inferior quality (tail-clippings)	from *coa*, tail
foganha, kitchen	*foc*, fire. *Foganha*, however, may be from a Latin formation
malanha, injury, evil, pain	*mal*, evil
mesclanha, mixture †	*mescla*, mixture

Under -ANH, from -ANEUS, the only possible Provençal formation is *guirfanh*, sparrow-hawk, which appears to be the same word as the adjective *grifanh*,[1] with a metathesis in the first syllable. This, also, may not be a Provençal formation, as it is found also in other languages. It is not certain, even, that the -ANH here is derived from -ANEUS.††

[1] Originally meaning "claw-like," then probably used substantively. From *grif* (a post-verbal from *grifar*) plus -ANH. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII, 49.

† Other words ending in -ANHA, but of Lat. origin, are *escanha*, windlass (<*scamna* [?]), and *letanha*, litany<*litania*. For *vendanha*, see below.

†† Words of Lat. origin ending in -ANH are *calcanh*, heel<*calcaneum*; *casanh*, oak<*cassanium* (*Essais*, 75); *eranh*, spider<*araneus*; *escanh*, bench<*scamnum*; *estanh*, tin<*stannium* (*Essais*, 78).

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-ENHA, -ENJA, and -ENGA (and in one word -ANHA), appear to represent the Latin -EMIA in a few words. This ending appeared in Latin in *blastemia*, for *blasphemia*, and in *vindemia*. From *vindemia*, we find a Provençal *vendanha*, corresponding to a French *vendange*, and probably influenced by it in form. The other words have the vowel *e* instead of *a*. They will be given here under the form -ENGA,[1] which is the most usual, on the whole.

blastenga (generally *blastenha*), blame	from *blastemia* for *blasphemia* (Greek βλασφημία)
flatenga, lying	*flatar*, flatter
laidenga, hateful speech	*laidir*, insult
lauzenga, flattery	*lauzar*, praise

-ENHA is also found in:

escopienha,† spittle	*escopir*, spit

Following, therefore, the meaning which -EMIA has in *blasphemia*, the meaning in Provençal is usually abstract. If -ENHA in *escopienha* represents -EMIA, the meaning has changed somewhat. The suffix appears to be regularly added to verb-stems, which is the usual course for abstract suffixes to follow. The only model for the new formations to follow was *blastemia*, in which no stem could have been clear.

-ENH is found in several words, but is not properly a suffix at all. Such words, for example, as *defenh*, *mantenh*, are substantives derived from verbs, under which heading they will be treated.

[1] Of course these abstracts from -EMIA can have nothing to do with -ENGA, the feminine form of the words in -ENC, treated on p. 178.

† Found also in *estamenha*, sieve, from a Lat. *staminia*, having nothing to do with the ending -EMIA, and in the somewhat obscure word *espardenha*, shoe of feather-grass, formed on *spartum* according to Kŏrting (No. 8,913), who does not say, however, what the -ENHA represents.

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The last suffix of the group -ANHA, -ENHA, -ONHA is -ONHA, from -ONEA, probably the neuter plural of the adjective ending -ONEUS used substantively. The only example of the suffix in a Provençal word seems to be *mensonga*, *mensonja*, but this was probably not a Provençal formation. *Escalonha*, shallot, has the ending -ONHA, but does not represent the suffix -ONIA. It probably comes from the proper name *Ascalonia*. *Mercimonia*, merchandise, is only the Latin *mercimonia*, showing the suffix -MONIUM, which appears not to have been used as a Romance suffix.

-ANSA, -ENSA

There are but two forms for the verbal suffix of the next group, -ANSA and -ENSA, instead of the usual three, beginning with *a*, *e*, and *i*, according to the conjugation of the verb, as in -AMEN, -ADOR, -ADURA, etc. The reason for this reduction in the number of forms is very simple, however. -ANSA and -ENSA are derived from -ANTIA and -ENTIA, which are equal to the ending of the present participle (-ANTEM or -ENTEM) plus the suffix -IA. Thus in Latin there were really but two endings for the participle, and there had been no reduction in forms in Provençal. -ANSA and -ENSA being, therefore, formed somewhat differently from the other Provençal verbal suffixes, have, naturally, different forms.

As for meaning, however, this group differs little from that of any other verbal suffix, its force being regularly abstract. In this word are included two kinds of ideas: not only the idea of the action expressed in the verb to which the suffix is added, but also state or condition, or even a thing itself resulting from some action. -AMEN has both of these meanings also, but in a very large

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proportion of the words ending in that suffix the meaning is that of action, whereas in the case of -ANSA the result of an action is relatively in much greater use.[1] Such words as *acostumansa*, *devinansa*, *donansa*, *estansa*, *falhansa*, *finansa*, *fizansa*, *gravansa*, *membransa*, *mesclansa*, *orrejansa*, *pensansa*, *prestansa*, *regazerdonansa*, *remembransa*, and *sonansa* show this kind of use, some of the words becoming almost concrete in force. Some words, as *asemblansa*, *comportansa*, and *comunalhansa*, seem to have collective force, but in none of these cases is this contributed by the suffix. In the first two words, we have -ANSA with its meaning of the thing resulting from the action described by the verb, and the collective force, as far as it exists, is contained in the verb. *Comunalhansa* is probably also formed in this way on *comunalar*. There is a noun *comunalha*, and if added to this word, we should have an example of the use of -ANSA without force—the only example of this use of -ANSA —and also of its addition to a noun. Two words only show real concrete force—*garansa*, madder (a plant), and *animansa*, animal. Of these, the second shows a substitution of -ANSA for -AL.

One of the most striking peculiarities, indeed, of the use of -ANSA is its substitution for other suffixes, although in all cases except *animansa* the displaced suffix was -TAT. The relations of the two must have been very close. Thus we find substitutions of -ANSA for -TAT in *amistansa*,[2] *enemistansa*,[2] *piatansa*, and *majoransa*. The next most

[1] There is about an equal number of words with this meaning among both suffixes; but -AMEN contains a vastly larger number of pure abstracts.

[2] This is a pair of words with opposite meanings, and one would have suggested the other. The starting-point for these formations appears to have been *piatansa* (found also in Fr., and through it, Engl. as "pittance," in which the meaning has become changed and specialized).

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remarkable use is that of being joined to compound words formed of two short distinct words, of which the first was generally *ben* or *mal*, as *benestansa*, *befazensa*, *malanansa*, and *malestansa*.[1] But in real parasynthetic formations, or words whose first part was a real prefix, it is absent.

-ANSA and -ENSA seem to remain true to their original use as verbal suffixes, and to show no probable examples of formations on nouns or on other words. Sometimes the verb is not found in Provençal, as in *bobansa* and *curiansa*, but its existence is always probable in cases that may not be explained either by a substitution of one suffix for another or by a loss of prefix, as in *ebriansa*. *Comunalhansa* has already been treated. *Durensa* seems to be formed on *durir* and not on *dur*. The only really puzzling word is *certansa*, certainty, which appears to be formed on the adjective *cert*, certain, *certar* not existing with this sense. It seems probable, however, either that a verb *certar* did exist or that we have here another substitution of -ANSA for -TAT found in *certanetat*. This would mean the disappearance of a syllable, as in *constrensa* for *constrenhensa*.

-ANSA is found in the following words:[2]

acabansa, end	*acabar*, end, complete
acoindansa, acquaintance	*acoindar*, get acquainted
acordansa, agreement	*acordar*, agree
acostumansa, custom	*acostumar*, accustom
adordenansa, arrangement, see *azordenansa*	

[1] For these words, see the hybrid formations, p. 579.

[2] As an illustration of the similarity in use of the two abstract suffixes -AMEN and -ANSA it may be interesting to point out the verb-stems that are found with both suffixes and the few cases where the meaning differs: *acoind-*, *acord-*, *afiz-*, *ajost-*, *along-*, *amas-*, *amerm-*, *amonest-*, *ampar-*, *atrob-*, *azorden-*, *comens-*, *compar-*, *comport-*, *confort-*, *consol-*, *demon-*, *desconord-*, *desmembr-*, *destempr-*, *destri-*, *devin-*, *dezesper-*, *don-*,

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aesmansa, see *azesmansa*	
afizansa, agreement, accord	*afizar*, assure
agradansa, pleasure	*agradar*, please
ajostansa, relation, company	*ajostar*, arrange
ajudansa, aid	*ajudar*, aid
alegransa, joy	*alegrar*, rejoice
aliansa, alliance, union	*aliar*, ally
alienansa, alienation	*alienar*, alienate
alongansa, delay, lengthening	*alongar*, lengthen
amansa, love	*amar*, love
amasansa, piling up, amassing	*amasar*, amass
amblansa, amble, ambling pace	*amblar*, amble
amermansa, dying away	*amermar*, diminish
amezuransa, moderation	*amezurar*, measure
amistansa,[1] friendship	
amonestansa, warning	*amonestar*, warn
amparansa, protection	*amparar*, protect
animansa,[2] animal	*animar*, animate
apagansa, satisfaction	*apagar*, appease
asemblansa, assembly	*asemblar*, assemble
atrobansa, discovery	*atrobar*, find
autrejansa, concession	*autrejar*, grant
azesmansa, estimation	*azesmar*, estimate
azordenansa, arrangement	*azordenar*, arrange

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dopt-, egal-, endenh-, engan-, enlumen-, ensenh-, espavent-, esper-, esquiv-, est-, fin-, gazanh-, govern-, grav-, greuj-, guiz-, li-, liur-, lonh-, melhor-, membr-, mescl-, mont-, mostr-, oblid-, onr-, orden-, pejor-, perdon-, prezic-, razon-, remembr-, son-, tarz-, trabuc-, uz-, van-, venj-.

There are few differences to be seen in any of the pairs. The most noteworthy are:

comportamen, conduct	and *comportansa*, yield, produce
egalamen, equal taxation	and *egalansa*, equality
esquivamen, obstacle	and *esquivansa*, aversion
estamen, state; stopping-place	and *estansa*, fortune
(re)membramen, remembrance	and *(re)membransa*, memory
mesclamen, mixture	and *mesclansa*, quarrel, brawl
sonamen, sounding	and *sonansa*, assonance

[1] This word seems to show a substitution of -ANSA for -TAT. Cf. also its opposite *enemistansa*, and *piatansa*.

[2] This is a very peculiar meaning for -ANSA to have, but the example leaves no doubt about it. There is evidently a substitution of -ANSA for -AL, but it is difficult to account for. The plural of *animal—animalia*—became used as a singular, and -ANSA may have been substituted for -ALHA, which resembles it somewhat.

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balhansa, gift	*balhar*, deliver
baptizansa, baptism	*baptizar*, baptize
benestansa,[1] excellence, perfection	
bobansa,[2] pomp, display	
bonauransa,[1] happiness	
castejansa, warning	*castejar*, warn, correct
certansa,[3] certainty	
cobransa, recovery of health	*cobrar*, recover
coindansa,[4] conduct	
comensansa, beginning	*comensar*, begin
comparansa, comparison	*comparar*, compare
comportansa, yield, proceeds	*comportar*, bear
comunalhansa, community	*comunal(h)ar*, share
concordansa, contract, agreement	*concordar*, agree
confortansa, consolation	*confortar*, comfort
consolansa, consolation	*consolar*, console
consonansa, rhyme	*consonar*, harmonize, rhyme
costumansa, custom	*costumar*, be accustomed
cujansa, belief, opinion	*cujar*, believe
curiansa,[5] carefulness	
deliuransa, freeing, deliverance	*deliurar*, deliver
delonhansa, postponement, delay	*delonhar*, remove
demandansa, request	*demandar*, request
demoransa, delay	*demorar*, stay, delay
desconordansa, discouragement	*desconordar*, discourage
desmembransa, forgetting	*desmembrar*, forget
desmezuransa, impropriety	*dezmezurar*, go to excess
dessebransa, departure	*dessebrar*, separate
dessemblansa, dissemblance	*dessemblar*, conceal
destempransa, disorder	*destemprar*, disorder, derange
destriansa, choosing	*destriar*, distinguish

[1] Two words plus suffix. See hybrids, p. 579.

[2] No verb. Kŏrting, No. 1,496, derives *bobansa* from *bomba*, pomp. Cf. O.Fr. *bober* and *bobance*. Probably the Prov. word is a borrowing.

[3] *Certansa*, if it does not go back to a Lat. **certantia*, may have been formed on the adjective *cert*, certain. See, however, p. 118 above.

[4] The verb *coindar* is struck out by Levy. *Coindansa* may have been formed on the adjective *coinde*, but is more probably only *acoindansa*, with loss of prefix due to confusion with the vowel of the article.

[5] No verb *curiar* is found in Prov. Cf., however, Sp. *curiar*, probably of the same origin as *curar*. See Kŏrting, No. 2,702.

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devinansa,[1] calumny, noise, uproar	*devinar*, guess, divine
dezagradansa, displeasure	*dezagradar*, displease
dezamparansa, abandonment	*dezamparar*, abandon
dezegansa,[2] disturbance, disorder	
dezesperansa, despair	*dezesperar*, despair
deziransa, desire	*dezirar*, desire
dezonransa, dishonor	*dezonrar*, dishonor
donansa, gift	*donar*, give
doptansa, danger	*doptar*, doubt, fear
ebriansa,[3] drunkenness, orgy	
egalansa, equality	*egalar*, equal
egansa, equalization, recompense	*egar*, equalize
emendansa, amends, compensation	*emendar*, amend
endenhansa, indignation	*endenhar*, be angry
enemistansa,[4] enmity	
enganza, deception (for *enganansa*?)	*enganar*, deceive
enlumenansa, brilliancy	*enlumenar*, illuminate
ensenhansa, teaching	*ensenhar*, teach
envejansa, striving, zeal	*envejar*, envy
escuzansa, excuse	*escuzar*, excuse
esmansa, assessment, valuation	*esmar*, estimate
espaventansa, fear	*espaventar*, fear
esperansa, hope	*esperar*, hope
esquivansa, aversion	*esquivar*, avoid, shun
esquivadansa,[5] lie, falsehood	
estansa, fortune	*estar*, stand, delay; persist
estimansa, estimation	*estimar*, estimate
falhansa, fault, mistake	*falhar*, fail
fermansa, security, assurance	*fermar*, strengthen
finansa, arrangement; payment; money	*finar*, end; settle or close an account

[1] The meaning of "calumny" is seen also in the other derivatives of *devinar*—*devinalha*, and *devinamen*.

[2] *Dezegansa* = DES- + *egansa*. See, therefore, the nominal prefix DES- on p. 469.

[3] *Ebriar* is not found. *Ebriansa* is probably *enebriansa* with loss of prefix.

[4] *Enemistansa* shows substitution of -ANSA for -TAT. See *amistansa*.

[5] Given in Levy with an interrogation point. The word with the *ad* interpolated is obscure. See double suffixes, p. 384.

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fizansa, oath, security, bail	*fizar*, trust
galiansa, deception	*galiar*, deceive
garansa, madder (a kind of plant)	
gardansa, rule, observation	*gardar*, keep
gazanhansa, gain, acquisition	*gazanhar*, gain
gloriejansa, boasting	*gloriejar* (*se*), glorify (oneself)
glorifiansa, glorification	*glorifiar*, glorify
governansa, government, rule	*governar*, govern
gravansa, difficulty	*gravar*, be burdensome, injure
greujansa, sternness, severity	*greujar*, be hard on
guizansa, act of guiding	*guizar*, guide
illuminansa, splendor, brilliancy, also given under *en-*	
importansa, importance	*importar*, matter
jactansa, boasting	*jactar*, boast
lauransa, plowing of field	*laurar*, plow
liansa, alliance	*liar*, bind
liuransa, delivery; also doctrines or traditions	*liurar*, deliver
longansa, delay	*longar*, remove
lonhansa, postponement, deferment	*lonhar*, remove
majoransa, majority[1]	
malanansa, misfortune[2]	
malestansa, discomfort[2]	
manifestansa, manifestation	*manifestar*, manifest
maridansa, marriage	*maridar*, marry
melhoransa, improvement	*melhorar*, improve
membransa, memory	*membrar*, remember
mendigansa, beggary	*mendigar*, beg
meravelhansa, marveling	*meravelhar*, marvel
mercenejansa, pity	*mercenejar*, have pity for
mermansa, diminution	*mermar*, diminish
mesclansa, dispute	*mesclar*, mix, confuse
moderansa, moderation	*moderar*, moderate
molheransa, marriage	*molherar*, marry
montansa, elevation	*montar*, mount

[1] *Majoransa* seems to show another substitution of -ANSA for -TAT. See *amistansa*.

[2] *Malanansa* and *malestansa* appear to be *mal* + *anar* + *ansa* and *mal* + *estar* + *ansa*. *Estansa* exists alone but with a different kind of meaning; see hybrid formations, p. 579. In words of this kind, *ben* and *mal* are treated as words rather than as mere prefixes.

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mostransa, demonstration	*mostrar*, show
muzansa, folly, thoughtlessness	*muzar*, wait in vain, lose time
nafransa, wound, damage	*nafrar*, wound
nomansa, reputation	*nomar*, name
nomenativansa, rumor, report	*nomenativar*, name
oblidansa, forgetfulness	*oblidar*, forget
obransa, work	*obrar*, work
ondansa,[1] profit, advantage (?)	
onransa, honor	*onrar*, honor
ordenansa, command, arrangement	*ordenar*, order
orrejansa, impurity, soiling	*orrejar*, soil
parcenejansa, participation	*parcenejar*, participate
pejoransa, decline	*pejorar*, decline, deteriorate
pensansa, thought, care	*pensar*, think
perdonansa, pardoning; indulgence	*perdonar*, pardon
perlongansa, prolongation	*perlongar*, prolong
perparansa, offer, presentation	*perparar*, offer, present
piatansa,[2] pity, consideration; alms	
plendansa,[2] fulness	
poderansa,[2] power	
pojansa, ascendancy	*pojar*, rise
portansa, bearing	*portar*, bear
prestansa, loan	*prestar*, lend
prezansa, appreciation, esteem	*prezar*, prize
prezentansa, presentation	*prezentar*, present
prezicansa, preaching	*prezicar*, preach
procreansa, procreation	*procrear*, procreate
publiansa, publication	*publiar*, publish
pujansa, see *pojansa*	
quitansa, discharge, quittance	*quitar*, leave
razonansa, remonstrance, observation	*razonar*, reason
recordansa, commemoration	*recordar*, record
regazerdonansa, recompense	*regazerdonar*, recompense
remembransa, memory	*remembrar*, remember

[1] *Ondansa* is probably *aondansa* with the loss of the prefix *a-*.

[2] *Piatansa* probably shows a substitution of -ANSA for -TAT; see *amistansa*, above. In the same way, *plendansa* appears to show a substitution for -TAT in *plendat*. *Poderar* as a simple verb is not found, though it exists in *apoderar*.

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renomansa,[1] renown	*renomnar*, re-name
seguransa, security, assurance	*segurar*, assure
semblansa, resemblance	*semblar*, seem
sobre(a)ondansa, superabundance	*sobrondar*, superabound
sonansa, assonance, imperfect rhyme	*sonar*, sound
tarzansa, delay	*tarzar*, delay
tormentansa, torment, suffering	*tormentar*, torment
trabucansa, overturning, upsetting	*trabucar*, upset
triansa, choice, distinction	*triar*, choose
uzansa, custom, usage	*uzar*, use
vanansa, boasting	*vanar*, boast
venjansa, vengeance	*venjar*, avenge
versemblansa,[2] probability	
vojansa,† emptying	*vojar*, empty

Under -ENSA, the following words are found:

apartenensa, appurtenance	*apartener*, belong
atendensa, waiting, delay	*atendre*, wait
avinensa,[3] attraction, charm	*avenir*, please
befazensa,[2] charity	
cabensa, room, space	*caber*, be contained in
calensa, care	*caler*, care
cazensa, fall	*cazer*, fall
complanhensa, complaint	*complanher*, complain
concrezensa, concession, admission	from *concrezer*, for *concreire*, grant, concede
constrensa,[4] constraint (legal term)	
convinensa, see *cov-*[3]	

[1] *Renomansa* is surely formed on the verb rather than the noun, although the *n* of *renomnar* has disappeared. Cf. *renomada* and the Fr. *renommée*. The loss of the *n* may be due to Fr. influence.

[2] *Versemblansa* and *befazensa* = *ver* + *semblar* + -ENSA and *be* + *fazer* + -ENSA. See hybrid formations, p. 579.

[3] For the vowel in the stem of *avinensa* and *covinensa*, see Grandgent, art. 46, sec. 1.

[4] A shortened form of *costrenhensa* from *costrenher*?

† Also of Lat. origin, *aondansa*, abundance < *abundantia*; *consiransa*, care < *considerantia*; *erransa*, error < *errantia*, listed in Cooper, 33; and *sobransa*, *sovereignty* < *superantia*.

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correnza, course, flow	*correr*, run, flow
covinenza,[1] stipulation	*covenir*, agree
cozenza, cooking	*cozer*, cook
crezenza, belief	*crezer*, believe
desconoisenza, unfriendliness (L), ingratitude (R)	*desconoiser*, not to know
descrezenza, unbelief	*descrezer*, disbelieve
desmantenenza, abandonment	*desmantener*, abandon
dezobedienza,[2] disobedience	*dezobezir*, disobey
dolenza, grief, chagrin	*doler*, grieve
durenza, hardness	*durir*, become hard
enseguenza, following	*enseguir*, follow
entendenza, thought, opinion	*entendre*, understand
escazenza, heritage, inheritance	*escazer*, fall due
esfluenza,[3] outflow	
espavenza,[4] fear	
estendenza, extension, expansion	*estendre*, extend
estenenza, reserve, abstinence	*estener*, hold back
falhenza, lack, loss	*falhir*, fail
fazenza, making; issuance, publication	infinitive *fazer*, instead of *faire*
florenza,[5] a coin	*florir*, flourish
folenza, folly	*folir*, become foolish, crazy
garenza, guaranty	*garir*, preserve
joisenza,[6] usufruct, possession	
lezenza, allowance, permission	*lezer*, permit
loctenenza,[7] viceroyship	

[1] For the vowel in the stem of *avinenza* and *covinenza*, see Grandgent, art. 46, sec. 1.

[2] The simple word *obedienza* is of Lat. origin.

[3] Formed by analogy with *enfluenza* with no verb intervening.

[4] There is no such verb as *espaver* in Prov., but *expavēre* existed in Lat. and forms of it still exist in some dialects (see Körting, No. 3,440). One may have existed also in Prov. The simple form *pavenza* may have aided in the formation of *espavenza*.

[5] The word comes more directly, of course, from the proper noun, Florence.

[6] The only verb is *jauzir*. Cf., however, the O.Fr. *joir*, *joissant'ment*, *joissable*, and the modern *jouissance*. The word appears to be a borrowing from Fr., but in such case we should expect -ANSA instead of -ENSA.

[7] See also hybrids, p. 579.

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luzensa, splendor	*luzir*, shine
mantenensa,[1] maintenance	*mantener*, maintain
mensvalensa,[1] inferior value, depreciation	
mescazensa, misfortune	*mescazer*, injure
mesconoisensa, ignorance, ingratitude	*mesconoiser*, not to know
noncalensa,[1] nonchalance	*noncaler*
padoensa, communal forest (?), right of pasturing; see Du Cange's *paduentiae*, under *paduire*	
paisensa, right of pasturing	*paiser*, pasture
partensa, division	*partir*, divide
parvensa,[2] appearance; conduct	*parer*, appear
percebensa, inspiration, suggestion	*percebre*, perceive
pervenensa, revenue, perquisites	*pervenir*, attain, belong
pervezensa, perspicacity	*pervezer*, perceive
plazensa, pleasure, amiability	*plazer*, please
plevensa, promise, guaranty	*plevir*, pledge
preconoisensa,[3] foreknowledge	
prometensa, promise	*prometre*, promise
reconoisensa, recognition	*reconoiser*, recognize
rendensa, care, attention	*rendre*, render, give back
requerensa, request, demand	*requerir*, require, demand
resplandensa, resplendence	*resplandre*, shine, glitter
sabensa, learning	*saber*, know
tazensa, silence	*tazer*, be silent
temensa, fear	*temer*, fear
tenensa, possession, enjoyment	*tener*, hold
vezensa, sight	*vezer*, see
viltenensa,[1] † scorn	

[1] See also hybrids, p. 579. *Noncaler*, on which *noncalensa* is formed, is used as a noun.

[2] The *v* in *parven* is inserted, according to Diez, 655, to distinguish it from *paren*, parent. Hence also *parvensa*.

[3] *Preconoisensa* = PRE- + *conoisensa*. See nominal prefixes, p. 476.

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† Of Lat. origin are *aparensa* and *creisensa* (see Cooper, 34), *delinquensa*, *dependensa*, and *excelensa* (see Olcott, 75), and *indigensa*, *iraisensa* (see Cooper, 34), *jovensa*, *pavensa*, *preĕminensa*, *semensa* (Cooper, 36), *sofrensa* (Rönsch, 50; Cooper, 35), and *sostenensa* (Rönsch, 50). *Jovensa*, youth, is probably from **juventia* for *juventa* (cf. O.Fr. *jouvence*). *Juventia* may have been formed on the model of *adolescentia*.

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-AR

The Provençal suffix -AR seems generally to have developed out of the Latin adjective suffix -ARIS, found already in Latin used substantively, as in *familiaris*, an intimate friend, which became the Provençal *familhar*, friend, companion. The adjective used substantively seems sometimes to have taken the meaning of the noun with which it was originally used, and to have lost all trace of its proper meaning. This is the case in *anglar*, bit of stone, from the phrase *peira anglar;* and in other cases, the substantive use of the adjective shows no change in meaning to have been contracted by the noun on which the adjective was originally formed, as in *leon* and *leonar*, lion, *polga* and *polgar*, thumb. The list in which -AR represents the Latin adjective suffix -ARIS follows:

anglar, piece of rock	*anglar*, angular
falgar, place grown with ferns	There is no word *falga* in Provençal on which to form such a word as *falgar*, although there is a word *falguiera*, in which the ending represents the suffix -ARIUM.[1] *Falgar* looks like another form of the same word.
falhar, wood for hoops: Is rather difficult to explain. There is a word *falha*, a fault, and also *falha*, a board-game, but *falhar* does not appear to be formed on either of them. The corresponding French word is *feuillard*, derived from *feuille*.[2] The Provençal word seems also to be connected with the word for leaf—*folh*.	
fosar, family tomb	*fosa*, ditch
lagremar, lachrymal gland	*lagrema*, tear
leonar, lion	*leon*, lion
merendar, lunch	*merenda*, lunch

[1] See Körting, No. 3,745, *filicaria* (*filix*, fern, plus -ARIA).

[2] See *Dic. Gen.* under *feuillard*.

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milhar, field of millet	*milh*, millet
molinar, place fit for building mills, or one having mills	*molin*, mill
mosclar, fishhook	*moscla* (more commonly *noscla*), clasp
palhar, sweepings, straw-supply[1]†	*palha*, straw

Another source from which -AR is derived is the suffix -ARE, the neuter form of -ARIS, already used substantively in Latin, as in *altare*. It seems to be used to denote objects of dress.

espaular, shoulder-piece	*espaula*, shoulder
golar,†† neckpiece	*gola*, throat

-AR is found also in a few words in which it represents simply the infinitive ending of the verb of the first conjugation. These nouns are nothing but these infinitives used substantively.[2] Such words are:

cantar, hymn *felenar*, anger *gostar*, lunch

[1] The suffix even seems to have collective force here, but this meaning also may be due to the noun with which the word was used.

[2] See also nouns from verbs, p. 548.

† Other words of Lat. origin are *cujolar*, hut; wooded plains, an obscure word which Thomas derives from *cubiolaris* (*Nouv. Ess.*, 228); *familhar*, friend, servant<*familiaris; joglar*, "jongleur"<*jocularis; lindar*, threshhold<*limitaris; melar*, large vessel for oil<*mellarium; pegar*, pitcher< *picarium; pedilhar*, pole (also *pezelhar*, hinge, pivot, pole)<**pedicularis; pobolar*, lower classes, people<*popularis;* and *polgar*, thumb<*pollicaris*. *Melar* is peculiar in its development of meaning. *Mellarius* meant "pertaining to honey" in Class. Lat., and the neuter *mellarium* meant "beehive." In Du Cange the latter is found with the meaning of vessel in which honey is kept or wine is placed. Then, in Prov., instead of wine, the *mellarium* seems to have been used for oil. *Pedilhar* and *pezelhar* are also interesting. Both probably come from a Lat. *pedicularis*, which could mean "pertaining to a small foot or to a louse" (*pediculus* meaning both small foot and louse, and *peolh* from *peduculus* having the latter meaning in Prov.). *Pedilhar* and *pezelhar* seem to come from *pedicularis* with the former meaning, though the precise development of meaning is not clear.

†† *Colar*, collar (Meyer-Lübke, II, 550), *luminar* (Körting, No. 5,729), and *sollar*, shoe, are Lat.

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The Provençal -AR apparently comes also from -ARIUS, and is found in some learned formations instead of the more usual ending -IER. Thus,

cartolar,[1] carter
cavalar, rider

And representing -ARIUM, -AR is found in:

castelar,[2] castle, stronghold
epistolar, collection of letters

[1] See words in -ARI also, note 2 below.

[2] There is also a word *caslar*, which is at first puzzling, as Raynouard (II, 353) gives examples showing the meaning to be different from that of *castel*. It meant apparently a stronghold belonging to a castle, and is an example of an adjective used substantively. It is a phonetic development of *castellaris* uninfluenced by the simple word *castellum* (*Nouv. Ess.*, 229 for *caylar* beside *castelar*). See also *caslan*, beside *castelan*.

In learned words, however, a more usual termination than -AR for words from -ARIUS and -ARIUM was -ARI. These words are all Lat. formations: *armari*, closet; *bestiari*, bestiary; *breviari*, breviary; *cartolari*, carter; *compromisari*, arbitrator; *conrezari*, head cook; *contrari*, enemy, injury; *datari*, necrology (that is, date-book in which dates of deaths are noted. See Du Cange, *datarium*); *deimari*, tithing; *deima*, tithe (*desma*, tenth); *desvari*, folly, extravagance; *doari*, dowry (also written *doaire*); *donatari*, recipient of gift; *erbolari*, herbal, also herbalist, botanist; *escaperlari*, scapulary; *falsari*, falsifier; *imnari*, hymnal; *incendiari*, incendiary; *leudari*, district in which "leuda" is raised; *leuda*, tax; *librari*, bookshelf or library; *mandatari*, book in which the order of divine offices is laid down; *ordenari*, usual following of a lord; ordinary judge; *pesari*, pessary; *procesionari*, processional; *propriari*, owner, possessor; *questionari*, executioner; *vestiari*, vestiary.

And from -ERIUM: *baptisteri*, baptistry; *cimiteri*, cemetery; *cristeri*, clyster.

And from -ORIUM: *escriptori*, scriptorium (the popular developments of -ARIUM [-ERIUM] and -ORIUM with the Prov. words formed by means of them will be found under the headings -IER and -OIRA); *panatori*, theft; *posesori*, possession; real estate; *predicatori*, pulpit; *preparatori*, preparation; *procuratori*, power of attorney.

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-ARÍA

The suffix -ARÍA was formed by attaching the suffix -IA (which will be treated later[1]) to words already ending in -ARIU.[2] -IA was added to nouns and to adjectives to form abstracts generally: -ARIA is added to the same parts of speech, but especially to nouns, to designate the place in which the object denoted by the simple noun could be found in abundance, or was sold. This is its most important function, but by no means its only one; for it seems to denote certain offices or trades (*camararia*, *celararia*, *polaria*, etc.), and also (as in *molinaria*) a certain feudal right. In *establaria*, *fermansaria*, etc., there is no change in meaning from that of the simple noun, and a number of words have abstract force. A difficulty in dealing with this suffix occurs in such words as *parlaria*, where the suffix appears to be joined to verbs to form abstract nouns, which was one of the functions of -IA. As it seems hardly likely that -IA, which formed abstracts on verb-stems in such words as *partia*, should be joined also to the full form of the infinitive,[3] words like *parlaria* will be treated as being formed by adding -ARIA to verb-stems. The abstracts with the ending -ARIA appear to be formed in this way.[4]

In the first list will be given the words in which -ARIA is added to nouns; in the second, the ones in which the addition may have been to verb or noun; then the

[1] Pp. 201–6.

[2] The perfectly phonetic development of the combination of the two suffixes would be -AIRIA, which is also found.

[3] No words are ever formed on the full form of the infinitive, but always on the stem. The "*ar*" of *parlaria* is clearly a part of the compound suffix -ARIA.

[4] This is certainly the case. -ARIA is thought of as a single suffix, and not as originally a compound in which the suffix -IA was added only to words in -ARIUS. See *Essais*, 183–84.

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formations on verbs; and then the adjective ones, after which some words ending in -AIRIA will be treated.

-ARIA added to nouns:

almonaria, office of almoner	*almona*, alms
aludaria, tannery	*aluda*, a kind of skin
ambacharia, embassy	(*ambach*<*ambactus*, not found, though there are still other derived words)
barbaria, barber-shop	*barba*, beard
biblaria, library	*bibla*, bible
bladaria, corn-market	*blat*, wheat
boaria, also *boria*, ox-stall; also *metairie*, that is, "a small farm whose produce pays the rent." The first meaning seems closer to the simple noun *bou*, ox; but the other meaning also could be derived from it	
cabanaria, property	*cabana*, cabin
cabraria, herd of goats	*cabra*, goat
camararia, office of chamberlain	*cambra*, room
cavalaria, cavalry; also knightly deed	*caval*, horse
celararia,[1] office of cellarer	*celar*, cellar from *cela*, cellar
coiratarla,[1] tannery	(*coirat* is not to be found, though there is *coirier*, etc.)
correjaria, strapshop	*correja*, strap
draparia, dry-goods	*drap*, cloth
drogaria, drugstore	*droga*, drug
drudaria, gallantry	*drut*, lover
egaria, troop of horses	*ega*, mare
erbaria, herb-market	*erba*, herb
erbolaria,[1] vegetable-market	
escudaria,[2] squirehood, i.e., novitiate of knight<*escudier*, squire, knight	

[1] See double suffixes, pp. 383 and 395. As for *erbolaria*, *erbol* is not found, but *herbolerius*, guardian of the herbs, and *herbolastra*, pastry, are in Du Cange. **Erbola*, from the Lat. *herbula*, must have once existed.

[2] Clearly the word on which *escudaria* is formed is *escudier*, knight, and not *escut*, shield, yet we have -ARIA and not -AIRIA, though -AIR is regularly found for -ARIUS plus other suffixes, as seen in -AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRON, etc.

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especiaria, spice-shop	*especia*, spice
establaria, stable	*estable*, stable
fabraria, smithy	*fabre*, smith
facharia, leasehold estate	*facha*, property
fatonaria, folly (*fatonia*, *fatonier*, also found)	(**faton* from *fat*, fool)
fermansaria,[1] security, bail	*fermansa*, security, bail
ferrataria,[1] ironwork	*ferrat*, iron pail
fizansaria,[1] security, bail	*fizansa*, security, bail
fogaria, hearth, chimney	*foc*, fire
formatjaria,[1] cheese business	*formatje*, cheese
fornatjaria.[1] Levy gives the word without meaning. It appears from his example to mean something like baking-rights, from *fornatje*, from *forn*, oven	
fornaria, place where ovens are	*forn*, oven
forraria, office of quartermaster	*forrier*, quartermaster, cf. formation of *escudaria* above
frucharia, fruit-market	*fruch*, fruit
gaferaria,[2] hospital for lepers	*gafel*, leper
galaria,[3] gallery	
granataria,[4] granary	(**granat*) from *gran*, grain
judiciaria, judicial service	*judici*, judgment
lanasaria,[4] wool-factory	(**lanas*) from *lana*, wool
loctenensaria,[5] deputyship	*loctenensa*, deputyship
logadaria,[4] letting, lease	*logada*, rent
mangonaria, hardware	*mangon*, a copper coin
maomaria, mosque	*maom*, Mahomet (?)
marrelaria, churchwardenship	*marrelier*, churchwarden
mercadaria, merchandise; business	*mercat*, market
mercaria, merchandise	*mertz* (*mers*), merchandise
mesatjaria,[4] mission	*mesatge*, message
mezelaria, hospital for lepers; leprosy	*mezel*, leper

[1] See double suffixes, pp. 383–84.

[2] See Du Cange, *gafaria*.

[3] Probably not a Prov. formation. According to Körting the origin of the word is a Lat. **calaria*. According to Diez, it is the Gr. γαλῆ.

[4] See double suffixes, pp. 395, 401, and 393, n. †

[5] See hybrid formations, p. 579.

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milharia, millet-market (?)	*milh*, millet
orjaria,[1] grain business; grain-market	*orgier*, grain-dealer
ostalaria, hotel	*ostal*, hotel
pairolaria, trade of tinker or boiler-maker	*pairol*, kettle
panataria,[2] bakery	*panet*, small piece
parcenaria,[1] common property	*parcenier*, sharer
pastisaria, pastry	*pastis*, pie, pastry
peiraria, stone pile	*peira*, stone
peisonaria, fish business	*peison*, fish
pelharia, furriery	*pelh*, skin, pelt
penchuraria, painting	*penchura*, painting
perlaria, pearls	*perla*, pearl
personaria, deputyship	*persona*, person (of consequence)
pilhardaria, pillage	*pilhart*, trooper, servant
pintaria, making of "pintas"	*pinta*, vessel for wine
podestaria, office of "podestat"	*podesta(t)*, powerful lord
polaria, poultry business	*pol*, chicken
porcaria, pigsty	*porc*, pig
portaria, office of gatekeeper	*porta*, gate
preveiraria, priesthood	*preveiri*, priest
putaria, prostitution	*puta*, prostitute
ribaudaria, ribaldry	*ribaut*, ribald
romaria, pilgrimage	*Roma*, Rome
sabataria, shoeshop	*sabata*, shoe
sorrolharia,[3] sorcery	
ufanaria,† self-sufficiency	*ufana*, arrogance

The following list contains words whose formation is not quite so clear as those in the preceding list, since,

[1] No simple word found. *Forraria*, *marrelaria*, *orjaria*, and *parcenaria* seem to be formed on the corresponding words ending in -IER. See *escudaria*, above. A simple word **orge* may have existed. Cf. the Fr. *orge*.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 395.

[3] There is no word on which *sorrolharia* could be directly based. It looks like a mistake for *sortilharia*, connected with *sortilhier*, sorcerer.

† An obscure word both in form and meaning is *eisintaria*. *Folataria* is also obscure, but may not exist at all, or may be incorrect for *foletaria*. Another word beside which no simple form is found is *quinquilharia*, hardware. Cf. the Fr. *quincaillerie* beside *quincaille*.

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although there is in every case a noun on which they might have been built, there is also a verb, as for example in *fustaria*, carpentry, beside which exist the words *fust*, wood, and *fustar*, to repair (woodwork). There exist also words which must have been formed on verb-stems, and these will be reserved for the succeeding list. The source of the words in the intermediate list, however, noun or verb, it is impossible to state with any certainty, though in most cases it seems probable that the noun was the base of the compound. In a few cases, as in *enfermaria*, *fermaria*, and *lecaria*, instead of the noun it is the adjectives *enferm*, *ferm*, and *lec* which may have been at the base.[1]

Words with a noun (adjective) or verb at the base:

barataria, trafficking, bargaining	*barata*, bargain, and *baratar*, traffic
clavaria, treasuryship; treasury building	*clau*, key, and *clavar*, lock
comandaria, sway, command	*comanda* and *comandar*, command
desmaria, tithing	*desma*, tenth; *desmar*, tithe
divinaria, soothsaying	*divin*, soothsayer, and *divinar*, foretell
eisartaria, bit of land made arable	*eisart*, grubbing, and *eisartar*, make arable
encantaria, sorcery	*encan(t)* and *encantar*, charm
enfermaria, hospital	*enferm*, ill, and *enfermar*, make ill
fachilharia, sorcery	*fachilha* and *fachilhar*, charm
fermaria, fortress	*ferm*, firm, and *fermar*, shut in
forsenaria,[2] fury	*forsen*, madness, and *forsenar*, rave
fustaria, carpentry	*fust*, wood, and *fustar*, repair
gabaria, mockery; also chatter	*gab*, joke, and *gabar*, mock
gatjaria, pledge	*gatje*, pledge, and *gatjar*, pledge

[1] See p. 137.

[2] Two words plus suffix. See hybrid formations, p. 579.

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gazanharia, arable (?) land	*gazanh*, land under cultivation, and *gazanhar*, plow
juraria, office of "jurat"	*jur*, oath, and *jurar*, swear
jutjaria, office of judge	*jutge*, judge, and *jutjar*, to judge
lauzenjaria, flattery	*lauzenja*, flattery, and *lauzenjar*, flatter
lecaria, dainties	*lec*, dainty, and *lecar*, lick
masonaria, masonry	*mason*, mason, and *masonar*, wall up
meitadaria, rent amounting to half of the produce	*meitat*, half, and *meitadar*, halve
mejaria, rent consisting of half the produce of a farm	*meg*, half
mercandaria, merchandise	*mercan*, merchant, and *mercandar*, do business
molinaria, right of grinding	*molin*, mill, and *molinar*, grind
monedaria, coin; mint	*moneda*, coin, and *monedar*, to coin
notaria, notaryship	*nota*, mark, and *notar*, note
parelharia, association; see -AIRIA, below	
peatjaria, toll	*peatge*, toll, and *peatjar*, collect toll
penedensaria,[1] penitent	*penedensa*, penance, and *penedensar*, do penance
pescaria, fishing	*pesca* and *pescar*, fish
poncharia, pointing	*ponch(a)* and *ponchar*, point
pregaria, prayer	*prec*, prayer, and *pregar*, pray
sobransaria, boasting	*sobransa*, domination, and *sobransar*, subjugate (?) (R)
tencharia, dyeshop	*tencha* and *tenchar*, dye

Then come the words which must have been built on verb-stems, if the idea of the addition of -ARIA and not -IA be granted, as there is no noun on which they could be formed. *Flataria*, for example, must have been formed by adding the suffix -ARIA to the stem *flat-*

[1] An unusual meaning for this suffix—that of a person, the agent of an action. Levy lists the word as feminine. It looks as though the Lat. -ARIA had come down to Prov. unchanged, the word being learned.

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of the verb *flatar*. The list is as follows and contains mostly abstracts:[1]

escorjaria, place for flaying	*escorjar*, flay
flataria, flattery	*flatar*, flatter
fretaria, rubbing	*fretar*, rub
leujaria, levity, frivolity	*leujar*, lighten
manjaria, victuals, food	*manjar*, eat
mejansaria, partition	*mejansar*, mediate
menuzaria,[2] carpentry	*menuzar*, diminish
pagaria, payment	*pagar*, pay
pararia, fulling-room; fulling	*parar*, prepare
parlaria, chattering; foolish calls (also -AIRIA)	*parlar*, speak
pilharia, pillage	*pilhar*, plunder
plaidaria, lawsuit, quarrel	*plaidar*, go to law
plaidejaria, lawsuit, quarrel	*plaidejar*, go to law
raubaria, robbery	*raubar*, rob
tuaria, slaughter	*tuar*, kill

In giving the second list,[3] several words (as *enfermaria*, *fermaria*, *lecaria*) were mentioned which might have either adjectives or verbs at their base. In such a word as *fermaria*, fortress, for example, we find two possible sources, the adjective *ferm*, strong, and the stem of *fermar*, to shut in. If any starting-point is necessary for the adding of -ARIA to a verb-stem, it seems possible to find it in this word *fermaria*. Probably with the original meaning of a strong place, from *ferm*, it could have been later associated with the verb *fermar*, to shut in. Then, like so

[1] It seems likely that the abstract words in the preceding list—*barataria*, *encantaria*, *fachilharia*, *fustaria*, *lauzenjaria*, etc.—were formed on verb-stems, the fact of the noun's existence beside the verb being only accidental. With only a few exceptions, such as *escorjaria*, where no noun is found, a rule might be given that abstracts were formed on verb-stems, and nouns denoting place, office, and collectives on nouns. In the few cases where the nouns apparently formed on nouns have abstract meaning, may there not have existed a verb which is not found in our texts?

[2] Probably not derived directly from this verb, but from *menuzier*, as *escudaria* from *escudier*. See p. 131, n. 2, above.

[3] P. 134.

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many of the suffixes added to verb-stems (-AMEN, -ANSA, etc), it was used almost entirely in forming abstracts.

The list of words with adjectives at their base follows:

enfermaria, hospital	*enferm*, ill
fermaria, fortress	*ferm*, strong
lecaria, dainties	*lec*, dainty
malaudaria, hospital	*malaut*, ill
meichantaria, badness	*meichan(t)*, bad
menudarias, trifles	*menut*, small

Most of these words have been mentioned in a previous list.[1]

One word seems to be formed by adding -ARIA to a preposition:[2]

contraria, opposition, obstacle	*contra*, against

Besides all of the words just given under -ARIA, there are several other words ending instead in -AIRIA, which appears to be only another development of the compound suffix -ARIU plus -IA, and, indeed, a rather more regular one.[3] Though -ARIUS generally became -IER in Pro-

[1] Pp. 134–35.

[2] This formation, however, probably is only apparent. The word is probably connected with *contrarius* or *contraria*, the feminine form. The accentuation of the word is difficult to determine from the examples. Cf. the O.Fr. *contraire*.

[3] The twin forms -ARÍA and -AIRÍA are rather difficult to explain. The combination of -ARIU- plus -IA is found in most of the Romance languages and seems therefore to have been formed early and to have been of frequent use, although not mentioned by either Cooper or Olcott, both of whom seem to ignore double suffixes. The development should properly be -AIRIA (cf. -AIRADA, etc.), but for some reason not perfectly clear we generally find -ARIA instead. The change in form may have been due to the analogy of the large number of suffixes added to verb-stems—ARIA often has this appearance also—having *a* as the stem-vowel, on account of which -ARIA instead of -IA was probably taken for the suffix. This theory would likewise account for the Sp. -ARIA, which is also peculiar in form, -ARIUS giving -ERO. The whole subject seems uncertain, however. -ARIA cannot, however, have come about like the Fr. -ERIE (-IE attached to -ER, the unaccented form of -IER), as -AIR is itself the form in use when unaccented. -AIRIA is sporadically found, possibly helped by the persistence of corresponding forms ending in -IER. See above list, *corratier*, etc.

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vençal, -IER is not its phonetic development; this should rather be -AIR, which is found, indeed, in a few words, as *doaire*<*dotarium*, *fruchaire*<*fructuarium*, and more especially in the cases in which another suffix was attached to -ARIU. Thus we have many words ending in such compound suffixes as -AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRON, etc. Under -AIRIA we find:

bevedairia, drunkenness	*bevenda*, drink
bordelairia, libertinage	*bordel*, disreputable house
corratairia,[1] brokership	*corratier*, broker
crezensairia,[2] surety, bail	*crezensa*, surety
diablairia, deviltry	*diable*, devil
ebriairia, drunkenness	*ebri*, drunk
juratairia, college of "jurats"	*jurat*, "jurat"
leudairia, custom-house	*leuda*, a tax
parelhairia, association	*parelha*, couple

-ERÍA also, which appears to be only another variation of the suffix -ARÍA, is found in three words:[3]

arrauberia, robbery	*arraubar*, rob
franqueria, land exempt from taxation	*franc*, free
polaseria, poultry-market	*polatz*, chicken

-ART (-ARDA)

There are several nouns ending in -ART, but the more common use of the suffix was to form adjectives. Coming from a Germanic -ARD or -HARD, found at first only in proper names, such as *Adalhard*, and meaning originally "hard," it became detached to be used as a regular suffix,

[1] No simple word. See double suffixes, p. 395.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 384.

[3] These seem to be the only examples in which -ERÍA is found, and it is to be noted that the first two are Germanic words. They probably came in through France, and the *e* instead of *a* may be due to Fr. influence.

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serving to form adjectives on nouns, the proper names from which the suffix was detached possibly having come to be regarded as words denoting the dominant characteristics of the persons whom they named. Then, in many words, the suffix took on depreciative force. Later, it was also added to the stems of verbs denoting action, forming adjectives in all of these words. Most of the nouns ending in -ART appear to be only adjectives used substantively. -ART is found added to nouns in:

bastart,[1] bastard	*bast*, pack-saddle
colhart, stallion	*colh*, testicle
jacomart, clapper in bells on steeples (in the form of the figure of a man armed with a hammer).	*jac(o)me*, James
palhart (see also the feminine form, -ARDA, given below), poor man; rogue	*palha*, straw
penart,[2] pheasant	*pena*, feather, quill
penart,[2] double-edged knife	*pena*, feather
solart,[3] sun	*sol*, sun

The suffix is added to adjectives in:

baiart, bay horse	*bai*, bay
velhart, old man	*velh*, old

and to verbs in:

muzart, loiterer, dawdler	*muzar*, gape, dawdle

[1] The connection between *bastart* and *bast* is not clear at first sight. Körting, No. 1,265, explains the word *bastart* as a child conceived on a pack-saddle, that is, the offspring of a runaway match. In the *Dic. Gen.*, the word is explained by the relations of muleteers or pack-saddle men with maids at inns.

[2] The connection between *penart* and *pena* seems, in the one case, to be due to the long feathers of the pheasant, and in the other, in the use of this kind of knife in cutting quills.

[3] *Solart* is peculiar in showing no change of meaning from that of the simple word. It is omitted in the little Levy, and Raynouard's quotation is too short to do much with.

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pendart, hangman	*pendre*, hang
petart, petard	*petar*,[1] burst
pilhart,[2] † trooper, servant	*pilhar*, steal

The feminine form -ARDA is seen in:

galharda, a coin (the feminine of the adjective *galhart* used substantively). See adjectives	
palharda, prostitute. See *palhart*, above	*palha*, straw

-AS, -ASA

The Provençal endings -AS and -ASA are generally derived from the Latin suffixes -ACEUS, -ACEA, but, as in so many other cases, there are many words ending in -AS and -ASA which cannot represent these Latin suffixes, and therefore have to be dealt with separately. Most of the words in -AS and -ASA appear to be Provençal formations, *focaceam* > *fogasa*, buttered roll (French, *fouasse;* Italian, *focaccia;* Spanish, *hogaza*), being the only word given by Meyer-Lübke[3] as Latin, although perhaps **cannabaceum* > *canabas* (Italian, *canavaccio;* Spanish, *cañamazo*) may be assumed. The suffix gave an idea of quantity to the simple word, or greatness in size, and then depreciative force.

[1] *Petar* probably exists, although Levy cannot find Raynouard's example. Cf. the Fr. *péter*.

[2] In *pilhart*, the connection with *pilhar* is probably due to the thievish propensities of troopers and servants.

[3] II, 503.

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† Other words in -ART are *biroart*, a kind of cloth; *estibart*, steward; *Lombart*, Lombard, and *minhart*, affected person. *Biroart* is obscure, *estibart* is entirely of Germanic origin, and in *Lombart* the suffix is only apparent. In *minhart* the stem is uncertain, but we have -ART, possibly substituted for -OT. See *minhot*.

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The words in -AS representing -ACEUS with this augmentative (or depreciative) force are as follows:

canabas, hempen cloth	*canebe*, hemp
canas, large dog	*can*, dog
diablas, large hateful devil	*diable*, devil
ermas, unplowed land	*erm*, desert
fedas, herd	*feda*, sheep
galatas,[1] garret, attic	*Galata*, Galata (a tower in Constantinople)
gorjas, large throat	*gorja*, throat
gravas, sandbank	*grava*, shore
maustinas, large mastiff	*maustin*, mastiff
merdas, blackguard	*merda*, dung
nertas, place where myrtles abound	*nerta*, myrtle
palhas, sweepings	*palha*, straw
sacas, large sack	*sac*, sack
sedas,[2] † sieve	*seda*, silk

There are also two words that are apparently formed on verbs:

crebas, crevice; see also *crebasa*	*crebar*, crack, pierce
juzaigas, ghetto (see *Essais*, 114)	*juzaigar*, be a Jew; judaize

[1] Probably a borrowing from Fr., as it is found in the works of Eustache Deschamps, and as the one Prov. example is in an inventory of the end of the fifteenth century.

[2] Cf. the Fr. *sas*. Possibly both words are from a Lat. *setacium*.

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† There is also a word of Lat. origin, *pedas*, trifle, from *pitaceum*, the late Lat. form of *pittaceum*. Cf. the Sp. *pedazo*.

There are also several words ending in *-as* in which these letters do not represent -ACEUS at all, and have not its augmentative or depreciative force. Such words are *cabas*, *femoras*, *ferias*, *ferrias*, *ipocras*, *matalas*, and *matras*. They will be treated individually:

cabas, basket, has probably not the suffix -ACEUS. The word appears to be due to a substantive use of the adjective *capax*, *capacem*, becoming *cabas*, just as *pacem* became *pas* as well as *pais* and *patz*.

femoras, manure-pile, is a complete puzzle as regards its ending. The word is also written *femeras* and *fomeras*, and is evidently formed on the simple word *fem*. The *s* would at first sight appear to be the plural *s* added to *fem* plus the suffix -ERA; but Raynouard's example (III,301)

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The words in -ASA from -ACEA seem generally to have had the same augmentative force as the words in -AS, although sometimes this idea is not quite so obvious. The list follows:

bonasa,[1] calm at sea	*bon*, good
carnasa, much flesh or dead flesh	*carn*, flesh
carrasa, pile (of wood)	*carre* (?), car
coasa, plait of hair, pigtail	*coa*, tail
coirasa, breastplate	*cuer*, *cor*, leather
conhasa, ax	*conh*, wedge
espinasa, bramble-bush (?), i.e., place grown with thorns	*espina*, thorn
ferrasa, fire-shovel	*ferra*, iron trimming
filasa, flax ready for spinning	*fila*, thread
golasa, large mouth	*gola*, throat
gotasa, gout	*gota*, drop
grimasa, grimace	*grima*, sadness
jornadasa,[2] long day's journey	*jornada*, day's journey

[1] Formed on an adjective and found in the other Romance languages (Latin ?).

[2] See double suffixes, p. 383.

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has 1 *femoras*, and Levy's examples (III, 433) also clearly prove it to be singular. The -AS appears to be the suffix -ACEUS added to *femor*, a form built on *fimus* through its having changed its inflection because of the analogy of *stercus*, *stercoris*? *Femor* is not found, although *femorejar* is. *Femoras* might be a bad spelling for *femeras*, of course (-ERAS = -ARIUM+ACEUS), but that would be unlike the usual development of -ARIUS in combinations (*capairon*, *denairal*, *figairada*, *mercadairet*, etc.).

ferias, holidays, seems to be the only Lat. word *feriae* (acc. *ferias*) borrowed in Prov.

ferrias, bars for hanging pothooks, appears to be the Prov. form of the Lat. adjective *ferreus*, of iron, used in the accusative plural. The noun (meaning bars) with which it must have been regularly used has disappeared, and the adjective now has the meaning of the lost noun.

ipocras, a sweetened drink made of roots, is due to a mediaeval deformation of the name of Hippocrates, to whom the drink was attributed. See *Dic. Gen.* under *hypocras*.

matalas, mattress, and *matras*, javelin, have not the suffix -ACEUS. *Matras* is of uncertain origin.

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palhasa, litter, stubble	*palha*, straw
pigasa, boar-spear	*pic*, pickax
pinasa,† pinnace	*pin*, pine

One word appears to be formed on a verb:

liasa, bundle (cf. French *liasse*)	*liar*, bind

although it may be *liazon*(< *ligationem*) with a change of suffix that is represented.

-IS, -ISA

With the suffixes -AS and -ASA from -ACEUS, -ACEA may be given -IS and -ISA as coming from -ICIUS, -ICIA. The masculine form -IS is rarely found in Provençal, *brodis*, border, edge, *mestis*, half-breed, *pastis*, paste, and *patis*, fine shoe, seeming to be the only examples of it. All of these words, however, may have been originally adjectives, in which use the suffix is not uncommon. For example, *mestis* probably represents *mixticius*,[1] of mixed breed, and is merely a substantive use of it; *pastis* is probably derived from *pasticius*, an adjective derived from *pasta*, paste; *brodis*, border, edge, may come from *borda*, shore, though the word is not perfectly clear; and *patis* is obscure.

The feminine form -ISA<-ICIA is not so unusual, and is found in:

calmisa, hedge	*calm*,[2] heath, uncultivated land
frachisa, joint	*fracha*, fracture
palisa, palisade, paling	*pal*, stake

[1] Lat. (see Goelzer, 143), and formed on a verb.

[2] See *Essais*, 13, note; also Levy, I, 189.

† *Crebasa*, crevice, *escasa*, crutch, and *limasa*, slug, also are found, but are probably not Prov. formations. For *crebasa*, cf. the Fr. *crévasse*. For *escasa*, see Du Cange's *eschassa*. *Limasa* is probably from **limacea*. For corresponding words in other languages, see Körting, No. 5,598, and Diez, 197.

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pelisa, pelisse	*pel*, skin
planisa, esplanade	*plan*, plain
sebisa,† hedge	*sep*, hedge

As is the case with -ITZ,[1] also from -ICIUS, -IS and -ISA have no very well-defined force, although in some words diminutive force may be seen. The forms -IS and -ITZ appear to be really the same suffix, both representing the Latin -ICIUS. When this suffix comes at the end of words, as in the masculine forms, -ITZ is rather more usual than -IS; within words, -ISA, or *s* instead of *tz*, is always found. The forms -ATZ and -ITZ, being of the same origin as -AS and -IS, will, therefore, now be studied.

-ATZ, -ETZ, -ITZ, -UTZ

The suffixes -ATZ, -ETZ, -ITZ, -UTZ will be treated together here as a group. Of these, -ATZ is fairly common; -ITZ also is found in several words; -ETZ is very rare; -UTZ, although found in several words, does not appear to be a true suffix. As with the suffixes -AS and -IS, the source of -ATZ and -ITZ appears to be -ACEUS, -ICIUS. In force, the suffix -ATZ appears to be both

[1] See the lists immediately following.

† A number of other words in -ISA, mostly of Lat. origin, but at any rate not Prov. formations, should also be mentioned: *corisa*, snuffling, probably through some lost Lat. form, from the Gr. χορύζα (cf. It. *corizza*); *genisa*, young heifer, from *junicia* for *junix*, showing the adjective force that the suffix had originally; *laironisa*, theft, is from *latronicia*, for *latrocinium*, showing a metathesis and a change of gender; *matrisa* (?), midwife, from *matricia*, an adjective derived from *matrix* (?); *orredisa*, filth, excrements, from **horridicia* (?), derived from *horridus*; *panisa* (also *panitz*), panic—grass, from *panicia* for *panica*; *podisa*, receipt, from *apodissa*, *apodixa*, (see these words in Du Cange). Most of these words, as *genisa*, *matrisa*, *orredisa*, and *panisa*, seem to have been originally adjectives. *Profetisa*, prophetess, has probably not -ICIUS at all, but -ISSA, which regularly became -ESA.

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augmentative and depreciative. It is found in the following words joined to nouns:

asclatz, splinter	*ascla*, splinter
astelatz,[1] log, stump	*astela*, splint from *asta*
cabasatz, large basket	*cabas*, basket
corsegatz, large, hateful body	*cors*, body
estopatz, linen, tow	*estopa*, tow
evescatz, bad bishop	*evesc*, bishop
ferratz, pail	*fer*, iron
glevatz, bad clod	*gleva*, glebe
pegatz, pitch-cake	*pega*, pitch
plojatz, heavy rain	*ploja*, rain
polatz,† young chicken	*pol*, chicken

-ETZ seems to exist only in *cabetz*, collar, throat, from *cap*, head, but -ETZ here may possibly represent -ĬTIUS, instead of -ĬCIUS, and it is probably not a Provençal formation.

-ITZ[2] representing -ĬCIUS is found added to nouns in a few words, with perhaps no very well-defined force, though probably augmentative:

esportitz, kind of basket	*esporta*, wallet
gotitz (?), drain (?)	*gota*, drop
pelitz, kind of poor wool	*pel*, skin
postitz, †† door	*posta*, plank

-UTZ is found in three words of more or less doubtful origin, so that the existence of -UCEUS here is not sure in any case.

avenutz, ebony-tree: This appears to be derived from the Latin *ebenus*, coming through the Old French form

[1] See double suffixes, p. 382.

[2] For -ITZ in the combinations -ADITZ, -EDITZ, see these suffixes.

† Of Lat. origin there is *olfatz*, sense of smell, from *olfactus* (?).

†† Of Lat. origin there is *celitz*, hair shirt, from *cilicium; naritz*, nose, from *naricius*, derived from *narix;* and *noiritz*, young of an animal, from *nutricius*, derived from *nutrix*. *Pastitz* has already been treated as *pastis* under -IS, and *panitz* under the feminine form *panisa*, the two forms making tolerably clear the original use as adjective.

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benus. This is the way in which Meyer-Lübke explains the Spanish *abenuz*.[1]

estruz seems to represent *struthio*.

glandutz, acorn, from *glan(t)*, acorn, in which the suffix makes no change in the meaning of the word.

The true Provençal suffixes in the above groups are -AS, -ASA, and -ATZ; -IS, -ISA, and -ITZ, which are all derived from -ACEUS, -ACEA and -ĪCIUS, -ICIA. -ĪCIUS and -UCEUS are by no means certain in Provençal.

-ASTRE

There are several words in Provençal with the ending -ASTRE, most of which seem to be derived from the Latin -ASTER, as seen in *patraster*. Provençal has the descendant of this word in *pairastre*, and also the following words:

falcastre, sickle-shaped knife. The simple word here is *fals*, *faus*. This looks, then, like another Latin formation. Compare the Italian *falcastro*.

filhastre, stepdaughter — *filha*, daughter

folastre, fool (from *fol*, fool [?]). Originally used as an adjective, however (cf. French *folâtre*), meaning "foolish," and probably formed on the adjective *fol*. The word appears to be a substantive use of the adjective.

mairastre,† stepmother — *maire*, mother

The suffix when added to nouns is thus depreciative. There is also one other word with the ending -ASTRE which is somewhat puzzling. This is *ecleziastre*, an

[1] II, 508.

† Words of Lat. origin are *mentastre*, wild mint, from *mentastrum*, and *pilastre*, pilaster, from *pilastrum*.

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ecclesiastic. The difficulty here is in the meaning. If the word represents *ecclesia* plus -ASTER, it should mean "bad church," or something similar. If the word, on the other hand, comes from *ecclesiasticus*, how account for the form? *Gleizastgue*, churchly, which we should expect, exists, and Levy also gives *gleizastgle*[1] with an interrogation point. The *l* of this word might become *r* by dissimilation, but the disappearance of the *g* would still have to be accounted for. It appears possible that we have here *gleiza* plus -ASTRE, and that becoming confused with *gleizastgle* from *ecclesiasticus*, it took its meaning.

-AT

The Provençal suffix -AT requires a somewhat detailed treatment, as several different Latin suffixes are represented in it: there is (1) the suffix -ATTUS, denoting the young of animals; (2) a Latin -ATUS, denoting rank; more important than either of these, however, is the (3) substantive use of the past participle. This gives -AT in the first conjugation; but the endings for the others (-IT and -UT) will be given here, as the three endings together form a distinct group and special kind of formation; (4, 5) words apparently formed by using the suffix -AT attached directly to nouns, with no verb at their base, and in a few cases with a prefix also attached, this being inseparable from the word; finally (6), the Latin neuter suffix -ATUM appearing in -AT in a few cases with exactly the same force as described under the words in -ADA from -ATA, the feminine form of the past participle.

[1] IV, 136.

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1. -AT from -ATTUS is found in the following words denoting the young of animals:

aigronat, young heron	*aigron*, heron
aucat, young goose	*auca*, goose
balenat, young whale	*balena*, whale
cerviat, young deer	*cervia*, deer
colombat, young dove	*colomba*, dove
creagat, young sturgeon	*creac*, sturgeon
dragonat, young dragon, threadworm	*dragon*, dragon
galinat, little hen	*galina*, hen
irondat, young swallow	*ironda*, swallow
leonat, young lion	*leon*, lion
lebrat, young hare	*lebre*, hare
lobat, young wolf	*loba*, wolf
mulat,[1] mule	*mul*, mule
paserat,† young sparrow	*pasera*, sparrow

Also probably added to an adjective, it is seen in:

vairat, mackerel	*vair*,[2] variegated

2. Besides -AT coming from -ATTUS,[3] there is a suffix -AT coming from a Latin -ATUS, which was attached to nouns to denote rank, office, or position, as in *consulatus*, etc. A number of words in -AT with this meaning are found in Provençal, but most of them can be traced back to words found in Latin.

The probable Provençal formations follow for -AT denoting rank or position:

[1] The only translation given for *mulat* is mule, not young mule, but -AT must represent -ATTUS here. The suffix seems to have lost its force, perhaps through being influenced by *mulet*, in which the suffix -ET had lost its original diminutive force.

[2] There is also a noun *vair*, denoting a kind of variegated fur.

[3] For -IT<-ITTUS, denoting the young of animals, see the suffix -IT, p. 239, below.

† There are also several words in -AT beside which no simple forms are found. Such are *buzat* and *creat* (found also as *buzac* and *creac*, as given under -AC above). That -AT could be added to -AC may be seen in *creagat* above, but here it seems to be substituted for it.

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arquidiquenat, archdeaconate. *Diaconatus* is found in Latin (see Goelzer, 99), but there seems to be no trace of -AT added to the compound word.

doctorat, doctorate. The same word is found in other Romance languages, but is it Latin?

ducat, duchy	*duc*, duke
notariat, notaryship	*notari*, notary
oficialat, official court	*oficial*, official
personat, benefice in a cathedral; from *persona*, personage (?). *Personatus* as an adjective is found in Latin, but *personat* does not appear to be a substantive use of the word.	
prebostat, office of provost; courthouse	*prebost*, provost
renhat,† kingdom	*renh*, reign

3. Another source of the Provençal suffix -AT is the past participle of verbs in *-ar*.[1] This was very often used substantively, and gives another class of words with the ending *-at*.

Substantive use of the past participles of verbs in *-ar:*

apariat, customer	*apariar*, join, unite, couple
argentat, a stuff connected with the restoration of paint	*argentar*, to plate
blasmat, blame	*blasmar*, blame
coltivat, cultivated bit of land	*coltivar*, cultivate

[1] These words, together with the past participles in -IT and -UT given below, belong properly to the nouns formed from verbs by a simple change of meaning, but they are placed here on account of being closely connected with other words in -AT that are not formed on verbs at all, the development of which they help to make clear.

† Words omitted above because found in Latin are: *apostolat*, apostleship (Goelzer, 98 <*apostolatus*); *clergat*, ecclesiastic (Goelzer, 99, *clericatus*); *comtat*, courtship<*comitatus; consolat*, consulate<*consulatus; evescat*, bishopric (Goelzer, 99, *episcopatus*); *patriarcat*, patriarchate; *primat*, primate (Goelzer, 99, *primatus*).

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comensat, beginning	*comensar*, begin
comjat, leave	*comjar*, give leave
cozinat, food (something cooked)	*cozinar*, cook
creat, child (thing created)	*crear*, create
crozat, a coin (marked with a cross)	*crozar*, cross; bear cross
dechat and *dictat*, poetry	*dechar* and *dictar*, compose
cuidat, *cujat*, thought	*cuidar*, *cujar*, think
deputat, deputy	*deputar*, depute
domenjat,[1] vassal	
donat, lay brother (one who has given himself)	*donar*, give
eisaurelhat, man with slit ears	*eisaurelhar*, slit ears
embarat, *ambarat*,[2] a kind of fortification	*embarrar*, inclose, fence in
empachat, obstacle	*empachar*, prevent
empastat, pie, pastry	*empastar*, cover with paste
emprenhat, foetus	*emprenhar*, impregnate
endoctrinat, scholar	*endoctrinar*, teach
endomenjat,[1] vassal; also property	*endomenjar* (not found in infinitive)
engorgat, reservoir above a mill	*engorgar*, stuff up
enovat, disposal, arrangement	*enovar*, dispose
ensenhat, doctrines	*ensenhar*, teach
eretat, inheritance, property	*eretar*, inherit
faisonat, equipment, outfit	*faisonar*, equip
falhat, person in wrong	*falhar*, fail, be in the wrong
ferrat, pail, bucket	*ferrar*, bind with iron
forat,[2] hole	*forar*, pierce
galiat, deception	*galiar*, deceive
gitat, throwing; also coping	*gitar*, throw
gostat,[3] lunch	*gostar*, taste
gotat, cloth with spots	*gotar*, drip
laurat, plowed field	*laurar*, plow
levat, yeast	*levar*, raise

[1] The infinitives *domenjar* and *endomenjar* are not found.

[2] Should not be confused with *embaratar*. The word is clearly connected with *embarrar* from *barra*, which is given in Raynouard with a single *r*, as well as with the double one.

[3] A Lat. *gustatus* exists with the meaning of "taste"; *foratus* and *populatus* are also found with different meanings from those found in the Prov. *forat* and *poblat*.

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listrat, striped cloth	*listrar*, to marble
malhat, net	*malhar*, make meshes
meisonat, harvested fruits, harvest	*meisonar*, harvest
ostalat, host, companion	*ostalar*, lodge
pavat, pavement	*pavar*, pave
pavezat, soldier protected by a shield	*pavezar*, cover, protect
pesejat, breaking	*pesejar*, break to pieces
plaidejat, pleading	*plaidejar*, plead
poblat, built-up district	*poblar*, people, establish
prezurat, rennet	*prezurar*, press
publicat, publication	*publicar*, publish
semenat,† sown field	*semenar*, sow

As may be seen from the above examples, most of the words in the list are not pure abstracts, but represent rather the thing or the person acted on by the verb. They are in all cases substantive uses of the past participle.

The same thing is true of the other conjugations, and the cases in which their past participles are used as nouns will be given here while dealing with past participles. Thus for the verbs ending in *-ir* we find the past participles in *-it* used substantively:

abordit, abortion, miscarriage	*abordir*, miscarry
ardit, daring	*ardir*, embolden
bastit, building	*bastir*, build
brugit, noise	*brugir*, make noise
escroisit, shock	*escroisir*, crush
grevit, injury	**grevir*[1]
partit, arrangement of a difference	*partir*, arrange (a difference)
plevit, pledge	*plevir*, pledge

And for the remaining verbs the past participle in -UT is used substantively in:

contengut, contents	*contener*, contain
rendut, lay brother	*rendre*, surrender, give up

[1] *Grevir* is not found. The verb meaning "to injure" is *greviar* or *greujar*.

† Other Prov. words in -AT which were formed in Lat. are: *cairat*, four-cornered stone, from the Lat. *quadratum*, corner; *jutjat*, judgment, from *judicatum; mandat*, mandate, from *mandatum; nominat*, nominative,

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4. From nouns formed in this way, the next step taken appears to have been the formation of nouns on nouns without the mediation of any verb, yet having the force of the participial nouns just described and given in the preceding list.

Thus we find:

iranjat, orange-colored cloth	*irange*, orange
escripturat, learned man	*escriptura*, scripture
gabelat, goods on which the "gabela" is paid	*gabela*, a tax
julhat, coin with a lily stamped on it, issued for the first time in the kingdom of Naples under Charles II. Du Cange has both the forms *julhatus* (and *julhata*) and *gigliatus*. The form of the word is probably due to the lily (Italian *giglio*[1]) stamped on it, influenced also by the name of Robert de Juli; or possibly the form of the word may be entirely due to his name.	
pebrat, pepper-colored cloth	*pebre*, pepper
pinholat, confectionery containing pine-seeds	*pinhol*, pine-seed
portionat, one who has received his portion	*portion*, portion
puat, weaver's comb	*pua*, nail, point, tooth
sabatat, a religious sect. The connection between the derived and the simple word is not very clear, but the sect must have been named from the shoes they wore. See Du Cange's *sabatati*.	*sabata*, shoe

There are also a few words formed without any verb

[1] Cf. *crozat*, p. 150, above.

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from *nominatus; optat*, wish, from *optatum; orat*, prayer, from *oratus; prenhat*, offspring, from *praegnatus; prononciat*, decision, from *pronuntiatum.*

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at their base, yet which add a prefix at the same time.[1] Such are:

emboquiparlat, wag. This seems to be made up of *em*, *boca*, and *parlat*, from *parlar*, there being no verb with the prefix. For the *i*, compare the Spanish compounds *barbiespeso*, *barbilampiño*, *pelilargo*, etc. *Emboquiparlat* looks like a word coined for temporary use.

ensabatat,[2] a religious sect — *sabata*, shoe (see *sabatat* in the preceding list)

escodat, skin without the fleece (?) — *coa*, tail (?)

esponhat, a man whose wrist is cut off — from *ponh*, wrist (?)

5. Besides the forms in which -AT appears to indicate a substantive use of the past participle, it seems to be added in a few cases to nouns to which it gives no real change of meaning, or none that can be classified:

baizat, kiss	*bais*, kiss
brocat, large pitcher	*broc*, pitcher
cadenat, chain	*cadena*, chain
cledat, lattice, trellis	*cleda*, hurdle, screen
conventat, convent	*conven(t)*, convent
coralat, a kind of ship	*coral*, kind of ship
cubat, washtub	*cuba*, tub
dogat, tub, canal	*doga*, ditch
feirat, market (?)	*feira*, fair
forcat, large fork	*forc*, fork
gojat, young fellow, lad	*goja*,[3] girl, maiden

[1] These words are, therefore, nominal parasyntheta, under which heading they will again appear (p. 527). They are given here only to make the list of words in -AT complete. Adjectival parasyntheta are more common than the nominal ones.

[2] A rather obscure word in the same passage, and evidently denoting another religious sect, is *encrivelhat*, from *crivelar*, to sift through (?). It seems to be a parasynthetic formation like *ensabatat*. See parasyntheta (p. 527).

[3] In O.Prov. only the feminine form of the simple word is found, and the only masculine form is with the suffix. This is also true of the Mod. Prov. *goujo* and *goujat*. In Fr., only the derived masculine form *goujat* is found.

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gruat, crane, lifting-machine	*grua*, crane
palisat, palisade	*palisa*, palisade
plaisat, hedge	*plais*, hedge
porrat, leek, wart	*porre*, leek
senhorat, master	*senhor*, master
valhat,[1] valley	*valh*, valley

6. There is also one more case in which the suffix -AT is frequently found. This is the case of the Latin suffix -ATUM, the neuter form of the past participle of the first conjugation detached from verbs and added instead to nouns. It generally forms collectives, and in every way is similar in meaning to the words ending in -ADA, formed with the feminine form of the participle, before described.

The list follows:

ambachat, embassy	**ambach* (not found)
barnat, troop of nobles	*baron*, noble
cabrionat, rafterage	*cabrion*, rafter
causat, footwear	*causa*, shoe
codonat, quince preserve	*codon*, quince
culhierat,[2] spoonful	*culhier*, spoon
descat, basketful	*desc*, basket
escat,[3] a measure	
espinat, briars, underbrush	*espina*, thorn
faisonat, bundle of peeled oak branches	*fais*,[4] bundle
fangat, slough	*fanc*, mud

[1] Some of the words in the above list have slightly augmentative force, as *brocat* and *forcat*. This may be due to confusion with -AT, a form of -ATZ (see above). The confusion of these two suffixes of similar sound may be seen in the Fr. *cadenas*. *Cornelhat* (see p. 155, n. †) is another possible augmentative form.

[2] The form *culhierat* instead of *culhairat* is worthy of observation. The word *culhier* is not of Prov. formation, and there are no Prov. formations in -IER adding -AT to give a starting-point for words in -AIRAT.

[3] Formation obscure.

[4] *Faison* is not found with this meaning, and we should expect *faisat*. *Faison* may have existed, however, and would be a natural augmentative of *fais*.

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fogat, hearth-tax	*foc*, fire
folhat, lath, wood	*folh*, leaf
manat,[1] handful	*man*, hand
nogat, oil-cake	*noga*, nut
palmat,[1] span	*palm*, palm
peirat, sidewalk, quay, yard	*peira*, stone
pelhat, clothing	*pelh*, skin
pomat,[1] cider	*pom*, apple
ponhat,[1] handful	*ponh*, fist
postat, palisade	*post*, post
teulat,† roof	*teula*, tile

Possible adjective-formations are seen in *rustat*, coarseness, on *ruste*, coarse, and *escartat*, greediness, on *escart*, tenacious, in Raynouard. Levy, however, objects to this adjective, and strikes it out. The noun also may be a mistake for *escurtat*.[2] *Rustat* may be a shortened form of *rustetat* with the suffix -TAT.††

-ATGE, -ETGE, -ITGE

The Provençal suffix -ATGE is derived from a Latin -ATICUM, the neuter form of the Latin adjective suffix -ATICUS. This neuter form, then, is used in forming nouns, generally on nouns, but it is sometimes attached to verb-stems, and occasionally to adjectives. The three

[1] Corresponding words exist in -ADA.

[2] See Levy, III, 158–59.

† *Estat*, position, is from Lat. *statum*.

Also a word uncertain in development of meaning, *cornelhat*, large crossbow, apparently formed on *cornelha*, crow. The -AT here is apparently augmentative (the crossbow being called a crow on account of its shape). This word might therefore be placed in list 5.

†† Other words in -AT difficult to classify, or obscure, are: *morat*, black cloth; *mainat*, child; *mescat*, a kind of cloth; *pelat*, a coin; and *proestrat*, protostrator, an official in the Byzantine court. *Morat* is the adjective *morat*, black, used substantively; *mainat* is probably an imitation of the Fr. *mainet*, the name by which the youthful Charlemagne was known. The formation of the other words is more or less obscure.

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kinds of formations will be given in separate lists, and the words which, for example, may have been formed on a noun or on a verb-stem will be given in another list between the formations on nouns and those on verbs.

The ending -ATGE seems, in the first place, to have been used with the meaning of a tax to be paid, with which meaning, indeed, it is found in Latin.[1] It also expresses the idea of some kind of feudal right, as in *teulatge*, etc., and also occupation, office, or condition (*preveiratge*, *vasalatge*, etc.). Oftener still, however, it has collective force, as in *captalatge*, *fardatge*, *granatge*, and *ramatge*, and this meaning can be seen in some words which at first sight appear abstract rather than collective (*barnatge*, *fornatge*, *linhatge*, etc.).

Nevertheless, a great many words actually have real abstract force. These, however, unlike the words with other meanings, are generally formed on verbs, especially where the abstract denotes action and not state or position. Yet some of the meanings conveyed by the suffix when attached to nouns are so nearly abstract that the distinction is sometimes hard to maintain. Frequently, also, the English word used to translate the Provençal one[2] furthers the confusion. When words have meanings different from those that their formation would lead us to expect,[3] comments will be made on them in the notes.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, II, 570.

[2] Thus, "nobility" (probably collective) and "administration" (office of intendant).

[3] That is, abstracts formed on verbs, words with the other meanings on nouns, and occasionally on adjectives. Exceptions are mostly in the nouns, where the abstract force is often only apparent. There may, however, have been some backward influence of the verbal formations on the nominal ones.

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1. The noun-formations will be given first:

alatge,[1] covered way, gallery	*ala*, wing
auratge, wind	*aura*, air
bailiatge, administration, stewardship	*baile*, intendant
bandeiratge,[2] a field-right	
barnatge, nobility	*baron*, baron, noble
bladatge, corn-crop	*blada*, wheat
bontatge,[3] goodness	*bontat*, goodness
borratge, borage (a plant)	*borra*, hair, floss
boscatge, hedge	*bosc*, woods
bovatge, tax on oxen	*bou*, ox
capitanatge, captaincy	*capitan*, captain
captalatge, collection of leaders	*captal*, leader
carnatge, dead flesh	*carn*, flesh
cazalatge, habitation	*cazal*, house (?)
civadatge, tax on oats	*civada*, oats
comtalatge,[4] tax on meadows (?), right of measuring, or dwelling-tax	
copatge, tax on sale of corn	*copa* (?), cutting
coratge, courage	*cor*, heart
cordatge, cordage	*corda*, cord
corsatge, form	*cors*, body
destralatge, procuring, pandering	*destral*, pander
drechatge, right, title	*drech*, right
erbatge, meadows; money for pasture-right	*erba*, herb, grass
ermitatge, hermitage	*ermita*, hermit
esponderatge, administration	*espondier* (?), administrator
esporlatge, paying of the "esporla" tax	*esporla*, a tax
esquevinatge, position of alderman	*esquevin*, alderman

[1] See Du Cange, *alea*, *aleya*. Levy also gives a reference to *Rev. des Lang. Rom.*, XXXII, 528, where the word is discussed.

[2] The only simple Prov. word is *bandeira*, banner, which will hardly do as a base-word unless it has some other meaning. Du Cange gives *banderagium*, but only in late texts. See double suffixes, p. 398.

[3] Peculiar in form. There is a substitution of -ATGE for -TAT (presumably mistaken for -AT, since the base is *bont* instead of *bon*).

[4] The only base possible seems to be *comtal*, "of a count." What is the connection between the two words?

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fardatge, heap of rags	*farda*, garment
farinatge, corn-tax	*farina*, corn
fenatge, woven straw	*fen*, straw
feuatge, infeodation	*feu*, fief
filholatge,[1] godchildship, or godchild's gift	*filhol*, godchild
folatge, foolishness	*fol*, fool
folhatge, foliage	*folh*, leaf
forestatge, forestry	*forest*, forest
formatge, cheese	*forma*, form
fornatge, baking	*forn*, oven
fornalatge, tax for use of oven	**fornal*, from *forn*, oven
fourratge, fodder	*fourre*, fodder
fromentatge,[2] tax on corn crops	*fromen(t)*, corn
fruchatge, fruits, fruit trees	*fruch*, fruit
galiotatge, coast-watch service	*galiot*, pirate
garbatge, tax on sheaves	*garba*, sheaf
gleizatge, ecclesiastical right; diocese	*gleiza*, church
granatge, grain	*gran*, grain
granhatge[3]	*granha*, cluster, string (of garlic)
guizonatge, safe-conduct	*guizon*, guide
justiciatge, jurisdiction	*justicia*, justice
lengatge, language	*lenga*, tongue
maratge, shore, coast	*mar*, sea
mazatge, hamlet	*mas*, house
mesatge, message, messenger	*mes*, messenger
mojatge, kind of tax on each hogshead of wheat	*moi*, hogshead
mostatge, tax in must	*most*, must
nautanatge, fare, toll	
navatge, tax on the chartering of boats	*nau*, ship
nertatge, tax collected from myrtle gatherers	*nerta*, myrtle
noirisatge, feeding, nursing	*noirisa*, nurse
omatge,[4] *omenatge*, homage	*om(e)*, man
ombratge, shade	*ombra*, shade

[1] See double suffixes, p. 383. [2] *Fromentagium* is found in Du Cange.

[3] The meaning of *granhatge* is not certain. -ATGE, however, here seems to give collective force to *granha*.

[4] A Mediaeval Lat. *hominaticum* is found.

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padoentatge, pasturing, right of pasturing	*padoen(t)*, pasturing, right of pasturing
paisonatge, right of pasturing	*paison*, pasturage
palatge, tax on the mooring of boats	*pal*, stake
palastratge,[1] outer part of lock	
paponatge, inheritance from a grandfather	*papon*, grandfather
paratge,[2] rank	*par*, equal
parentatge, relationship; relations, family	*paren(t)*, relation
parofianatge, parish-rights	*parofian*, parishioner
patronatge, administration	*patron*, patron, model
pelatge, hair, color of the hair	*pel*, hair
pelegrinatge, pilgrimage	*pelegrin*, pilgrim
personatge, personage	*persona*, person
piucelatge, virginity	*piucela*, virgin
poderatge, power	*poder*, power
pontatge, *pontonatge*,[1] toll for crossing a bridge	*pont*, bridge
portanatge,[1] entrance fee	*porta*, gate
potatge, soup, stew	*pot*, pot
prebostatge, office of provost	*prebost*, provost
preveiratge, priesthood	*preveire*, priest
putatge, prostitution	*puta*, prostitute
ramatge, branches	*ram*, branch
ribatge, shore	*riba*, bank
terratge, land, domain	*terra*, land
teulatge,[3] right of setting up a booth (?)	*teule*, tile
tutoratge, guardianship	*tutor*, guardian
vasalatge, vassalage	*vasal*, vassal
vilatge, village	*vila*, village
vilanatge, coarseness	*vilan*, villager
vizatge, aspect, face	*vis*, face
volatge,† pleasure, will	*vol*, will

[1] Double suffixes?

[2] For *paratge* with another meaning, see list 3.

[3] There is also a word *teulat*, a roof, from *teule*, tile, with which *teulatge* must be connected. *Teulatge* seems to mean "the right of putting up some kind of a shelter."

† Of probable Lat. origin are *gramatge*, sophist, from *grammaticus*, and *mainatge*, household, from *mansionaticum* (?). Cf. the Fr. *ménage*.

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As in the case of the suffix -ARIA, -ATGE is generally found added to nouns; but some words in -ATGE exist whose stem appears to have been a verb, as there is no noun on which they could have been formed. This class of words is not large; but there is another list of words ending in -ATGE, whose stem, whether noun or adjective or verb is not so clear, as, for example, *conselhatge* from *conselh* or the stem of *conselhar* plus -ATGE (?), *mezuratge* from *mezura* or the stem of *mezurar* plus -ATGE (?). There are many of these words, and it seems probable that the -ATGE, as in the preceding list, was added to the noun in most cases, and that the proximity of the verb, in some cases in more common use than the noun, was the cause of the purely verbal formations, as *arigolatge*,[1] etc.

2. The intermediate list, containing the words whose stem may have been a verb or a noun, follows:

agradatge, act of pleasing	*agrat* or *agradar*, pleasure; please
aigatge, watering	*aiga* or *aigar*, water
ajudatge, subsidy	*ajuda* or *ajudar*, aid
albergatge, lodging	*a'berc* or *albergar*, lodging; lodge
alegratge,[2] rejoicing	*alegre* or *alegrar*, joyous; rejoice
antatge, shame	*anta* or *antar*, shame
barratge, underlining	*barra* or *barrar*, bar
conselhatge, term of councilorship	*conselh* or *conselhar*, counsel
costatge, cost	*costa* or *costar*, cost
demoratge, sojourn	*demor* or *demorar*, sojourn
destinatge, destiny	*destin* or *destinar*, destiny; destine
devinatge, chatter	*devin* or *devinar*, diviner; divine
drechuratge, rent, duty	*drechura* or *drechurar*, right
encombratge, encumbrance	*encombre* or *encombrar*, obstacle; encumber

[1] These verb-formations may at first have had the meaning of office or position, as in *gardejatge* below (p. 163), but soon, following the example of other verb-formations, contracted abstract force.

[2] See also words formed on adjectives, p. 164.

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eretatge, inheritance	*eret* or *eretar*, heir; inherit
estacatge, tax for building milldam	*estaca* or *estacar*, stake; fasten
estranhatge,[1] estrangement	*estranh* or *estranhar*, strange; estrange
fermatge,[1] closure	*ferm* or *fermar*, firm; fasten
gazanhatge, gain, profit	*gazanh* or *gazanhar*, gain
guizatge, guiding, safe-conduct	*guiza* or *guizar*, guide
laboratge, plowing, plowable field	*labor* or *laborar*, labor; plow
limatge, filings	*lima* or *limar*, file
linhatge, lineage; alignment	*linha* or *linhar*, line; align
mandatge, command; tax paid to bakers by their customers for warning to have bread ready for baking.	*manda* or *mandar*, order
maridatge, marriage	*marit* or *maridar*, husband; marry
mezuratge, measuring	*mezura* or *mezurar*, measure
monedatge, coinage	*moneda* or *monedar*, coin
obratge, work	*obra* or *obrar*, work
oliatge, oiling[2] (?)	*oli* or *oliar*, oil
onratge, honor	*onra* or *onrar*, honor
ostalatge, lodging	*ostal* or *ostalar*, lodging; lodge
ostatge, lodging; rent; pledge	*oste* or *ostar*, host
paisatge, pasture, pasture-land	*pais* or *paiser*, pasture
palhatge, tax on straw	*palha* or *palhar*, straw; cover with straw
pasturatge, pasturage	*pastura* or *pasturar*, pasture
polveratge, kind of toll	*polvera* or *polverar*, powder; pulverize
portatge, bearing; tax paid by prisoner to jailer	*port* or *portar*, bearing; bear
preizonatge, prison; tax paid by prisoners	*preizon* or *preizonar*, prison; imprison
renhatge, reign	*renh* or *renhar*, reign
testimoniatge, testimony	*testimoni* or *testimoniar*, testimony; testify
trespasatge, passage through	*trespas* or *trespasar*, pass, or passage through
uzatge, usage†	*us* or *uzar*, use

[1] See also words formed on adjectives, p. 164.

[2] The meaning is very uncertain here.

† The chief difference between the words in the two above lists is that in the second one most of the words are purely abstract in force. Those

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3. The next list contains all the words with only a verb at their base, almost all of them being purely abstract in meaning:

abeuratge, wetting	*abeure*, wet, soak
aferratge, plowed land	*aferrar* is not found, but probably existed, otherwise this word would be a parasyntheton formed on *fer*. See Du Cange's *aferagium*.
alumenatge, illuminating	*alumenar*, illuminate
aratge (this word appears to be used only in the combinations *anar aratge*,[1] where it has two meanings: [1] "to wander about"; [2] "to despair," "be beside oneself." It appears to represent a Latin *erraticum*, or to be formed on the Provençal verb *errar*, with the not unusual change of *e* to *a* before *r* in the initial syllable).[2]	
arigolatge, gluttony	*arigolar*,[3] satiate
beuratge, beverage	*beure*, drink
companatge, nourishment	*companar*, support, nourish
corratatge, broker's business	the only verb here, as also for *corrataduru*, *corratier*, appears to be *corratejar*, deal in horses
damnatge, damage	*damnar*, condemn, damn
damnejatge, damage (?)	*damnejar*, injure
declaratge, declaration	*declarar*, declare

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that are not (*limatge*, *estacatge*, etc.) are undoubtedly noun-formations. The abstract words appear to be formed on verb-stems, with some such word as *drechuratge* or *eretatge*, which have an approach to abstract force in their meanings, and a possible noun or verb at the base, as a probable starting-point.

[1] Levy, I, 78.

[2] Grandgent, art. 44, sec. 5. The phrase occurs in Bertran de Born.

[3] *Arrigolar* is a Gascon form of *rigolar*. See Stichel, 15.

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engrunatge, tax in beans	(the only verb to be found is *engrunar*, with the meaning "to break to pieces." The word, however, has the kind of meaning which is usual in noun-formations. The only noun to be found here is *grun*, grain (see *grunada*), which would account for the verb *engrunar*, to break to bits, or grains. *Engrunatge*, appears to be a formation on the word *grun* by the simultaneous addition of the prefix EN- and the suffix -ATGE.[1] Du Cange has *engrunagium*).
estatge, extent, space; abode	*estar*, be, stay
gardejatge,[2] office of field-watch	*gardejar*, watch, guard (fields)
intratge, entry, entrance	*intrar*, enter
jairatge, right of lodging (?) or tax on this right (?)	*jaire* for *jazer*? as inversely *fazer* for *faire*?
logatge, letting, lease	*logar*, let
muzatge, vain waiting	*muzar*, wait in vain
paratge, adornment	*parar*, adorn
pariatge, contract of partnership	*pariar*, possess in common
pascairatge, grazing, pasturage	*pascairar*, graze
pasturgatge, pasturage	*pasturgar*, graze; make graze
pavatge, road-rate, toll	*pavar*, pave
pazimentatge, pavement	*pazimentar*, pave
pilhatge, pillage	*pilhar*, steal

In the same way that -ATGE appears to be added to verbs in *-ar* to form abstracts, -I(T)GE is added to other verbs.[3] Thus we find:

[1] See parasyntheta, p. 528.

[2] Given in Levy as *gardiatge*. For comment, see p. 160, above, n. 1.

[3] To resemble the other verbal suffixes, we should expect -ETGE to be added to verbs in *-er* or *-re*, and -ITGE to verbs in *-ir*. The existence of -ETGE as a suffix is doubtful, however, as *estrechege* is far from certain, and one of the texts gives *femenige* instead of *femenege*. -ITGE was added to a verb in *-ir* in *glapitge*, but to one of another conjugation in *batige*, and is the only certain suffix formed by analogy to -ATGE that is found.

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batige, palpitation of the heart	*batre*, beat
glapitge, insult; reprimand	*glapir* does not appear to be found in Provençal, but probably existed. Compare the French *glapir*, to scream or squeak. -ITGE is a purely analogical formation.[1]

Several words in -ETGE also are found, though their formation is different from those in -ITGE. They will be taken up individually:

asetge, siege: Appears to be a post-verbal substantive from a verb *asetjar*, to besiege.

estrechege, narrowness: From *estrech*, narrow.

femenege, female heat, comes from *femena*, woman. The meaning of the suffix here is very difficult to account for, being unlike any of the meanings of -ATGE. (Levy gives the word as ending in -ITGE.)

4. Besides the formations on nouns and on verbs, there are several words ending with -ATGE, in which the stem of the words is neither of these. In dealing with the words whose source could have been a noun (or adjective) or verb[2] the words *alegratge*, *estranhatge*, and *fermatge* were mentioned. These may have been verbal formations; but at least they give a starting-point for new purely adjectival ones:

ermatge, desert	*erm*, deserted
enfantilhatge, childishness	*enfantil*, childish
mortalatge, legacy	*mortal*, in danger of death
nesciatge, ignorance	*nesci*, ignorant
primatge, right of a near relative to an estate	*prim*, first
vilatge, dirt, coarseness	*vil*, vile

5. Several words also appear to be formed on prepositions:

darreiratge, arrears	*darreire*, behind
oltratge, outrage	*oltra*, beyond

[1] Cf. note 3, p. 163.

[2] See list 2.

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This last word, however, is in most of the other Romance languages. It may equally well come from **ultragium*.

-AUT

There are several words in Provençal ending in -AUT, most of which seem to represent a Germanic -ALD in their suffixes. They seem also to have the suffix joined to Germanic stems. The words are: *argaut*, smock-frock; *armaut*, enamel; *barrufaut*, huckster; *borsaut*, large pocket (?); *faraut*, herald; *gorbaut*, mill-wheel; *marpaut*, rogue; *pipaut*, rascal, vagabond; *sabaut*, push. Few of these can be Provençal formations.

-AZO(N), -EZO(N), -IZO(N)

The Provençal suffixes -AZO(N), -EZO(N), -IZO(N), represent the regular development of the Latin suffix -TIONE, in conjunction with the characteristic vowel of each conjugation. This suffix, then, was added to verb-stems to form abstracts and seems always to have this meaning. One or two words apparently have the meaning of the time or season for the act implied in the verb, but this seems to be only apparent. Thus *fregazon*, which Levy[1] translates by "spawning-time," is given under the word *frec* in the phrase "en temps de fregazos" in which phrase the idea of time or season is expressed by *temps*. The word *sazon*, season, might give a possible starting-point, however, for this kind of meaning. The suffix appears to be added to a noun in the word *peazon*, bit of land.

This suffix, much used in Classical Latin,[2] appears to have been very common in the vulgar language also with

[1] III, 593. [2] According to Cooper, 3.

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this abstract force. Thus Rönsch gives ten pages[1] of words ending in -IO, most of them being in -TIO(NE), and Cooper adds to these formations. These words, however, are not, for the most part, to be found in the Provençal -AZON, -EZON, and -IZON. For besides these forms, there is found in Provençal the purely learned ending -ATIO, -ITIO, as well as the forms -ACIO, -ICIO, -ACI, -ICI, and the more unusual -ASION, -ISION. The suffix, then, had many developments.[2]

Following Levy, the above suffixes will be given with the *n* at the end. -AZÓ, -EZÓ, and -IZÓ are also found.[3]

Under -AZON are found:

afrontazon, confrontation	*afrontar*, confront
blasmazon, blame, reproach	*blasmar*, blame
clapazon, slaughter	*clapar*, slaughter
comensazon, beginning	*comensar*, begin
comprazon, purchase	*comprar*, buy
corazon,[4] heart	*cor*, heart
deliurazon, deliverance	*deliurar*, deliver
desfiazon, challenge	*desfiar*, challenge
donazon, gift	*donar*, give
escomenjazon, excommunication	*escomenjar*, excommunicate
esquipazon, equipment	*esquipar*, equip
fablazon, fabrication, fiction	*fabla*, story (*fablar*, not found)[5]
fenazon, hay-crop	*fenar*, turn (hay), or *fen*, hay
fermazon, treaty, assurance	*fermar*, fix, fasten
folhazon, lathing	*folhar*, cover with laths

[1] Pp. 69–79; also Goelzer, 62–78.

[2] *Zeitschrift*, XXIV, 545; and XXV, 736, for semi-learned words.

[3] Raynouard also gives some of these words as ending in -AZOS, but most of them are corrected in the last volume.

[4] Perhaps *corationem* is not represented here, although this is the etymon that Körting (No. 2,500) gives. The O.Sp. form was *coraçon*, pointing to a **coracionem* as source. See Ford, 49.

[5] Cf., however, Sp. *hablar* and Fr. *hâbler*.

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fregazon, spawning	*fregar*, rub, spawn (?)[1]
jutjazon, judgment	*jutjar*, judge
leujazon, bleeding	*leujar*, alleviate; let blood
mandazon, message, commission	*mandar*, command
manjazon, longing, itching	*manjar*, eat, devour
minazon,[2] a measure	
montazon, tax paid by ships going up a river	*montar*, go up
pasmazon, swoon	*pasmar*, faint
peazon, bit of land	*pe*, foot
pejorazon, deterioration	*pejorar*, deteriorate
pesejazon, act of breaking to pieces	*pesejar*, break to pieces
primazon, time of new moon	*primar*, have first rank ? or *prim*, first
repairazon, return, retreat	*repairar*, draw back
sagrazon,† consecration	*sagrar*, consecrate

And under -EZON:

atendezon, waiting	*atendre*, wait
batezon, punishment	*batre*, beat
escorrezon, running out, outflow	*escorre*, flow
pendezon, hanging	*pendre*, hang
prendezon,†† arrest	*prendre*, take, arrest

And under -IZON:

acolhizon, reception, receipt	*acolhir*, receive
desfalhizon, error, fault	*desfalhir*, fail

[1] There is no example in which it is certain that *fregar* means "to spawn," but compare the meaning of the Fr. *frayer* < Lat. *fricare*, which likewise gave *fregar*. As for the meaning of *fregazon*, Levy translates it by "spawning-time," but it is clear that it is the whole phrase *en temps de fregazos* that should be so translated.

[2] A Lat. *minatio* is found, but with the meaning of "threatening." There is also a Lat. *mina*, meaning a weight. This word is not found in Prov., but probably existed and was at the base of *minazon*.

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† Of Lat. origin, there are *emendazon*, correction < *emendationem*; *liazon*, binding (< *ligationem*); *liurazon*, ration (< *liberationem*); *logazon*, rent (< *locationem*); *melhorazon*, improvement (< *melioration em*); *mostrazon* = (?) (< *monstrationem*); *mudazon*, change (< *mutationem*); *orazon*, speech, prayer (< *orationem*); *pensazon*, care (< *pensationem*); *poblazon*, peopling (< *populationem*); *semenazon*, sowing (< *seminationem*).

†† Of Lat. origin is *perdezon*, ruin (< *perditionem*).

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devestizon, withdrawal	*devestir*, divest
eisizon, yield, produce	*eisir*, go out
envenizon,[1] coming	(there appears to be no verb *envenir*)
envestizon, investiture	*envestir*, invest
establizon, garrison, crew	*establir*, establish
falhizon, lack	*falhir*, fail, lack
fenizon, world's end, life's end	*fenir*, end
franquizon, freedom	*franquir*, set free
garizon, cure, care; maintenance, provision	*garir*, cure
garnizon, equipment	*garnir*, equip
guerpizon, leaving, cession	*guerpir*, leave
marrizon, sadness, affliction	*marrir*, sadden
mentizon, lie	*mentir*, lie
penizon,[2] penitence	
pentizon, repentance	*pentir*, repent
repentizon, repentance	*repentir*, repent
vestizon, clothing	*vestir*, clothe

Then there are also the sets of endings -ATIO and -ITIO and -ACIO and -ICIO; but as the first of these is wholly learned, and is to be found in such words as *comendatio*, which existed in Classical Latin, no list of these suffixes will be given. Neither is -ACIO a phonetic development of -A-TIONE, but a Latinized form of the regular phonetic form -AZON.[3] There are a number of words with this ending:

acomparacio, acquisition	*acomparar*, acquire
agregacio, heap, number	*agregar*, aggregate
disgregacio, dispersion	*disgregar*, disperse
despolhacio, spoliation	*despolhar*, despoil
depuracio, purification	*depurar*, purify
engrosacio, increase	*engrosar*, increase

[1] See parasyntheta, p. 528.

[2] There is no verb *penir*. Both *penedre* and *penedir* exist, however, and the latter should give *penedizo*. Can *penizo* be a shortened form through confusion with *penar*?

[3] It probably represented often a school pronunciation of the form ATIO.

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penchenacio, combing	*penchenar*, comb
radicacio, taking root	*radicar*, take root
revidacio, renascence	*revidar*, revive
subtiliacio, subtilization	*subtiliar*, subtilize
sucacio, sucking, absorption	*sucar*, suck
ventozacio, cupping	*ventozar*, cup

There are also a few words in -ACI and -ICI. -ACI appears to be merely a shortened form of -ACIO in these cases:

confirmaci, confirmation	*confirmar*, confirm
decolaci, beheading	*decolar*, behead
lavaci,[1] † flood	*lavar*, wash

-ICI, on the contrary, in the few cases in which it is found, does not represent -TIONE at all, but instead -ICIUM. Thus:

fortalici,[2] fortress (also *fortalesa*) (<*fortal*)<*fort*
laironici,[3] theft
mortalici, death, funeral
ortalici,†† vegetables

-ASION and -ISION are also found. -ASION is in:

escandalhasion, gauging	*escandalhar*, gauge

and -ISION in:

aucision, killing	*aucir*, kill
compelision, compelling	*compelir*, compel

[1] See *Zeitschrift*, IV, 407, and Meyer-Lübke, II, 589, note.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 396, for this type of words.

[3] From *latronicium* for *latrocinium*. See also under the suffix -ISA, p. 144, n. †.

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† Another word in -ACI is *estropaci*. Here -ACI does not represent a suffix at all.

†† Also, of Lat. origin, *malefici*, enchanter<*maleficius*.

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-ATION is found in:

mendation, improvement	*mendar*, improve
quitation,† receipt, cession	*quitar*, acquit, yield

-EDA

The Latin suffix -ETUM, plural -ETA, which was attached to names of plants to indicate a quantity of them, appears to have left little trace in Provençal, though more frequent in some of the other Romance languages.[1] In Provençal, on the contrary, when the idea of a group of plants is expressed, the suffix -ADA (from -TA, feminine of the participial ending -TUS), one of whose meanings was collective, seems to be generally employed, as *boisada*, *joncada*, *plantada*, etc. The only certain cases of the use of -EDA<-ETA as a suffix appear to be in

albareda, laburnum grove	*albar*, laburnum
nogaireda,[2] place planted with walnut trees	*noguier*, walnut tree

Other possible Provençal formations are:

ferleda,[3] place covered with ferule	*ferla*, ferule
olmeda,[4]†† elm grove	*olm*, elm

For the suffix -EIA, see under -ADA.

[1] As in Sp., where both *olmeda* and *olmedo*, as well as *alameda*, are found, and in Fr. in such words as *aunaie*, *fougeraie*, etc.

[2] A Lat. *nucetum* exists, but *nogaireda* is certainly a Prov. formation. See double suffixes for suffixes beginning with -AIR.

[3] *Ferlada* is also found.

[4] Found also in Sp. as stated in note 1, above, and also in the Fr. *ormaie*.

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† And of Lat. origin, *prelation*, superiority<*praelationem*, and *procuration*, "cathedraticum"<*procurationem*, a payment to be delivered by priests on the bishop's visit.

†† Words ending in -EDA of Lat. origin are *oliveda* (olive grove) <*oliveta*, and *pineda* (pine grove)<*pineta*.

A word ending in -EDA which does not come from the Lat. -ETA is *gaveda* (wooden bowl)<*gabata*. See *Essais*, 215, note 3. *Pletoneda* is somewhat obscure.

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-EL

All Provençal formations ending in -EL (and also some forms in -ELH through a palatalization of the double *l* in some dialects[1]) represent the Latin suffix -ELLUS, originally a diminutive, added at first only to words with certain stems, but later to all possible roots.[2] Many of these words, however, did not necessarily imply any diminutive idea, but were simply used to designate everyday objects, and finally came to be used only with the suffix, in which form they have passed into the Romance languages.[3] In Provençal, consequently, there is a moderate number of words with the suffix beside which no simple word is to be found, and the inference is that they were not Provençal formations. Indeed, most of these words can be found in Latin, and as for the others, it seems more likely that they were formed there than that they should have been formed later in Provençal, from which the simple word disappeared so quickly—especially in the cases where the other Romance languages have only the derived word. Still, there are many other cases in Provençal in which the simple and the derived word both exist, and with little or no difference of meaning, and these words, or at least many of them, may have been Provençal formations. For example, there are *corbel* and *corp*, both meaning "crow";[4] *laur* and *laurel*, both meaning "laurel," and *ramel* and *ram*, both meaning "branch," in each of which cases, French, for example, has only the derived word at present, although Old French had the

[1] Grandgent, art. 67, sec. 2. [2] Meyer-Lübke, II, 592.

[3] Bonnet, 459. This statement is given for diminutives in general, but is particularly true of -ELLUS. Cf. -ET<-ITTUS.

[4] *Corbel* is generally used as an architectural term, and this may have been derived from *corba*, curve. That it ever means "crow" is uncertain.

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simple word.[1] In these cases, then, the word came into the Romance languages without a suffix. Provençal, continuing the Latin use of adding -ELLUS to words in ordinary use without bringing in any well-defined diminutive force, added the suffix in these cases. In French, the suffix was added later, and its addition without change of meaning brought about later the disappearance of the simple word. In Spanish, the ordinary words for crow and branch are *cuervo* and *ramo*, without any suffix. *Laurel*, on the other hand, has the suffix. It seems probable, then, that when the suffix -ELLUS was added in Latin, without change of meaning, the simple word disappeared entirely, leaving no trace in the Romance languages. Thus we find *anhel*, *agnello*, and *agneau* in Romance for "lamb," but no trace of *agnus*, the original word, except, in Italian, the purely poetical word *agno*. This accounts for the many words found in Provençal with the suffix beside which there is found no simple word. Of course, these words might be Provençal formations beside which the simple Provençal word disappeared, but it hardly seems likely that it could have disappeared so quickly in so many cases—before the French nouns corresponding to the Provençal *corbel* and *ramel* had added the suffix at all. Words of this kind, then, seem to be Latin formations. The suffix, however, continued to be active in forming words in Provençal—in the formation of real diminutives as well as in continuing the Latin usage of being joined to common words without giving any diminutive force.

We find -EL added in Provençal as a real diminutive in:

albanel, hobby (small falcon)	*alban*, bird of prey
almucela, small hood	*almusa*, amice

[1] *Corp, lor, raim* (Mod. Fr. *corbeau, laurelle, laurier* [-IER<-ARIUS]), and *rameau*. See *Dic. Gen.*, introduction, p. 64, sec. 126.

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astela, small pike. (See *Etym. Wörterb.*, 736.)	*asta*, pike
avocadel, little lawyer	*avocat*, lawyer
bastonel, small cane	*baston*, cane
bendel, small band	*benda*, band
cabrel, kid	*cabra*, goat
campanela, small bell	*campana*, bell
corbel,[1] architectural term	*corba*, piece of curved wood
cordel, string	*corda*, cord
coronela,[2] agaric (a plant)	*colona*, column
crostela, small crust	*crosta*, crust on bread
cubel, kind of measure	*cuba*, vat
dardel, javelin	*dart*, dart
drapel, swaddling-clothes	*drap*, cloth
escusel,[3] small shield	*escut*, shield
fablel, "fableau"	*fabla*, fable
fornel, crucible, pot	*forn*, oven
forquel, prong	*forc*, fork
frairel, little brother	*fraire*, brother
garlandel, little garland	*garlanda*, garland
girela, windlass	*gir*, turn
laironel, young robber	*lairon*, robber
leonel, young lion	*leon*, lion
morsel, bite, piece; lower part of face	*mors*, bite
musel, veil before the mouth	*mus*, mouth (as well as snout)
ortel, small garden	*ort*, garden
pagel,[4] small fish	*page*, page
panel, roll	*pan*, bread
pastorel(a), little shepherd(ess)	*pastor*, shepherd
penonel, little streamer	*penon*, streamer
popel, nipple	*popa*, breast
portanela,[5] small door	*porta*, door
portela, small door	*porta*, door

[1] For *corbel* with another meaning, see p. 175, below.

[2] *Coronela* instead of *colonela* is due to dissimilation. See *Essais*, 274.

[3] *Escusel* (instead of *escudel*) is due, apparently, to the O.Fr. *escucel*, which was formed on *écu*, shield, by means of an interpolated sibilant.

[4] There is also a feminine *pagela*, meaning a measure. Is this also connected with *page*?

[5] A double suffix ?.

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postel, pillory	*post*, post
prebostel, provost's servant	*prebost*, provost
rabanel, small radish	*raban*, radish
rauzel, small reed	*raus*, reed
rozela, small rose	*roza*, rose
somela, small beast of burden	*soma*, beast of burden
tinel, small cask	*tina*, cask
tropel, small flock	*trop*, flock

In some words with the ending -EL the derived word shows some modification in meaning, but actual diminutive force is not always perceptible. Such words are:

boisel,[1] bushel	*bois*, box, boxwood
bordel, house of ill-fame	*borda*, house
borsel, pocket; purse	*borsa*, purse
cardonel, goldfinch[2]	*cardon*, thistle
fachel, charm	*fach*, thing
jarbaudela (also *jaubardela*), a dance	*girbaut*, vulgar person
muscadel, a kind of pear	*muscat*, nutmeg[3]
palmela, kind of cloth; door-hinge	*palma*, palm
panela,[4] panel; cushion placed under the saddle	*pan*, flap, skirt
pansel, stomach	*pansa*, belly
pastel, dyer's woad	*pasta*,[5] paste
pontel, prop, support	*pont*, bridge

Then come the words with little or no change of meaning, which, nevertheless, appear to be Provençal formations. Beside all of these formations the simple word still

[1] Apparently meaning originally a little box.

[2] For the connection between the simple and derived words, see *cardoniera*, p. 230, n. 2.

[3] *Muscat*, too, may have had the meaning found in *muscadel*. Cf. the Engl. "muscat" and "muscadel."

[4] There is also a word *panela* meaning a wine-measure. For *panel*, see preceding list.

[5] The plant used in dyeing was crushed into a paste.

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exists, whereas in most Latin formations of this kind it has disappeared:

caisel, jaw	*cais*, cheek, jaw
canel, pipe	*cana*, reed
carcanel, throat	*carcan*, collar, throat
cartel, document, certificate	*carta*, letter
cazela, hut	*caza*, hut
cintel, girdle	*cinta*, ribbon
corbel,[1] mill hopper	*corba*, basket
cotela, coat	*cota*, coat
fenestrel, window	*fenestra*, window
fonsel, bottom	*fons*, bottom
frezel, lace, trimmings	*fres*, lace
gafonel, fishhook	*gafon*, fishhook
gonela, gown	*gona*, gown
gravel, sand, gravel	*grava*, sand
jupel, petticoat	*jup*, skirt
juzel, soup, gravy, dye	*jus*, juice
lamela, blade, sword	*lama*, plate, blade
laurel, laurel	*laur*, laurel
pezel, pea	*peze*, pea
platel, plate of metal	*plat*, metal plate
ramel, branch	*ram*, branch
trosel, package	*tros*, package
tudel,† reed	Germanic root, *tuda*

[1] For *corbel* with another meaning, see the list on p. 173. Possibly this word should be *corbelh* (-ELH = -ICLUM). *Corbel*, etc., is difficult to treat because of the possible base-words *corp*, crow; *corba*, curve; and *corba*, basket.

† There is also quite a considerable list of words in -EL or -ELA, beside which no simple word is found. These can hardly be Prov. formations, and most of them are clearly Lat. Such are:

capel (cap)<*cappellus; clavel* (nail)<*clavellus*, and *escudela* (bowl) <*scutilla*.

bavastel or *bagastel*, puppet, on the origin of which much has been written (*Zeitschrift*, XIX, 105; Körting, No. 1,154, etc.). Keller, in *Rom. Forsch.*, XXII, 162, thinks it may be connected with *bava*, drivel, which has already been seen as a base-word in *bavec*.

lendorela, (small) swallow, must have been formed in Lat., as the various forms in the other Romance languages tend to show. The simple Prov. word is *ironde* (<*hirundo*), and the Lat. source of *lendorela* is apparently *hirundinella*. A rather remarkable metathesis together

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On adjectives used as substantives the following words appear to be formed by the addition of -EL:

caudel, a kind of fritter	*caut*, warm
redondela, roundelay	*redonda*, fem. of *redon*, round

-ENA

The Provençal suffix -ENA, from a Latin -ENA, the feminine form of -ENUS, is seen in a few words of purely collective meaning:

carantena, about forty	*caranta*, forty
dotzena, about a dozen	*dotze*, twelve
setzena,† about sixteen	*setze*, sixteen

---

with the agglutination of an article must have taken place, however, to give *lendorela*.

macarel, mackerel, is obscure, but is not a Prov. formation. Cf. Fr. *maquereau*.

manganel or *mangonel*, machine for throwing stones. The base-word seems to be the Lat. *manganum*, sling.

mantel, a shed, from the Lat. *mantellum*.

martel, hammer, from *martellum* for *martulus*.

morvel, snot, mucus. A simple word may have existed. Cf. the Fr. *morve* and *morveau*.

nadel, young duck (?), for **anedel*, derived from *anede*. The initial *a* has disappeared, and the *e* has become *a*, possibly through association with *nadar*, to swim.

palpel(a), eyelid. The Lat. source is *palpebra* or **palpetra*. A number of Prov. forms are found, as *palperla* and *palpera*. The ending -EIRA may have been taken for a suffix and -EL substituted.

pestel, pestle, is from the Lat. *pistillum*.

pilorel, pillory. -EL, -ET, and -IC are all found, and the whole word is a puzzle. See *piloric*, above.

pilozela, mouse-ear (a plant). From a Med. Lat. *pilosella*, derived from *pilosus*, hairy.

pimpernela, pimpernel, of obscure origin. There is a late Lat. *pimpernella*.

rudela, somersault, seems to be connected with *rodolar* or *redolar*, to turn, and with *roda*, wheel. In either case, the initial vowel changed to *u*.

† Also of Lat. origin, *novena*, about nine, or "novena" (an ecclesiological term), from the Lat. adjective *novenus*, used substantively in the feminine form in Eccl. Lat. See Du Cange, *novena*.

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But leaving out of consideration the ordinal numerals, which will be given under the adjectives, this seems to be about the only use of the suffix. *Terrenus*, of land, of earth, and its neuter form *terrenum*, land, formed on *terra*, seems to be the only clear example of the use of -ENUS as a suffix in Latin, and here the simple and the derived words have little difference in meaning. A similar formation for which this word seems to be the model is seen in the Provençal

gravena, sand beach *grava*, sand beach

only here it seems to be the feminine, or perhaps the neuter plural form that is used; if the feminine, probably because the suffix -ENA was added to a feminine noun without passing through any intermediate stage as adjective, as did *terrenum*, the suffix -EN, -ENA now being regarded as a suffix used in forming nouns.[1] The Romance formations in the other languages are feminine, and it is this suffix, detached from these nouns, that is added to adjectives of number to form collectives (as in the list on p. 176), perhaps because there is a kind of collective force in most of these words, or perhaps through the use of the suffix -EN in the ordinal numerals.[2]

One other word showing the ending *-ena* is *felena*, granddaughter, beside which exists a masculine form, *felen*. The ending, here, however, is not the suffix treated above, and is probably not a suffix at all.[3]

[1] Or because the word in -ENA always agreed with *terra*, understood.

[2] The nouns in -EN, such as *fenhen*, *jazen*, *ponen*, etc., are simply participles used substantively, and will be found listed under nouns from verbs, p. 549.

[3] Du Cange has *felena*, *felessena*, and *fezelena*, all of late date. The word seems to be a Prov. one, but the source is not clear.

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-ENC

The commonest use of the Provençal suffix -ENC was that of forming adjectives, under which heading it will again be treated,[1] yet there are also some nouns with this ending. In most of these words, however, an original adjective force is easily discernible, and they are formed, like most adjectives, on nouns. Just what the source of these endings was is not quite clear. It was long supposed that the Germanic suffix -ING, used chiefly in patronymics, but also by extension to designate kinds of coins, was the source of all the words ending in -ENC, although in many cases the extension of meaning seemed very wide indeed. Recently, however, Philipon,[2] arguing partly from the feminine form of the adjective, namely, -ENCA instead of -ENGA, which would be expected, and partly from the non-existence in French of words whose stem is Latin that have this suffix, claimed that the suffix represented in the Provençal words of Latin origin is not the Germanic -ING, but a pre-Germanic -INCO, which would give -ENCA in the feminine. This much seems clear: that words whose feminine ends in -ENCA would be hard to explain as coming direct from -ING without being influenced by another suffix; and that the existence of -ENC<-ING in a few words of Germanic origin in French does not prove its existence as a Romance suffix.[3] In Provençal, on the other hand, -ENC is very frequent in words of Latin origin, and this is the suffix which Philipon explains by the pre-Germanic -INCO; for if this suffix were the Germanic -ING, why is it not found in words of Romance origin in French?[4]

[1] P. 306, below.

[2] *Romania*, XXXV, 1.

[3] See *Romania*, XXXV, 20.

[4] The Germanic suffixes being added also later to Lat. stems, but extremely early Lat. suffixes of limited use hardly having time to reach northern France.

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The process seems to have been as follows: This suffix -INCO, giving -ENC, -ENCA, was added to nouns to form adjectives; but in Provençal we find also some nouns ending in -ENC which are, for the most part, only these adjectives used substantively. There are, however, also among these words in -ENC, some of purely Germanic origin in which -ENC is not the pre-Germanic -INCO, and some with a feminine -ENGA which seem to be derived, after all, from the Germanic suffix through becoming associated with -INCO. The names of coins ending in -ENC could be derived in either way, but as Thomas states[1] that the Germanic suffix had this use, it seems more natural to derive them from it than from -INCO.

The formations on nouns apparently representing adjectives used substantively and formed by means of -INCO are:

albenc, white cloth: *albenc* is also found as an adjective meaning whitish, and is probably derived from *alba*.

doblenc, a kind of bread: *doblenc* is found also as an adjective meaning "double." The feminine form, *doblenca*, is found also with the same meaning and excludes the derivation from -ING. From *doble*, double.

famolenc, hungry wretch: This word seems to show, in the first place, a substitution of the suffix -ENC for -EN or -ENT from *famulentus*, hungry. Then came the substantive use of the adjective.

meitadenc,[2] a kind of measure	from *meitat*, half
ordenc, descendant; descent	*orde*, order
pastenc,[3] pasturage	*past*, food
plaisadenc, bushes, hedge	*plaisat*, hedge

[1] *Romania*, XXXV, 21.

[2] See *Essais*, 273.

[3] Another word with the same meaning is *padoenc*, found also as *padoent*. Du Cange lists both *padoencum* and *patuentium*.

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The last two words show little difference in meaning from the simple nouns on which they were formed.

Added to a preposition, the same suffix gives

forenc,[1] foreigner — *for*, out of

Besides the above examples of the use as substantives of adjectives formed by the addition of the suffix -INCO, there are other nouns denoting coins in which the suffix is not so clear, but seems to be either the Germanic suffix -ING, which had this use, or at least shows the influence of this suffix on -INCO joined to words of which some are of Latin origin. Words of this kind are: *aigonenc*, *arnaudenc*, *caorcenc*, *guilhalmenc*, *otonenc*, *quintinenc*, *raimondenc*.[2]

A similar kind of derivation is in *anfozenc*, meaning, not a coin made by a person, but his followers, derived from *Anfos*, (Alphonse), also *loherenc*, from *Lohier*.[3]

A word of apparently purely Germanic origin is *belenc*, rock, probably from the same source as the Italian *bilenco*.[4] The feminine form -ENCA also is found in:

magenca, tax to be paid in May — *mag*, May
mostarenca,[5] measure for wine — *most*, must

These words are both apparently adjectives used as nouns.

[1] The formation of this word may have been partly due to analogy with a **probenc* (< *propinquus*), which may be seen in the parasynthetic verb *aprobencar*.

[2] For these words, many of which are not in the dictionaries, see *Romania*, XXXV, 21.

[3] *Essais*, 237.

[4] Other more obscure words are *gavenc*, plowshare, and *escodenc*, outer bark of a tree. Cf. with *escodat*.

[5] See also double suffixes, p. 403. *Mostarenca* may be compared with *cazarenc* and *causerenc*, given below under the adjective suffix -ENC. This suffix, like -IA, -AL, -ADA, etc., seems to have been sometimes joined to forms of -ARIUS (here represented by -AR and -ER), making a compound suffix.

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-ERNA

-ERNA is found in several words in Provençal, and may, perhaps, be treated as a suffix, although there are no certain examples of its being added to a Provençal word already existing, to modify its meaning. It seems to have been detached from the few Latin words in which it existed, to form a few new Provençal words, although this is not certain. For example, of the Latin words, *lucerna* has become *luzerna*, and *quaterna* (*quatuor*) seems to have become *cazerna*, barracks (originally for four), but in the one example in which it appears its meaning is very doubtful.[1] Another word, given by Appel,[2] is *soberna*, which he translates by high water, flood. This seems to represent also a Latin adjective, *supernus*, high.†

Other Provençal words with this ending are:

buerna (*bulerna*, *bolerna*, *buzerna*),
frost (?)
falterna, (?)
galerna, northwest wind
loberna, skin of the lynx

All of these words are more or less obscure in origin. *Buerna*, indeed, seems hopelessly obscure, although, as the ending -ERNA occurs in all of its forms, it seems probable that we have to do with the suffix.[3] The next word, *falterna*, is also very puzzling. Levy gives no translation for it, but refers to the Modern Provençal *fauterno*,

[1] Levy, I, 237. The Fr. *caserne* seems to have come from this word, and the meaning of barracks fits as well as anything else suggested for the meaning.

[2] Vocabulary.

[3] The stem may possibly be the one found in the Fr. *brouée* and *brouillard*, which are of Germanic origin, although the disappearance of the *r* would be hard to explain. See Körting, No. 1,589, also No. 7,492 (*pruina*).

† Still another word of Lat. origin is *lanterna*, lantern.

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meaning a dazzling, dimness of sight, a flickering light; a phantom; and a frivolous person. In the passage quoted, the last is the only one of these meanings possible, but the word here seems rather to mean immodesty or shamelessness. If the word is a Provençal formation, the only word on which it could be based is *falta*, a fault or lack. It seems possible, however, to derive all of Mistral's meanings from this word, and if *falterna* means immodesty, this meaning is acquired simply by using a concrete noun (frivolous person) with abstract force. There is another *falterna*, of Latin origin, which should not be confused with the word just discussed.[1]

Galerna seems to be a formation by means of -ERNA on the stem found in the English "gale."[2]

Loberna[3] is formed on *loba*, wolf, unless there may be a Latin **lupernus*.

-ES

The Provençal ending -ES in its ordinary uses seems to represent the Vulgar Latin -ESIS and the Classic Latin -ENSIS, and consequently gives little difficulty as to meaning. It was originally attached to nouns of place to designate their inhabitants:

borgues, borges, inhabitant of a stronghold	*borc*, citadel (?)
Carcases, inhabitant of Carcassonne	
Daines, Dane	
Espanes, Spaniard	*Espana* (?), Spain
Frances, Frenchman	*Fransa*, France
Genoes, inhabitant of Genoa	*Genoa* (?), Genoa
marques, marquis	*marca*, march

[1] This is a word meaning "aristolochia," a plant. See *Nouv. Ess.*, 267, and 271, note 1.

[2] See *Dic. Gen., galerne.*

[3] See *Mélanges*, 102.

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and is found attached to a preposition in

fores,[1] foreigner — *for*, out of

All of these words are simply adjectives used substantively, and many of them are found in Provençal as adjectives also. Another use of the suffix was to make it designate things—particularly coins—as well as persons from the place indicated by the simple noun:

Alavesa (for *lansa alavesa*), lance made in Alava
guianes, coin of the duke of Guyenne
paves, large shield — *Pavia*, Pavia
tornes, coin of Tours

These words are all, then, simply adjectives used substantively. In a few other words, however, the suffix seems to be somewhat more freely used, without any clearly defined meaning:

cozines, a person preferred as companion — *cozin*, relative
jaques, a garment or weapon (?) — *jaca*, shirt of mail
mares, shore — *mar*, sea
plages, quarrelsome person; lawyer — *plag*, lawsuit

the suffix in the last word seeming to denote the agent; but these words, again, may originally have been used as adjectives.†

Now, besides the words in -ES, coming from -ENSIS, there are also some words whose meaning is abstract, and whose source, therefore, can hardly be this adjective suffix. -ĬTIUM would be phonetically possible as a

[1] A Lat. *forensis* is found, but with a different meaning.

† Two other words ending in -ES, but hardly to be derived from -ENSIS, are *comes*, commissioner (< Lat. *commissus*), and *compes*, land-register.

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source for -ES, as -ĬTIA was the source for -EZA, the consonant becoming unvoiced at the end of a word. -ĬCIUM would be also possible phonetically (beside -ĬCIA, giving -ESA), as in *cabes* (*cabetz*), from *capicium*. Thus it is hard to be certain as to the source of the few abstracts we find ending in -ES. -ĬTIUM, however, seems perhaps the more probable, as being the neuter form of a regular abstract suffix -ĬTIA, whereas -ĬCIUM as an abstract suffix would be reached through -ĬCIA, which in turn received its abstract force through a confusion with -ĬTIA. Of course, -ĬCIUM is found in Latin in the abstract *judĭcium*, but it seems never to have been really used as a suffix, such words having only a learned development.[1] The same, however, is also true of the Latin words in -ĬTIUM, so that the source of the abstracts in -ES is difficult to settle. In any case, however, the *i* developed as a short *i*, so that it is unnecessary to suppose, as seems essential for French, any substitution of -ĬTIA for -ĬTIA. No case of an abstract noun formed in Provençal and ending in -IS or -IZA is to be found. In -ES, however, we find the following abstracts:

fades, fatuity, conceit	*fat*, foolish
laides, base deed (?)	*laid*, dirty
nescies, ignorance †	*nesci*, ignorant

and it is apparently added to nouns in

diables,[2] deviltry, devilish words	*diable*, devil
omenes,[3] homage, vassalage	*ome(n)*, man
pagezes, boorish conduct	*pages*, peasant
parentes,[3] relationship, relations	*paren(t)*, relation

[1] Thus *judicium* became *juzizi*.

[2] *Diablesa* is also found, but its precise meaning is not clear.

[3] For *omenesc* and *parentesc*.

† Also, more obscure, *lipaudes*, flattery. See also under -EZA, p. 195.

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-ESA

One of the commonest of the feminine suffixes in Romance is that which comes from the Greek -ισσα, which gives in Provençal -ESA regularly. Its meanings here are exactly the same as in the other Romance languages: it turned into feminines the masculine nouns to which it was added. Two kinds of words seem to take the suffix regularly—those denoting rank of some kind and the names of animals—which is very different from the use of the other common feminine suffix, -TRIX, always used, as might be expected from its addition to a verb-stem, to designate a woman who does the particular thing denoted by the verb to which it was joined, whether a corresponding masculine form existed or not, and never, therefore, like -ESA, merely a feminization of some masculine form.

Most of the words denoting rank are found in all of the Romance languages, and seem to indicate a Latin origin. Such words as *comtesa*, countess; *duquesa*, duchess, and *princesa*, princess, can hardly be treated, therefore, as Provençal formations. Other words denoting persons are:

deuesa, goddess	*deu*, god
fauresa, smith's wife	*faure*, smith
laironesa, female robber	*lairon*, robber
maestresa, mistress, lord's wife	*maestre*, master
majoresa, female ruler	*major*, chief
metgesa, female physician	*metge*, physician
ostesa, hostess	*oste*, host
pestoresa, baker's wife	*pestor*, baker
preveiresa, priest's concubine	*preveire*, priest
senhoresa, lady	*senhor*, lord

the purely passive meaning being seen in *fauresa*, the wife of a man who does certain things, rather than a woman

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doing those things herself. *Laironesa* and *pestoresa* imply more action, but are still only feminine forms of nouns originally masculine. -ESA can have both of these kinds of meaning.

Names of animals are seen in:

elephantesa, female elephant	*elephant*, elephant
leonesa, lioness	*leon*, lion

-ESC

The Provençal suffix -ESC is one that is somewhat difficult to explain. It appears to arise from a confusion of the Latin -ISCUS, from the Greek suffix -ισχος, with the Germanic suffix -ISK. The Greek suffix, used originally as a diminutive, when it became common in Latin appears to have been used simply to form adjectives, of which there are several examples in Provençal. Then this adjective suffix, becoming confused with the Germanic patronymic -ISK, appears to have given rise to another kind of adjectives, namely, those of nationality, of which there are examples in most of the Romance languages.[1] But there are also nouns with this suffix, and these are somewhat harder to explain. One or two of these words appear to be simply adjectives used substantively, and it is probable that most of them are of this kind. For example, we find the word *frairesca*, meaning brother's portion, then inheritance, which looks like a substantive made of the feminine form of the adjective originally used. The meanings of these nouns seem to be of two kinds, abstract and collective. The abstracts are as follows:

fadesc, folly	*fat*, fool
frairesca, brother's portion	*fraire*, brother
omenesc, homage	*ome(n)*, man

[1] See -ESC, under adjective suffixes, p. 310, below.

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parentesc, relationship	*paren(t)*, relative
privadesc, intimacy	*privat*, intimate
ribaudesca, ribaldry	*ribaut*, ribald
ufanesca, *ufanesc*, arrogance, presumption	*ufana*, arrogance
vilanesca,† villainy	*vilan*, villager

all of which might easily be adjectives used substantively. The use of the two forms, even in the same word, as *ufanesca* beside *ufanesc*, seems to point to an original adjective use. These words, then, were simply different forms of the adjective *ufanesc*, from which the nouns with which they were used have disappeared.

Other nouns not abstract (or collective), but which were probably adjectives used substantively, are:

magesca, tax on right of selling wine (in May [?]); cf. *magenca*	*mag*, May
marcesca, barley planted in March	*martz*, March

The collectives are as follows:

cendresca, ashes	*cendre*, ashes
juzevesc, Judaism	*juzieu*, Jew
orrezesc,[1] filth, excrements	
vezinesc,†† neighborhood	*vezin*, neighbor

[1] Formed on *orreza* instead of *orrezeza*? Or on *orreza*, the feminine of *orre*?

† Another word, not an abstract, but nevertheless nothing but an adjective used substantively, is *balaresc*, ballad, from *bal*, ball, dance. The *-ar* is inserted probably by analogy with *joglaresc*.

†† Other words in -ESC(A) are: *albuesca*, *bertresca*, *cavesca*, and *maresc*.

albuesca, pumpkin, is probably of the same origin as the Sp. *albudeca* and Port. *albudieca*, but influenced in form by the suffix -ESC. The Mod. Prov. form is *aubieca*. See *Romania*, XXXV, 109.

bertresca, wooden fastening, is probably from the Germanic *brett* + -ESCA. Cf. the O.Fr. *bretesche* in its various forms. See also Körting, No. 1,564.

cavesca, sparrow-owl (Fr. *chevêche*), seems to have the diminutive suffix -ESC joined to some stem not perfectly clear, but is found again in the Mod. Prov. *caveco*, in which the other diminutive suffix -ECCUS may be seen. *Caput* cannot be the base-word here. See *chevêche* in *Dic. Gen.* and in *Zeitschrift*, XX, 339. The same influence of -ESC on a word that originally ended in -EC, as was seen in *albuesca*, is seen here.

maresc, swampy land (Fr. *marais*), is probably of Germanic origin.

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but they are closely related with the above abstract forms. For instance, in *juzevesc* and *vezinesc* it is hard to tell whether or not, after all, we have abstract words. Some of the words given under abstracts, as *parentesc*, seem to be almost collective in meaning, and the distinction is not great in words of this kind.

-ET, -ETA

-ET (-ETA), from the Latin -ITTUS[1](A), is by far the most important of all the diminutive suffixes as regards the number of words which contain it in Provençal and also in the other Romance languages. The only other common diminutive in Provençal is -EL, from -ELLUS, and this suffix has very frequently lost all diminutive force. -ET, however, differs from -EL in that it almost always is a true diminutive, and also in that the simple word to which it was joined still existed in the language. This would naturally be the case, for had it been joined without change of meaning, as was the case with -EL, the tendency would be for the word in less common use, almost always the simple word, to disappear. When there was a real difference in meaning between the two words, there was room for both in the language. There are very few words in -ET in Provençal, then, beside which the simple word does not exist. Both simple and derived word

[1] As to the source of -ITTUS itself there is some question. Horning (*Zeitschrift*, XX, 351) suggests that it may represent the Lat. -ITUS, as in *avitus*, *capritus*—adjectives superadding other diminutive suffixes (*cabridet*, etc.). These final suffixes later disappeared, and -ITTUS, whose *t* was doubled by compensation for the loss of the other suffix, took diminutive force. After the doubling of the *t*, -ITUS became -ITTUS, which form still exists in Sp. and Port. (*cabrito*). In Fr., Prov., and It., before the double consonant, the *i* was shortened (as *littera* = *litera*). Thus we find *chevrette*, *cabreta*, *cappretta*. Other diminutive suffixes with a doubled *t* are -ATTUS (p. 148) and -OTTUS (p. 255), and another development of -ITTUS, namely, -IT (p. 239).

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may, of course, have come down to us from Latin, or the derived one may have been formed in Provençal, the exact time of formation always being difficult to determine except by the texts in which the derived word may be found in Latin, and by the number of Romance languages having it simultaneously. At any rate, the use of -ET<-ITTUS as a diminutive persisted in Provençal, as it still persists in French. A peculiarity of its use is the frequency with which it is added to words previously containing a suffix, such as -IER, -AS, etc., but especially the former diminutive -EL. Nothing shows more clearly how much more of its diminutive force -EL had lost than -ET; for -ELET is a very common double suffix, probably thought of as a single one, whereas -EL is never added to -ET or to any other diminutive, and seldom to any suffix at all.

In the following list all the words ending in -ET(A), with purely diminutive force, beside which the simple word is to be found, will be placed first, and the more difficult words will be reserved for later lists. The meanings will be given only when the diminutive force is not perfectly clear. The sign < is used in this list to mean "derived from."

agulheta<*agulha*, needle
aigueta<*aiga*, water
albeta<*alba*, dawn
ambladureta[1]<*ambladura*, ambling pace
amigueta<*amiga*, friend
amoreta, love affair, flirtation <*amor*, love
ampoleta<*ampola*, blister
anelet[2]<*anel*, ring
anhelet[2]<*anhel*, lamp
areneta<*arena*, shore
aurelheta, fritter<*aurelha*, ear
auzelet[2]<*auzel*, bird
avelaneta<*avelana*, acorn
azenet<*aze(n)*, donkey
baladeta<*balada*, ballad
barreta<*barra*, bar
barrilet<*barril*, barrel
bastonet<*baston*, lance

[1] See real double suffixes, p. 384.

[2] See the compound suffix -ELET, under double suffixes, pp. 391–92.

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bladet, cornfield or harvest (?) < *blat*, grain
boquet < *boc*, buck
bordonet < *bordon*, verse
borset < *borsa*, purse
bosquet < *bosc*, woods
botonet, small sack, purse < *boton*, button, bud
bresolet[1] < *bresol*, cradle
brevet, piece of writing < *bref*, brief, warrant
budelet < *budel*, bowels
bufet, bellows < *buf*, blowing
cabaset < *cabas*, basket
cabet, head-hole < *cap*, head
cabreta < *cabra*, goat
cadelet < *cadel*, young dog
cairelet, small crossbow-shaft < *cairel*, arrow
caironet < *cairon*, hewn stone
cambreta < *cambra*, room
canet < *can*, dog
canonet < *canon*, reed
cantonet < *canton*, corner
capelet,[2] garland of flowers for head < *capel*, hat
carraireta,[3] little lane < *carriera*, street
carteta < *carta*, card
cazalet[1] < *cazal*, country house
castelet[2] < *castel*, castle
caulet, cabbage < *caul*, cabbage (here no diminutive force)
celeta < *cela*, cell
centuret < *centura*, belt
cisclet, piercing cry < *cisele*, chirping
clerguet, minister < *clergue*, clerk
cogorleta < *cogorda*,[4] gourd
coguleta < *cogul*, cuckoo
colet < *col*, hill
colet < *col*, throat, neck
colhonet[1] < *colhon*, testicle
conhet < *conh*, corner
conquet < *conca*, measure of grain
cordeta < *corda*, cord
cornet < *corn*, horn
correjeta < *correja*, strap
corset, doublet < *cors*, body
costeta < *costa*, coast
croquet < *croc*, hook
crozeta < *crotz*, cross
culhairet,[3] small spoonful < *culhier*, spoon
dechet < *dec(h)*, property
denairet[3] < *denier*, penny
dentelhet[1] < *dentelh*, battlement
doneta < *dona*, lady
donselet[2] (*a*) < *donsel(a)*, lord, lady
enfantet < *enfan(t)*, child
enfantonet[1] < *enfanton*, child
enfernet < *enfern*, hell
enganeta, arrow < *engana*
erbeta < *erba*, grass
escaleta, spring of crossbow < *escala*, ladder, staircase; litter
escudet < *escut*, shield
esmaget, picture < *esmage*
espazeta < *espaza*, sword

[1] See real double suffixes, pp. 382–83.

[2] See the compound suffix -ELET, under double suffixes, pp. 391–92.

[3] See the compound suffix -AIRET, under double suffixes, p. 398.

[4] There was almost certainly a form *cogorla*, for Mistral cites it for O.Prov., but it is in neither Raynouard nor Levy. Mistral, however, gives several names of plants similar in form, but with *l* instead of *d*; for example, *coucoureleto*.

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esqueleta < *esquela*, bell
esajet < *esai*, test
establet < *estable*, stall
estuget < *estug*, case
fajolet < *fajol*, bean
faiset < *fais*, bundle
faleta < *fala*, market
falset < *fals*, peg
falset < *fals*, sickle
femneta < *femna*, woman
fenestreta < *fenestra*, window
ferreta < *ferra*, kind of weapon
filet < *fil*, thread
filhet(a) < *filh(a)*, son, daughter
filholet[1] < *filhol*, godson
floquet < *floc*, tuft
fogaseta[1] < *fogasa*, kind of roll
folet, goblin < *fol*, fool
folhet, leaf of book < *folh*, leaf
folheta < *folha*, leaf
fonteta < *fon(t)*, fountain
forqueta, clamp < *forca*, fork
frachizet < *frachis*, a clasp, buckle
fustet, kind of wood < *fust*, wood
gacheta < *gacha*, watch
gafet, tenterhook < *gaf*, hook
gaiet < *gai*, jay
gantelet,[2] gauntlet < *gant*, glove
gimbilet, gimlet < *gimbila*, wimble[3] (?)
glcizeta < *gleiza*, church
glozeta < *gloza*, gloss
goleta, small canal < *gola*, throat
gorjaireta,[4] gorget < *gorgiera*, throat-piece
goset < *gos*, dog
goteta, small drop; also a kind of disease < *gota*, drop
granet < *gran*, grain
grazalet(a) < *grazal(a)*, bowl
grilhet < *grilh*, cricket
ileta, islet < *ila*, island
jaiet < *jai*, jet
joquet < *joc*, game
joglaret < *joglar*, "jongleur"
jupet, short skirt < *jupa*, skirt
justet < *justa*, cane
lachugueta < *lachuga*, lettuce
lagremeta < *lagrema*, tear
lanseta < *lansa*, lance
lauzeta < *lauza*, dish, plate
legueta < *lega*, league
lengueta < *lenga*, tongue
leonet < *leo(n)*, lion
letreta < *letra*, letter
liamet < *liam*, bond
libret < *libre*, book
lobet < *lop*, wolf
loguet < *loc*, place
lumet < *lum*, light
lunet < *luna*, round window
luquet < *luc*, lock
maizoneta < *maizon*, house
malhet, mallet < *malh* (no change in meaning)
mantelet[5] < *mantel*, mantle

[1] See real double suffixes, p. 383.

[2] See the compound suffix -ELET, under double suffixes, pp. 391–92.

[3] This seems to be the meaning, though Levy does not translate the word. If *gimbila* means wimble, it is the only example of the simple word in the Romance languages, though the diminutive is found elsewhere. See Murray, "wimble."

[4] See the compound suffix -AIRET, under double suffixes, p. 398.

[5] See the compound suffix -ELET, under double suffixes, pp. 391–92. The word is in Appel and also in the little Levy.

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martelet[1] < *martel*, hammer
maseta < *masa*, club
matinet < *matin*, morning
mercadairet[2] < *mercadier*, merchant
moleta, cap < *mole*, mold (?)
moltonet < *molton*, sheep
monegueta < *monegue*, monk
motet[3] < *mot*, word
mulet < *mul*, mule
muret < *mur*, wall
musquet, musk < *musc*, musk
nadalet, week preceding Christmas < *nadal*, Christmas
naveta < *nau*, ship
nineta < *nina*, girl
oleta < *ola*, jar
olhet < *olh*, eye
ombreta < *ombra*, shade
ortalet[4] < *ortal*, garden
oset < *os*, bone
ostalet[4] < *ostal*, hotel
padeleta < *padela*, stove
pairolet < *pairol*, kettle
palet < *pal*, stake
paleta, long, flat-handled spoon, < *pala*, shovel
palhet, kind of cloak < *pali*, a kind of material
panet < *pan*, piece
panseta < *pansa*, belly
paonet < *paon*, peacock
pasereta < *pasera*, sparrow
paset < *pas*, step
pastoret(a) < *pastor(a)*, shepherd(ess)
peireta < *peira*, stone
peisonet[4] < *peison*, fish
pelet < *pel*, hair
peleta < *pel*, skin
peliseta[4] < *pelisa*, pelisse
peneta < *pena*, feather
peolhet < *peolh*, louse
peonet, pawn < *pe(z)on*, foot-soldier
pertuzet < *pertus*, hole
peseta, small coin < *pes*, weight
piloleta < *pilola*, pill
piloteta < *pilota*, ball
planqueta < *planca*, bridge
plaseta < *plasa*, square
plumeta < *pluma*, pen, feather
poget < *pog*, hill
pojoleta < *pojol*, hill
polet < *pol*, chicken
polvereta < *polvera*, dust, powder
ponchet < *ponch*, point
ponhet, sleeve of coat < *ponh*, fist
ponselet[4] < *ponsel*, small bridge
pontet < *pont*, bridge
porcelet,[4] sucking pig < *porcel*, small pig
portalet,[4] small door < *portal*, portal
porteta < *porta*, door
posteta < *posta*, post
potet < *pot*, pot
prestet < *prest*, loan
rabeta < *raba*, radish
raineta < *raina*, frog
ramet < *ram*, branch
rateta < *rata*, rat
resposet, a verse < *respos*, response

[1] See the compound suffix -ELET, under double suffixes, below (pp. 391–92). The word is in Appel and also in the little Levy.

[2] See, under double suffixes, the compound suffix -AIRET, p. 398.

[3] Has also a more specialized meaning.

[4] See real double suffixes, pp. 383–84.

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rimeta<*rima*, rhyme
roqueta<*roca*, rock
rozeta<*roza*, rose
saquet<*sac*, sack
santet, small imp<*sant*, saint
solaret[1]<*solar*, story, floor; room[2]
sonet[3]<*son*, sound
taqueta<*taca*, spot
tasqueta<*tasca*, pocket
tauleta, tablet; also castanet<*taula*, table
tebezeta<*tebeza*, lukewarmness
teleta<*tela*, cloth
terreta<*terra*, land
tortret<*tortre*, turtle-dove
toset(a)<*tos(a)*, boy, girl
trabuquet<*trabuc*, machine of war
tropelet[4]<*tropel*, flock
vaiselet<*vaisel*, vessel
veneta<*vena*, vein
vergueta<*verga*, rod
vermeta<*verm*, worm
verset<*vers*, verse
vileta<*vila*, villa
vilanet[5]<*vilan*, villager
zuquet†<*zuc*, pumpkin

Ordinarily, in the above list, -ETA is added to nouns ending in *-a*, and -ET to all others, -ETA being the feminine form of the suffix, and most feminine nouns in Provençal ending in *-a*. *Amor* and *pel*, which add -ETA, are no exceptions, as they are feminine. On the other hand, however, -ET, the masculine form, is added to some nouns which both end in *-a* and are feminine. Thus we find:

borset, purse, from *borsa*. Levy finds also, however, a form *borseta*
centuret, small belt — *centura*, belt
conquet, measure of grain — *conca*, measure of grain
jupet, short coat — *jupa*, skirt
justet, small cane — *justa*, cane
lunet, small window — *luna*, window

[1] See real double suffixes, p. 384.
[2] For this meaning, see Du Cange, *solarium*.
[3] Also with the special meaning of a kind of bridge.
[4] See the compound suffix -ELET. [5] See real double suffixes, p. 385.

† Other words in -ET are *malnet*, pot; *martinet*, crane or derrick, and *martineta*, martin; *merlet*, merlon; *moquet*, candle-end; and *nabeta*, candied sugar. Of these words, *malnet* is obscure. *Martinet* and *martineta* probably both come from a Prov. **martin*(<*martinus*, martin), the instrument being named after the animal (cf. the Engl. "crane," Fr. *grue*, Prov. *gruat*, or other examples). *Merlet*, as well as the verb *merlar*, probably comes from a Prov. **merle* (cf. the It. *Merlo*). *Moquet* may have been formed on *moc*, mucus, and *nabeta* on *nap*, turnip; there is some connection in both cases, but not a very obvious one.

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A few words add the suffix without change of meaning, or any diminutive force whatever.[1] Thus there are:

alauzeta and *alauza*, lark
caulet and *caul*, cabbage
clavelet and *clavel*, nail
fureta and *fura*, female ferret
malhet and *malh*, mallet
marmet and *marme* (or *marmre*), marble
mealheta and *mealha*, half-penny
pampet and *pampa*, vine, branch
parentet and *paren(t)*, relation
pateta and *pata*, kerchief
piuceleta and *piucela*, maiden
popeta and *popa*, breast

Several nouns also are formed on adjectives by means of the suffix -ET. Most of these, however, appear to be the adjective with the suffix simply used substantively.

blanquet, white cloth	*blanc*, white
boneta, bonnet, cap (originally fine cloth)	(from *bon*, good (?) This etymology, however, is more than doubtful, and the word may be treated as obscure)
crespelet,[2] fritter	*crespel*, curled, crisp
galhardet, a scalloped flag	*galhart*, merry, gay

There is also a word *laset*, weariness, from *las*, weary, but it seems improbable that this should represent -ITTUS, which was never used in forming abstracts. The word is also spelled *lasec*, in which the -EC might represent -ECCUS, which was also, however, usually a diminutive. The Modern Provençal words given by Mistral are *lassech*, *lassi*, and *lassige*.[3] See also *noveleta* below.

[1] At any rate, none is shown in the translations of them given in the dictionary. It is hard to determine in every case whether there was any diminutive force or not. Possibly other words also should be added.

[2] See -ELET under double suffixes, pp. 391–92.

[3] II. 190.

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menudet, small child; brother in minor orders	*menut*, small
moriquet,[1] kind of cloth	
noveleta,[2] dispossession	*novel*, new
piguet, kind of cloth	*pic*, black and white

A few other words appear to be formed on verbs. Such are:

mosquet, horse-net	*moscar*, drive away flies
nafreta, small wound	*nafrar*, wound
piulet,† bird-call	*piular*, scream

-EZA

The Provençal suffix -EZA is, after -AMEN and -ANSA, perhaps the most usual of the abstract suffixes. Generally speaking, it presents little difficulty, as it is a regular phonetic development of the Latin -ĬTIA, and was added in almost all cases to adjectives to form abstract nouns. There are, however, several words containing -ESA instead of -EZA, and also several words in which the suffix was joined to nouns, each of which cases will be treated separately. -EZA joined to adjectives forms abstracts in:

adrecheza, uprightness	*adrech*, upright
amareza,[3] bitterness	*amar*, bitter

[1] No simple word found. Appears to be the same as *moresquin*, and probably changed its suffix on account of the analogy of other words in -ET denoting kinds of cloth.

[2] For the abstract meaning, see *laset*, above.

[3] *Amarities* in Lat. See Cooper, 49.

† Possibly also *prestet*, loan, given with the real diminutives.

There are several words ending in -ET that are more or less obscure, both in form and meaning. None of them can be Prov. formations. These words are: *culveta*, girdle, band; *falveta* (obscure in meaning), connected with *falb*, brown; *gerlet*, a kind of fish; *gregueta*, necklace (see Du Cange, *greguetum*); *grolet*, a kind of dish (cf. Fr. *grole*<*gracula* [?]); *gormet*, cabin-boy (for *gormet* cf. the Fr. *gourmet*, from the Engl. "groom"); *guionet*, small auger (see *guiounet* in Mistral, II, 111). In all of these words -ET probably represents the suffix -ITTUS.

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apteza, skill	*apte*, skilful
ardideza, boldness	*ardit*, bold
auleza, *avoleza*, baseness, cowardice	*aul*, *avol*, base, cowardly
auteza, height, abundance	*aut*, high
avinenteza, pleasing conduct	*avinen(t)*, pleasing
baiseza, baseness	*bas*, low
baudeza, boldness	*baut*, bold
beleza, beauty	*bel*, beautiful
blaveza, lividity	*blau*, blue, bad
breveza, brevity	*breu*, brief
caitiveza, captivity	*caitiu*, captive
cegueza, blindness	*cec*, blind
certeza, certainty	*cert*, certain
cobezeza, covetousness	*cobes*, covetous
cominaleza,[1] community	*cominal*, common
crualeza, *cruzeleza*, cruelty	*crual*, *cruzel*, cruel
desleialeza, disloyalty	*desleial*, disloyal
dezadrecheza, impropriety	*dezadrech*, improper
dolseza, mildness	*dols*, mild
drecheza, uprightness	*drech*, upright
egaleza, equality	*egal*, equal
enfruneza, insatiability	*enfrun*, insatiable
engreseza, anger	*engres*, angry
escaseza, avarice	*escars*, stingy
esperteza, skill	*espert*, skilled
espeiseza,[2] thickness	*espes*, thick
estranheza, shyness, timidity	*estranh*, strange
estrecheza, narrowness	*estrech*, narrow
fadeza, foolishness	*fat*, foolish
fadrineza, youth	*fadrin*, vagabond, young fellow
falbeza, paleness	*falb*, pale
febleza, weakness	*feble*, feeble
feloneza, cruelty	*felon*, cruel
fereza, horror, fear	*fer*, wild, cruel, terrible
fermeza, firmness	*ferm*, firm
fineza, purity	*fin*, fine, pure
fizaleza, faithfulness	*fizal*, faithful, trustworthy
flaqueza, weakness	*flac*, weak
foleza, folly	*fol*, foolish

[1] See double suffixes, p. 385.

[2] There is also a verb *espeisar*, from **spissiare*. *Espeiseza* may have been modified in form by this verb.

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forteza, fortaleza,[1] strength; fortress	*fort,* strong
francaleza,[1] freedom from taxes	*francal,* free, exempt
franqueza, kindness	*franc,* free, kind
fresqueza, freshness	*fresc,* fresh
frevoleza, poverty, shabbiness	*frevol,* weak, poor
gentileza, gentleness, nobility	*gentil,* gentle
gloteza, gluttony	*glot,* gluttonous
graseza, fatness	*gras,* fat
greveza, heaviness, oppression	*greu,* heavy
grineza,[2] excitement(?)	*grin,* sad
groseza, width	*gros,* broad, wide
ivreza, intoxication	*ivre,* intoxicated
lageza, dirt, filth	*lag,* dirty
laseza, weariness	*las,* weary
leialeza, loyalty	*leial,* loyal
leneza, smoothness	*len,* smooth
leveza, lightness	*leu,* light
livreza, freedom	*livre,* free
longueza, length	*lonc,* long
lonheza, remoteness	*lonh,* far
madureza, maturity	*madur,* mature
maigreza, thinness	*maigre,* thin
malastrugeza,[3] misfortune	*malastruc,* unfortunate
menueza, thinness	*menut,* thin
moltaleza,[1] *molteza,* abundance, quantity	*molt,* much
mondeza, purity	*mon(de),* pure
naturaleza, fidelity	*natural,* faithful
nedeza, nedezeza,[4] cleanliness, neatness	*net,* neat

[1] See under double suffixes the compound suffix -ALEZA, p. 396.

[2] *Grineza* not certain, but *grin,* which is at the base of *grinos,* afflicted, startled, is probably also the base here. *Gruneza* and *grimeza* are also suggested as variant readings.

[3] See hybrids, p. 580, below.

[4] *Nedezeza, orrezeza,* and *tebezeza* seem at first sight to display a doubling of the suffix -EZA. It is more probable, however, that they come from such Lat. forms as **nitiditia, *horriditia,* and **tepiditia.* The forms without this apparent doubling, as *nedeza* and *tebeza,* are very probably formations on the adjectives *net* and *tebe,* although these might possibly be simplifications of the longer forms. No such form as *orreza* exists. A word almost like these, but with *d* instead of *z,* is *poiredeza*< **putriditia.*

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negreza, blackness	*negre*, black
nescieza, ignorance	*nesci*, ignorant
nobleza, nobility	*noble*, noble
noveleza, newness; unusual size or splendor	*novel*, new
nualeza, indolence	*nualh*, indolent
nudeza, nudity	*nut*, nude
orbeza, blindness	*orp*, blind
orrezeza,[1] horror; filth; immorality	*orre*, horrid
paubreza, poverty	*paubre*, poor
pegueza, folly	*pec*, foolish
perdurableza,[2] permanence	*perdurable*, permanent
petiteza, smallness	*petit*, small
pleneza, fulness	*plen*, full
poiredeza,[1] rottenness, putrefaction	
prenheza, pregnancy	*prenh*, pregnant
preondeza, depth	*preon(da)*, deep
primeza, thinness, smallness	*prim*, thin, small
privadeza, privacy, familiarity	*privat*, private
proeza, prowess	*pro*, valiant
pureza, purity	*pur*, pure
rauqueza, hoarseness	*rauc*, hoarse
redondeza, roundness	*redon(da)*, round
regeza, stiffness	*rege*, stiff
rogeza, redness	*roge*, red
rudeza, roughness	*rude*, rude
sadoleza, satiety	*sadol*, satiated
santeza, sanctity	*sant*, saintly
savieza, wisdom	*savi*, wise
sequeza, dryness	*sec*, dry
soleza, solitude	*sol*, alone
suaveza, gentleness	*suau*, suave
subtileza, subtlety	*subtil*, subtle
tardeza, slowness	*tart*, late
tebeza, *tebezeza*,[1] lukewarmness	*tebe*, lukewarm
tendreza, tenderness	*tendre*, tender

[1] Cf. p. 197, n. 4.

[2] This is peculiar in being formed on a word that already has both suffix and prefix (*perdurable*, formed on *dur*), but it is a simple suffix-formation.

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vaneza, boasting	*van*, vain
velheza, old age	*velh*, old
vermelheza, pinkness	*vermelh*, pink
vileza,† baseness	*vil*, vile

Besides the words in the above list representing the phonetic development of -ĬTIA, there are a few others in -ESA or -ESSA, that is, with the voiceless sound of *s*, and spelled -ESA in Levy. These words may be explained in various ways. In no case should -ĬTIA have given the voiceless *s* phonetically, and we must look elsewhere for an explanation, which may perhaps be found in a substitution for -ĬTIA of -ĬCIA. This is a suffix which hardly appears in Romance except in the combination ARĬCIUS, as seen in the Provençal -ARES, -AREZA, and the French -EREZ, -ERECE. -ĬCIUS, however, did exist in Latin, being added to noun-stems. In Provençal, it is possibly seen in the word *cabes*,[1] *cabetz*, collar, in which the precise meaning introduced by the suffix is not clear, though it seems, if anything, diminutive. Yet -ES in some words has an abstract meaning, just as -ESA has, and the question is how to account for them. It seems probable that, in the first place, -ĬCIA, without any very well-defined meaning, became confused, in some words, with -ITIA, and was substituted for it, which would account for the words in -ESSA, or -ESA, as in Levy. *Bonasa* <*bonacia* may perhaps have had some influence in the change of *bonitia* to *bonĭcia*>*bonesa*. This confusion and substitution of -ĬCIA for -ĬTIA probably occurred rather early, as the Provençal descendants of *pigritia* seem to indicate. Here Raynouard gives, besides the

[1] See p. 145, above.

† Of Lat. origin is *dureza*. See Olcott, 79. Both *duritia* and *durities* are found. *Ladesa*, breadth, is also Lat. See Olcott, 79, *latitia*, from *latus*.

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regular *pigreza* and *pigresa*, which should come from *pigricia*, also *pigricia*, which seems to represent unchanged a Latin *pigricia*. The Provençal abstracts in -ES probably are derived from -ĬCIUM, which seems itself to have taken the abstract meaning which the corresponding feminine form had received through a confusion with -ITIA.

The Provençal words with -ESA instead of -EZA are as follows:

alegresa, happiness	*alegre*, happy, joyful
bonesa, goodness	*bon*, good
domesteguesa, familiarity	*domestic*, domestic, familiar
joinesa, youth	*joine*, young
liesa, joy. This cannot represent directly either *laetitia* or **laeticia*. It seems to be a borrowing from the French *liesse*.	
nedesa, neatness	*net*, neat
pigresa (Latin), laziness. See above	*pigre*
primesa, primacy	*prim*, first
tortesa, crookedness	*tort*, crooked

In a few cases -EZA (and -ESA) are added to nouns:

aureza, folly	*aura*, air
boiseza,[1] box, case	*bois*, box
enfanteza, infancy	*enfan(t)*, infant
frontereza,[2] limit	*fronteira*, limit, boundary
laironesa, robbery	*lairon*, robber

The last word represents *latronicia* for *latrocinia*, and bears out the idea of an abstract meaning for- ĬCIUS. The metathesis may have taken place under the influence

[1] Probably, however, not a Prov. formation. Thomas (*Mélanges*, 34) derives the word from *pyxida*, a Latinization of the Gr. πυξις.

[2] For -AREZA<-ARICIUS, see double suffixes. The base-word for *frontereza* is not *front* but *fronteira*, to which -AREZA was joined. Syllabic superposition takes place here, however, giving *frontereza*. See *Nouv. Ess.*, 69.

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of other abstracts in -ĬCIUS. Raynouard has only the purely learned form *laironici*.

ligeza, right of vassal
nienteza, nullity
ortaleza,[1] † vegetable

lige, vassal
nient, nothing

-IA

The Provençal suffix -IA, coming from a Latin -IA, which had been detached from Greek abstract nouns with this ending, gives little difficulty as to meaning, for it seems to have formed little but abstract nouns, although to form them the suffix was joined both to nouns and to adjectives, and also, in a few cases, to verb-stems. In words like *baronia* and *borgezia*, the suffix appears to have collective force, but this was probably a later development of meaning, and *baronia* may have meant "nobility" (abstract) before meaning the nobility or nobles. The chief difficulty in dealing with the suffix is found in the fact that it was very frequently joined to the suffix -ARIUS to form a new compound suffix of varied meanings, -AIRIA, or more usually spelled -ARIA, also joined to nouns, adjectives, and verb-stems. In this suffix, then, originally added to the stem of words ending in -IER, all idea of a compound was lost very early, and it could be added independently of any previous ending. -AIRIA (or -ARIA[2])

[1] For this word, containing a double suffix, see double suffixes.

[2] See -ARIA, in its regular alphabetic position, p. 130, above.

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† Another word apparently having the suffix -EZA added to a noun is *asteza*, which Raynouard, translating as "little pike," derives from *asta*, pike. The word, nevertheless, is obscure in meaning. Still another is *pageza*, farmer's wife, but this is simply *pages*, peasant, plus the feminine ending *a*.

Also a word with an apparent suffix -EZA, *lampeza*<*lampada*.

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has therefore been treated as an entirely independent single suffix, and no words with that ending will be found here. *Parlaria*, for example, which looks like *parlar* plus -IA at first sight, has been treated under -ARIA.

A great many simple nouns add -IA to form abstracts:

abadia (?), Raynouard's meaning, *forêt de sapins*, is wrong, but the real meaning is not clear. It is possibly *abbey*, built on *abat*, abbot. Levy gives a reference to Sternbeck, but to an unpublished part of his thesis.	
bailia, guardianship	*baile*, intendant
baronia, nobility, nobles	*baron*, baron
borgezia, "bourgeoisie"	*borges*, "bourgeois"
canongia, canonicate	*canonge*, canon
caslania,[1] castle, defense	*caslan*, lord of castle
clercia,[2] clergy	*clerc*, clerk
cogossia, cuckoldom	*cogotz*, cuckold
comandia,[3] commandery	*comanda*, command
companhia, company	*companh*, companion
conestablia, constableship	*conestable*, constable
cridoria,[1] clamor, uproar	*cridor*, uproar
degania, deanship	*degan*, dean
diablia, deviltry	*diable*, devil
drechuria,[1] right, title	*drechura*, right
enfantia, childishness, folly	*enfan(t)*, child
escrivania, edition, redaction	*escrivan*, scribe
fantaumia, illusion	*fantauma*, phantom
folia,[4] folly, abuse	*fol*, fool
frairia, brothership	*fraire*, brother
galaubia, cheerfulness	*galaubei*, pomp
gardia,[3] watch	*garda*, guard, watch
garentia, evidence, testimony	*garen(t)*, guaranty
garsonia, boy's prank	*garson*, boy

[1] See double suffixes, p. 383. Observe in *cridoria* and *drechuria* the double abstract suffix.

[2] *Clerquia* instead of *clercia* might be expected.

[3] For *comandia* and *gardia*, see also formations on verbs.

[4] For *folia*, see also formations on adjectives.

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glezia, clergy	*gleiza*, church
joglaria,[1] trade of "jongleur"	*joglar*, "jongleur"
laironia, theft	*lairon*, thief
lestia (?), right to raise taxes (?)	*lesda*, *leuda*, a tax
ma(j)estria, skill; trick; power	*ma(j)estre*, master
mercantia, merchandise	*mercan(t)*, merchant
metgia, art of medicine; remedy	*metge*, physician
mezelia, leprosy	*mezel*, leper
pagezia, coarseness	*pages*, peasant
paironia, fatherhood	*pairon*, father
paponia, inheritance from a grandfather	*papon*, grandfather
payania, paganism	*payan*, pagan
peolhia, disease of lice	*peolh*, louse
plaidezia, pleading, legal procedure	*plaides*, wrangler, lawyer
preveiria, priesthood	*preveire*, priest
ribaudia, shamelessness	*ribaut*, ribald
sancnia, bleeding	*sanc*, blood
senescalchia, seneschalship	*senescalc*, seneschal
senhoria, lordship	*senhor*, lord
serventia, service	*serven(t)*, servant
vigoria, vigor	*vigor*, vigor
vilania,[2] † coarseness	*vilan*, peasant

There are four words also in which the suffix makes little change in meaning:

cairia, corner	*caire*, corner
corsia, passageway (in a ship)	*corsa*, course
ordia, order	*orde*, order
veiria, pane of glass	*veire*, glass

[1] Here, indeed, we find the ending -ARIA, but the "AR" represents -ARIS and not -ARIUS, for which reason it is not given with the other words in -ARIA.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 385.

† There are several additional words ending in -IA that are not Prov. formations, and many of them have not the suffix -IA at all. Such are: *auria*, *bolia*, *brefania*, *colonia*, *crozeia*, *esquilansia*, *fadia*, *gavia*, *mostazia*, *palaudia*, and *pezonia*.

auria, lightness, may be derived from *aura*, air, but the word is not at all certain.

bolia, strong broth, should probably be written *bolha*, or *bulha*, and

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For the last word, in French, Spanish, and Portuguese, on the other hand, the double suffix -ARIA is found (*verrerie, vidriería, vidraría*) but with the meanings of glass-works and things made of glass. The simple suffix -IA appears to be found only in Provençal—another example of syllabic superposition.

A few words have the meaning of place, but such cases are rare. The only words appear to be:

fauria, smithy	*faure*, smith
mongia, monastery	*monge*, monk
prioria,† priory	*prior*, prior

These are meanings which we should expect to find under the ending -ARIA, as, indeed, we do, finding *fabraria* meaning a smithy. There may perhaps have been a change of meaning from the occupation to the place for the occupation in these two words.

Then come the formation on adjectives, of which there is also a number with the same abstract force:

has nothing to do, therefore, with the suffix -IA; it is even possible that -IDA (*bolia* for *bolhida*) is the suffix represented here (see Levy, I, 153).

brefania, epiphany, is from the Lat. *epiphania*.

colonia, fine, is from the Lat. *calumnia*.

crozeia, window-frame, is in Du Cange. Here we have not -IA but -EIA, which indicates Fr. influence. See -EIA, above, under -ADA.

esquilansia is a mediaeval deformation of the Gr. κυνάγχη with the η pronounced as *i*. See *Dic. Gen.*, introduction, sec. 504. There seems to be also a prefix ES- in this word.

fadia, weariness (also written *fadiga*), is a post-verbal formation on the verb *fadiar* or *fadigar*.

gavia, cage, is from the Lat. **gavea* (Fr. *cage*).

In *mostazia*, mustard, -AZIA represents another suffix.

palaudia, article of clothing, is obscure, and

pezonia, peony, is the Lat. *paeonia*, with a *z* inserted instead of the *v* which Fr. inserts (*pivoine*).

† To these might be added *abadia* (see p. 202), if it has the meaning of "abbey," suggested there. Cf. *mongia* and *prioria*, above.

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aurania, folly	*auran*, light
azautia, graciousness	*azaut*, gracious
carestia, (1) highness of price; (2) love	

The last-named word is somewhat puzzling, but the examples seem to make clear the second meaning, which is given by Levy.[1] The first meaning is given by Körting,[2] who suggests it instead of "lack," mentioned by Raynouard. Körting therefore draws the word from **caristus*, a superlative of *carus* plus the ending -IA, rather than derive it from **carestus*, a past participle of the verb *carēre*, to lack. He is probably right in saying that -IA would not be added to a past participle stem, the regular stem to which it is added being that of the infinitive. Moreover, the second meaning, "love," seems to connect the word with the adjective *carus*, whether we believe in the superlative **caristus* or not. It seems possible enough that both the meanings of dearness—highness in price, and love = fondness or dearness—could be derived from the adjective *carus*, dear, just as *caro* means "dear" in both senses in Spanish and Italian, and *cher* in French likewise has both meanings. As for the derived word, *carestia*, it is found also in Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, and there, as in Provençal, serves as base for an adjective formed with the suffix -OSUS.

coindia, graciousness	*coinde*, gracious
cortezia, courtesy	*cortes*, courteous
culvertia, perfidy	*culvert*, perfidious
envezadia, witchcraft, spell (?)	*envezat*, merry, happy
falsia, deceit	*fals*, false
fatonia,[3] cowardice	**faton*, from *fat*, foppish (?)
folia, folly	*fol*, foolish
galhardia, cheerfulness	*galhart*, gay, cheerful
gelozia, jealousy	*gelos*, jealous

[1] I, 213. [2] See *carestus*, No. 1,935.

[3] See double suffixes, p. 385, n. †.

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gensozia,[1] gentleness	(*gent*, gentle)
glotonia,[2] gluttony	*gloton*, gluttonous
guiscozia, craft, deceit	*guiscos*, tricky
janglozia,[2] slander	*janglos*, slanderous
leconia,[3] gluttony	**lecon*, from *lec*, greedy; *leccone* exists in Italian, meaning "a glutton"
majoria, superiority	*major*, superior
malautia, illness	*malaut*, ill
malvaizia, badness	*malvais*, bad
manentia, power	*manen(t)*, powerful
melhoria,[2] advantage	*melhor*, better
membradia, prudence	*membrat*, prudent
mesquinia, misery	*mesquin*, miserable
moisardia,[3] deception	*moisart*, deceitful
moisonia,[3] trick, deceit	*moison*, deceitful
muzardia, folly	*muzart*, loitering
paria, resemblance	*par*, similar
punaizia, stench	*punais*, stinking
ricaudia,[3] ostentation	*ricaut*, pretentious
ricozia,[3] pride, insolence	*ricos*, proud
truandia, vagrancy	*truan(t)*, vagrant

On verb stems, we find the following formation:

bauzia, deception	*bauzar*, deceive

This seems to be the only certain one, but several words given in the list of nouns could equally well be treated as formations on verb-stems. Such are *comandia* and *gardia*.[4]

[1] This word is peculiar. It is an abstract and has the force of *genseza*, which one of the manuscripts gives in its stead (Raynouard, III, 462). It would seem to be built on an adjective **gensos*, from *gen(t)*, which is not found, however, and may not have existed. Probably *gensos*, if it existed, was due to a confusion between the comparative forms of *gen*—*genseis* and *gensor*.

[2] Or possibly formed on the verb *melhorar* (?). For another probable formation on the comparative of an adjective, see *gensozia*, above.

[3] See double suffixes, pp. 384, 385, and 385, n. †.

[4] In a few cases, also, -IA is apparently added to the stems of verbs in *-ir*. For such words, however—*carpia*, *departia*, *partia*, and *repentia* —see p. 29, n. †, above.

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-IA is also found attached as a suffix to several compound nouns to form abstracts,[1] as in:

bonomia, kindness	*bonome*, good man
prodomia, nobility	*prodome*, valiant man
profemnia, womanly virtue	*profemna*, good woman

-IER

The Provençal suffix -IER (also -ER, -EIR; feminine -IERA, -EIRA, -ERA, and -IEIRA) is one of the most difficult and complicated suffixes in the language, both on account of the variety of meanings which it has in Provençal and also on account of its numerous forms, none of which can be a regular phonetic development of the Latin suffix -ARIUS—its obvious source—according to the laws of sound-change in Provençal. Much[2] has been written on the form of the suffix in the Romance languages, but the question cannot even yet be regarded as definitely settled. The Provençal forms -ER, -IER, -EIRA, as also the other forms, through an influence of each gender on the other, might be regularly derived from a form -ERIUS,[3] especially as the Latin words with this ending have just the same forms[4] as those whose apparent Latin etymon is in -ARIUS. But how did

[1] See hybrid formations, p. 580.

[2] The two longest works are: E. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes* -ARIUS *in den romanischen Sprachen* (reviewed in *Romania*, XXV, 638), and E. Staaf, *Le Suffixe* -ARIUS *dans les langues romanes* 1896; (reviewed in *Zeitschrift*, XXI, 296, and in *Zeitschrift für romanische Sprache*, XXI, 55). There are also articles by Marchot in *Zeitschrift*, XVII, 288, and XIX, 61, and two very important articles by Thomas in the *Nouv. Ess.*, p. 110 (also in *Romania*, XXXI, 481), and p. 119. See also the *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie*, 1905 (*Mussafia Festschrift*), 641–60.

[3] Cf., for example, such words as *mostier*<*monasterium*, or the abstract words given on p. 228.

[4] In Provençal, *cavaleiral* is almost the only exception. For this word, see double suffixes, p. 386, n. 2.

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-ARIUS happen to change to -ERIUS? There seems to be no good reason for supposing a substitution pure and simple of -ERIUM, as the two endings are not closely enough allied in meaning to have caused any confusion, and as this neuter -ERIUM would have to be substituted for the three forms -ARIUS, -ARIA, -ARIUM. A stronger reason, however, against supposing this substitution of suffix is that in all the words originally ending in -ARIUS, to which another suffix (-ET, -ADA, -AL, etc.) was added, -AIR or -AR is found representing -ARIUS and practically never -EIR (<-ERIUS), although it seems utterly improbable that if such words as *mercadarius* and *denarius*, for example, had changed to *mercaderius* and *denerius* by a substitution of suffix, we should regularly find -AIR or -AR in their compounds. A still better example of this, perhaps, is found in the two words *bandairier* and *carrairier*, representing *banda* + -ARI+-ARIUS and *carra*+-ARI+-ARIUS, in which the first -ARIUS has developed regularly and the second irregularly, or as if from -ERIUS. Of all the double suffixes to be treated later,[1] we shall find -ARIUS by far the most frequent as the first part, to which the second suffix was attached, and these forms are -AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRET, -AIRIA or -AIROL, -AIRON, etc. -ARIUS, therefore, could change its form only when bearing the accent.

If the form -ERIUS does not arise through a simple substitution of suffix, its evident presence in words originally having -ARIUS in Latin must be explained in some other way, and this Thomas,[2] who is one of the most recent to write on the subject, explains as due to the influence of the Germanic suffix -AREIS, in conformity

[1] Pp. 380–403. [2] *Nouv. Ess.*, 123.

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with which it has undergone the law of the umlaut and -ARI has become -ER. First undergoing a change in in the mouths of the Franks in Gaul, it was finally taken up by the Gauls themselves; and -ARIUS having once become -ERIUS, it would have the same treatment as the Latin *ĕ*. The earliest forms seem to be found in the masculine -ER and -EIR, with -EIRA regularly in the feminine. -EIR may have been the original masculine form, which later lost the *i*, whereas the feminine retained it, or, according to a suggestion which Thomas credits to Vising,[1] -ARIU did not become -ERIU but -ER—that is, the umlauting took place at the expense of the *i* of the following syllable. The first rule, however, would explain all the forms just mentioned, and as for the forms -IER and -IEIRA, they are accounted for by a later breaking of the *e* under the influence of a following palatal element.[2] The only form remaining to be explained is -IERA, which might certainly be due to the analogy of the masculine form -IER.

Coming now to the uses of the suffix -IER in Provençal, we find it, when representing the Latin -ARIUS, used to denote the agent who performs an action, and joined regularly to nouns; -IER representing the neuter -ARIUM, denoting place or instrument, or used collectively; -IERA, the feminine form, not differing greatly from the uses of the neuter; and still another -IER, with none of these meanings, but abstract force, not representing -ARIUS, however, but -ERIUM.

Although the suffix has many forms, as it has been necessary to choose one under which to arrange the words containing it, the form -IER, as being beyond comparison the most common, has been taken. In the

[1] *Nouv. Ess.*, 145. [2] Grandgent, art. 30.

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feminine forms there is greater diversity of spelling than in the masculine, but the words will all be found under the analogical form -IERA, as resembling the masculine form most, though -EIRA is more usual in the texts.

Under -IER with the meaning of the agent, from an original -ARIUS, we find:

afanier,[1] workman	*afan*, labor
agulhier, needle-maker	*agulha*, needle
alberguier,[1] innkeeper	*alberc*, inn
almonier, almoner	*almona*, alms
aludier, tanner	*aluda*, a kind of leather
arbalestier, crossbowman	*arbalesta*, crossbow
argurier, soothsayer	*argur*,[2] *augur*, augury
aventurier, strolling merchant, peddler	*aventura*, luck, fortune
bagasier, whoremonger	*bagasa*, prostitute
bailier, manager, director	*baile*, intendant
bandairier,[2] flag-bearer	*bandiera*, banner
bandier, country constable; sergeant	*banda*, ban
baratier, bargainer, trafficker, cheat	*barat*, deception
barbier, barber	*barba*, beard
barralier,[2] cooper	*barral*, barrel
bolier, keeper of seals	*bola*, papal bull
boquier,[4] butcher	*boc*, he-goat
bordier, farmer, tenant	*borda*, small farm
bordonier,[3] pilgrim, crusader (?)	*bordon*, staff
borsier, purse-maker, treasurer	*borsa*, purse
brasier, workman	*bratz*, arm
budelier, tripe-seller	*budel*, bowels
burelier, *borlier*, saddler	*burel*, drugget, fustian

[1] Or possibly formed on a verb. See p. 221.

[2] Assimilation to the following *r* may be seen here.

[3] See *carrairier* and the note on it, p. 211; also double suffixes, p. 399.

[4] See *Stud. Rom.*, IX, 150, for an interesting account of the development of this word. According to Marchot, the *boquier* was originally one who dealt in the delicate flesh of young he-goats; and the words came into fashion with the meaning of "butcher" through the kind of snobbishness that has changed the Fr. *barbiers* into *perruquiers* and *coiffeurs*.

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cabalier, capitalist	*cabal*, capital
cabasier,[1] basket-maker	*cabas*, basket
cabrier, goatherd	*cabra*, goat
cambrier, chamberlain	*cambra*, room
caminier, carrier	*camin*, road
campanier, bell-ringer	*campana*, bell
canabasier,[1] weaver	*canabas*, hemp
candelier(a), candle-maker	*candela*, candle
capdalier, *capdelier*, leader	*capdal*, *capdel*, capital
capelier,[2] hatter	*capel*, hat
capitolier, member of municipal council	*capitol*, municipal council
carcerier, jailer	*carcer*, prison
caritadier, chief of corporation	*carital*, corporation
carnificier,[3] butcher	
carrairier,[4] carter (?)	*carra*, car
carretier, carter	*carreta*, cart
codrasier,[1] hoop-maker	*codra*, hoop
cofier(a), cap-maker	*cofa*, cap
coiratier,[2] trainer	(**coirat*, from *coir*, leather)
coladier,[2] porter, carrier of burdens	*col(ada)*, (blow on) neck
colier, porter	*col*, neck
coltelier, cutler	*coltela*; knife
concalongier,[5] disputant	*calonja*, slander
cordalier,[2] rope-maker	*corda*, cord
cordoanier, dealer in (Cordovan) leather	*cordoan*, (Cordovan) leather
cordier, rope-maker	*corda*, cord
corregier, strap-maker	*correja*, strap
corturier, courtier	(**cortura*, from *cort*, court)
costurier, dressmaker	*costura*, sewing

[1] See under double suffixes, the compound suffix -ASIER, p. 401.

[2] See double suffixes, pp. 382, 395, 393, 400.

[3] No simple word found in Prov. *Carnificier* seems to go back to a Lat. **carnificiarius*, from *carnifex*.

[4] Levy give no translation for the word. "Carter" seems to be its meaning, and the formation is *car* + -ARI + -ARIUS. Olcott, 139, speaks of this kind of formation in the inscriptions, citing *calcariarius*, and comparing these words with the Engl. "fruiterer," and describing them as formations for greater length. See also double suffixes, p. 399.

[5] See parasyntheta, p. 528.

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cozinier, cook	*cozina*, kitchen
dardier, man armed with javelin	*dart*, javelin
dardasier,[1] man armed with darts	(*dart*, dart)
dauradier,[1] goldsmith	(**daurada*, from *daurar*)
daurelier,[1] goldsmith	
defensier,[2] defender	*defensa*, defense
deguier, guardian of land	*dec*, land, property, boundary
desenier, tithing-man	*desen*, tithe
desmier, tax-collector	*desma*, tax, tithe
despesier,[2] spendthrift	*despes*, expenditure
domengier, possessor of property	*domenge*, property
drapier, draper	*drap*, cloth
ensenairier,[1] standard-bearer	*ensenhiera*, standard
ermenier, dealer in ermine skins	*ermeni*, ermine
escarnier,[2] mocker	*escarn*, mockery
escarselier, pocket-maker	*escarsela*, pocket
esclopier, maker of wooden shoes	*esclop*, wooden shoe
escudelier,[1] maker (finisher) of shields (2d meaning)	*escut*, shield
esperonier, maker of spurs	*esperon*, spur
espesier, grocer	*especia*, spice
espondier,[3] executor of will	*esponda*, edge of bed
esportalier, basket-maker	*esportela*, small basket
esquelier, bell-maker or dealer	*esquelha*, bell
estanhier, tinsmith	*estanh*, tin
estanquier, overseer of pond	*estanc*, pond
estestier,[4] butcher who sells heads	*testa*, head
estivandier,[1] harvest-worker	(*estivanda* (?) < *estivar*, harvest)
estradier, robber	*estrada*, street
evangelistier, priest (2d meaning)	*evangelista*, evangelist
fachier, farmer who gives half produce as rent	*facha*, property, land
fachilhier,[1] sorcerer	*fachilha*, charms
fachurier(a),[1] sorceress	*fachura*, charms
faisier, porter	*fais*, load
faisilhier, porter	(**faisilha*, from *fais*, load)

[1] See double suffixes, pp. 401, 393, 401, n. 1, 399, 400, 383.

[2] See also formations on verbs, p. 221.

[3] A queer development of meaning = apparently the one at the edge of the bed of a dying person.

[4] See parasyntheta, p. 528.

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fargoer, smith	*fargoa, farga*, forge
farinier, flour-dealer	*farina*, flour
fazendier,[1] farmer, tenant	*fazenda*, affair, occupation
felpier, manufacturer of velveteen	
fermalhier,[1] manufacturer of buckles	*fermalh*, buckle
fermier, farmer	*ferma*, farm
ferralhier,[1] ironmonger	*ferralha*, old iron
ferrasier, ironmonger	*ferrasa*, fire-shovel
filadier,[2] spinner	*filada*, skein, ball
filatier,[2] weaver, spinner	*filata* (?), long beam
flasadier, manufacturer of wool covers	*flasada*, covering
floquier, wool-seller	*floc*, flake, tuft
fogasier, one who sells buttered rolls	*fogasa*, buttered roll
fogatgier,[1] collector of hearth-tax	*fogatge*, hearth-tax
folradurier, dealer in skins	*folradura*, fur
folrier, plunderer	*folre*, household utensils (?)
fondeguier,[3] warehouseman	
fontanier, inspecter of wells	*fontana*, fountain
forestier, forester	*forest*, forest
formatgier, cheese-dealer	*formatge*, cheese
formier, dealer in lasts	*forma*, last
fornier, oven-maker	*forn*, oven
fornilhier,[1] dealer in kindling-wood	*fornilha*, twig
frairesquier,[1] one who shares with his brother	*frairesca*, brother's portion
frenier, rein-maker	*fren*, rein
frontadier,[2] neighbor	*frontada*, front, façade
fruchier, fruit-dealer	*fruch*, fruit
fuzelier, spindle-maker	*fuzel*, spindle
gabarrier, sailor of freight ship	*gabarra*, freight ship

[1] See double suffixes, 401, 400, 384, and 383.

[2] See explanation of the suffix -ADIER, pp. 218–20; also double suffixes, 393.

[3] There is no word found in O.Prov. on which to base *fondeguier*, although in Mod. Prov. we find *foundegue* (Mistral, I, 1160), and *fondaco* exists in It. *Fondeguier* is therefore probably formed on some corresponding base-word in O.Prov., although *fundicarius* is found in Du Cange.

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gadier, country policeman; executor of will	*gadi*, boundary; will
gaïnier, sheath-maker	*gaïna*, sheath
galinier, dealer in poultry	*galina*, hen
galochier, manufacturer of wooden shoes	*galocha*, wooden shoe
galupier, sailor of "galup"	*galup*, kind of ship
gantier, glove-maker	*gant*, glove
gatgier, executor of will (see also abstracts, p. 228)	*gatge*, pledge
genhier, cheat, swindler	*genh*, trick
gipier, manufacturer of plaster	*gip*, plaster
glazier, swordsman (also slaughter)	*glazi*, sword
grafier, writer, chancery-clerk	*grafi*, stylus
granatier,[1] salt-agent; grain-dealer	*granet*, small grain
grolier, shoemaker	*grola*, shoe
guerrier, warrior (also in other Romance languages)	*guerra*, war
jaulier, jailer	*jaula*, cage
jupier, skirt-maker	*jupa*, skirt
juponier,[2] manufacturer of petticoats	*jupon*, petticoat
justicier, executioner	*justici*, justice
lagotier, flatterer	*lagot*, flattery
lampier, lamplighter	*lampa*, lamp
latinier, linguist	*latin*, Latin
lauzengier,[3] liar, cheat	*lauzenja*, flattery
lavandier(a),[4] laundress	*lavanda*, wash, from *lavar*
legendier,[4] priest	*legenda*, legend
lepaudier, one who licks, gormandizer	(**lepaut*, from *lepar*, lick)
eudier, tax-collector	*leuda*, a tax
liaunier, heretic (of Lyons)	*Liaun*, Lyons
logadier,[2] mercenary	*logada*, from *logar*
logandier,[4] one who lets	(*loganda*, from *logar*, to let)

[1] See double suffixes, p. 395. *Granatier* appears to be derived from *granet*, and to owe its *a* to a confusion with *granat*, pomegranate. See *clamatier*, p. 218.

[2] See double suffixes, pp. 383, 393.

[3] See also the formations on verbs, p. 221, below.

[4] See -ANDIER, -ENDIER, p. 400, under double suffixes.

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mainadier,[1] head of family	*mainada*, family
maizonier, lodger	*maizon*, house
marinier, sailor	*marina*, shore
megier, one who conducts a farm on shares	*meg*, half
meisonier, harvester	*meison*, harvest
meitadier, one who conducts a farm on shares	*meitat*, half
menestrier,[2] minstrel	*menestre*, servant
mensongier, liar	*mensonja*, lie
mercier, mercer	*mercz*, merchandise
mercadier, merchant	*mercat*, market
mercadanier,[1] merchant	*mercadana*, utensil of commerce
mesatgier,[1] messenger	*mesatge*, message
mesier, servant (at table [?])	*mes*, dish
metalier, metal-worker	*metal*, metal
miralhier, looking-glass maker	*miralh*, looking-glass
molinier, miller	*molin*, mill
moltonier, sheep-dealer	*molton*, sheep
mulatier,[1] muleteer	*mulat*, mule
mulier, muleteer	*mul*, mule
murtrier,[3] murderer	*murtre*, murder
naulier,[4] boatman	*naule*, fare, passage-money
neulier, waffle-vendor (?)	*neule*, waffle
novelier, newsdealer	*novela*, news
obediensier, monk belonging to a cloister	*obediensa*, cloister
obrier, workman, churchwarden (cf. the French *banc de l'œuvre*)	*obra*, work
oficier, officer	*ofici*, office
olier, potter	*ola*, pot
olier, manufacturer of oil	*oli*, oil
omicidier, murderer	*omicidi*, murder
ordenier,[3] executor of a will	*ordenh*, will
ospitalier, Hospitaller; director of hospital	*ospital*, hospital

[1] See double suffixes, pp. 393, n. †, 383, 395.

[2] Probably not formed directly, the -IER being a substitution for the -AL of *menestral*. Cf. the Fr. *ménétrier*.

[3] Possibly formed on verbs. See p. 221.

[4] *Naulier* has possibly become restricted in meaning to "boatman," through association with *nau*, boat, instead of meaning any collector of fares.

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ostalier,[1] innkeeper	*ostal*, inn
ovelhier, shepherd	*ovelha*, sheep
padoensier, one who has right of pasture	*padoensa*, right of pasture
pairolier, tinker	*pairol*, kettle
palafrenier, groom	*palafre(n)*, palfrey
palhetier, cloak-maker	*palhet*, cloak
panetier,[1] baker (cf. also *panatier*, *Nouv. Ess.*, 233)	*pan*, bread
parcelier, participant	*parcela*, lot
paredier, master-mason	*paret*, wall
parier, participant	*par*, peer, equal
parsonier, sharer	*parson*, part
pasatgier, boatman	*pasatge*, passage
pastisier, pastry cook	*pastis*, tart
pavezier, shield-maker	*paves*, shield
pazier, peacemaker	*patz*, peace
peatgier,[1] toll-collector	*peatge*, toll
pebrier, pepper-seller	*pebre*, pepper
peiralier,[1] mason	*peira*, stone
peisonier, fisherman	*peison*, fish
pelisier,[1] dealer in skins	*pelisa*, pelisse, fur
penchenier, maker of combs, or wool-comber (?)	*penche*, comb
perdiguier,[2] partridge-hunter	
perponchier, maker of doublets	*perponcha*, doublet
personier, deputy, representative	*persona*, person
pesquirier,[3] fisherman	*pesquier*, fishpond
pestrinhier, baker	*pestrinh*, trough
petier,[4] one who farts	*pet*, fart
pinhotier, one who receives alms at a charitable institution (?)	*pinhota*, house where alms are distributed
pintier, maker of "pintas"	*pinta*, a measure
pipier, cooper	*pipa*, pipe, cask
piquier, soldier armed with a pike	*pic*, pike
pitansier, almoner	*pitansa*, pittance
plasier, citizen in comfortable circumstances	*plasa*, residence

[1] See double suffixes, pp. 383–4, 395, 400.

[2] Probably from a Lat. **perdicarius*, though only *perdicalis*, an adjective, is found.

[3] *Pesquirier* is an interesting form. *Pescairier* would be expected.

[4] Probably formed on the verb *petar*.

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platier, maker of plate-armor	*plata*, plate of metal
plombier, plumber	*plom(b)*, lead
polalhier,[1] poultry-dealer	*polalha*, poultry
polasier,[1] poultry-dealer	*polatz*, chicken
pontier, bridge-watchman	*pont*, bridge
porcelier, breeder of pigs	*porcel*, pig
portanier, doorkeeper; toll-collector	*porta*, gate
portier, doorkeeper; officer in charge of watch at city gate	*porta*, gate
postier, oven-boy	*post*, plank
potatgier, innkeeper	*potatge*, soup
pozandier,[2] drawer	*pozar*, draw
prebendier, prebendary	*prebend*, prebend
preizonier, prisoner	*preizon*, prison
proier, mate on a ship	*proa*, prow
putanier, whoremonger	*putana*, prostitute
quinzenier, tax-collector for period of fifteen days	*quinzena*, fortnight
rauzier, vendor of refuse	*rauza*, refuse
renovier,[4] usurer	*renou*, usury
rosinier, rider of, or dealer in, nags	*rosin*, nag
sabatier, cobbler	*sabata*, shoe
setmanier, officer of the week	*setmana*, week
simier, monkey-trainer	*simi*, monkey
soldier, *soldadier*,[3] soldier, mercenary	*solda*, *soldada*, pay
soquier, shoemaker	*soc*, shoe
sortilhier, sorcerer	*sortilha*, sorcery
talhandier,[2] tailor	(**talhanda*, from *talhar*, cut)
teisandier,[2] weaver	(**teisanda*, from *teiser*, weave)
templier, Templar	*temple*, temple
tendier, shopkeeper	*tenda*, shop
trafeguier, trafficker	*trafeg*, traffic
treilhier, lattice-worker	*treilha*, arbor
trotier,[4] servant	*trot*, walk
vaquier,† cowherd	*vaca*, cow

[1] See double suffixes, p. 384.
[2] See double suffixes under -ANDIER, p. 400.
[3] See double suffixes under -ADIER, p. 393.
[4] See formations on verbs, p. 221.

† Words of Lat. origin are: *anelier*, ring-maker<*anularius* (see Olcott, 142); *arquier*, archer<*arcarius* (Olcott, 142); *cavalhier*, horseman < *caballarius*; *conselhier*, counsellor < *consiliarius* (Olcott, 149); *ferrier*, ironmonger< *ferrarius* (Olcott, 153); *fustier*, carpenter (< *fusti-*

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Besides the usual addition of -IER to nouns, it seems also in a few cases to have been added to adjectives to form nouns denoting the agent. Models for this kind of formation are found in Latin[1] in such words as *adversarius* (on *adversus*) > Provençal *aversier*. Provençal formations in -IER are:

blanquier, tanner	*blanc*, white
caninier, dog-fancier	*canin*, canine
cartanier, tetrarch	*cartan*, quartan, quadrennial
enfermier, nurse	*enferm*, ill
mejanier,† mediator	*mejan*, intermediate

Still denoting the agent, the suffix -IER, from -ARIUS, is found added to verb-stems in a few words, a list of which will be given below. Some of these words, however, appear to have -ATIER instead of -IER added to the verb-stem, and these will be treated first. An example of this kind of formation is *clamatier*, one who complains; also creditor or dun, possibly a Latin formation. *Clamatarius*, indeed, is given in Du Cange. Levy notes another form omitted by Raynouard—*clamadier*—which would resemble *dauradier*, *frontadier*, and other words in the

[1] Olcott, 138. See the adjective suffix -IER for a more thorough treatment of the origin of these words.

arius = *fustuarius;* (see Olcott, 153); *lanier*, wool-dealer < *lanarius* (Olcott, 155); *lansier*, lance-bearer < *lancearius* (Olcott, 155); *lanternier*, lantern-maker < *lanternarius* (Olcott, 156); *mairilhier*, churchwarden < *matricularius; maisnier*, mercenary < *mansionarius; mazelhier*, butcher < *macellarius* (Olcott, 157); *pelhier*, furrier < *pilarius* (Olcott, 162); *polier*, poultryman < *pullarius* (Olcott, 164); *saumier*, beast of burden < *sagmarius; sotz-selhier*, maker of saddle-cloth < *subselliarius* (Olcott, 170), showing the change of the prefix SUB- to SUBTUS-; *uzurier*, usurer < *usurarius;* also *carpentier* < *carpentarius*. *Cairavelhier* is obscure.

Of probable Lat. origin are *fodier*, earth-worker or laborer; *manganier*, huckster (see Du Cange, *mangonarius*); and *nautonier*, sailor. *Fodier* may come from *fundarius*, derived from *fundus*, although the disappearance of the "*n*" would be unusual. *Nautonier* is apparently derived from a late Lat. *nauton* (cf. the Fr. *nautonier*).

† Lat. formations are *aversier* (*adversarius*) and *destrier* (*dextrarius*).

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preceding list. *Clamatier* and *clamadier* may be compared to *filatier* and *filadier* in the preceding list, both meaning "one who spins." *Filatier* is there given beside *filata*, long beam, but it seems probable that it is connected with *filar*, to spin, just as much as *filadier* is. In the same way *clamatier* and *clamadier* are the same word, and possible to place under the formations on nouns.[1] Conversely, all the forms in -ADIER might be placed here as verb-formations, as, for example, *frontadier* from *frontar*, *dauradier* from *daurar*. But in the case of *frontadier*, for example, there is also a noun *frontada*, on which it seems natural to build *frontadier*. In the case of *dauradier*, on the other hand, there is no noun *daurada* on which to build *dauradier*. This gives us, then, a new suffix -AD-IER, from -AT-ARIUS, exactly similar in its origin to such suffixes as -ADITZ, -ADURA, etc. In other words, *frontadier* was formed on *frontada*, and not on *frontar*, in all probability, but by the analogy of such words as these, *dauradier* was made by attaching -ADIER to the stem of *daurar*.[2] -ADIER was then treated just as any single suffix. In *dauradier* and *daurier*, single and double suffix are seen side by side. In treating *clamadier* and *filadier*, forms with a *t* instead of a *d* have been mentioned. According to Thomas[3] there are many others, most of which are not given in Raynouard or Levy. Thomas gives the following list: *boscatier*, *bovatier*, *causatier*, *coratier* (correct to *corratier?*), *degatier*, *egatier*, *filatier*,

[1] The two forms *clamatier* and *clamadier* might be made on the two forms of the past participle, *clamat* and *clamada*.

[2] Another word of the type of *dauradier* is *mandadier*, baker's boy, formed on *mandar*, send, order. Cf., however, the Sp. *mandadero*, derived from *mandado*.

[3] *Nouv. Ess.*, 233. These cases show one more development in the use of the suffix, -ADIER now being attached to nouns instead of to verb-stems.

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granatier, lobatier, mulatier, orsatier, panatier, pelatier, porcatier, telatier.[1] These are clearly Provençal formations with the suffix -ATIER. Some word ending in -AT, to which -IER was added, formed a starting-point for the compound suffix -ATIER, which is here added to *bosc, bov, causa, dec, fil*, etc. Thus -ADIER and -ATIER have come to be added directly both to nouns and to verbs instead of -IER, which had acquired both of these uses.

It seems probable that the double suffixes -ANDIER and -ENDIER[2] were derived in the same way. *Bevendier*, for instance, from the noun *bevenda*, drink, from **bever*, for *beure*, may be the starting-point for nouns in -ANDIER and -ENDIER. The list of words in which the single suffix -IER was added to verb-stems may now be given:

amonedier, money-changer	*amonedar*, coin money. From *moneda*, coin
daurier, goldsmith (see above)	*daurar*, gild
escairier, horse-slaughterer, knacker	From *escairar*, kill horses (found also with the suffix -ADOR, a regular case of the use of this suffix).
escofier, leather-preparer or dealer	From *escofir*, kill, murder. Here the connection in meaning is clear enough if we take *escofir* to mean to kill animals and the original meaning of *escofier* to be preparer of leather.
flequier,[3] baker	*flechir*, bend, soften
menuzier, carpenter	*menuzar*, diminish
parlier, chatterer	*parlar*, to speak
pasturguier, shepherd	*pasturgar*, graze, make graze

[1] This list of course omits such words as *baratier* and *regratier*, in which the *at* was part of the stem of the verb.

[2] See the words with these endings under double suffixes, p. 400.

[3] Possibly referring to the kneading of the dough, but the connection is not clear and the derivation of the word seems uncertain.

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refacier, huckster, peddler	*refacer*, for *refar*, do over
regratier, huckster, peddler	*regratar*, scratch
segrier, follower	*segre*, follow

Both *refacier* and *regratier* have taken a somewhat figurative meaning, the first perhaps with the idea of the repairing of old things for a second sale, the second possibly with the idea of scratching out prices (?).

The words in the above list are the only ones which must surely have been formed on verb-stems, but some of the words given in the first list may have been formed equally well on a verb-stem. For example:

afanier, from *afan* or *afanar*
defensier, from *defensa* or *defensar*
despesier, from *despes* or *despesar*
escarnier, from *escarn* or *escarnir*
lauzengier, from *lauzenja* or *lauzenjar*
murtrier, from *murtre* or *murtrir*
ordenier, from *orden* or *ordenar*
petier, from *pet* or *petar*
renovier, from *renou* or *renovar*
trotier, from *trot* or *trotar*

Most of these words were probably formed on nouns according to rule; but they may have served as a starting-point for new formations on verb-stems containing no corresponding noun to which the suffix might be added.

Now, besides the -IER with the meaning of the agent, from the Latin -ARIUS, we find -IER with other meanings, derived from words in -ARIUM, the neuter form of the adjective in -ARIUS. This kind of formation is found in Latin even, with the meaning of a place or receptacle for something (*aquarium*, *armarium*, etc.), and also in a few words with the force of a tax to pay (*calcearium*). But in Provençal it is necessary to subdivide much farther than this the meanings given by the addition of -IER=-ARIUM. To begin with, the idea of place has been retained and is frequent in new words,

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but the meaning of a tax is found only in two words: *loguier*, which is probably Latin (*locarium*[1]), and *agrier*. After the words with the meaning of the place for a thing comes a larger list denoting the instrument with which to perform an action. Then from the idea of place containing many things it is only a step to pure collectives, and also to names of trees, as places where the fruit described by the simple words could be found. A few other words offer little change of meaning from the simple word.

With the meaning of place, there are a few new words in Provençal:

cairier. Levy suggests only "entrepôt,"[2] warehouse, and the only word to which -IER could be added here seems to be *caire*, corner, edge, with which the connection is not clear. "Entrepôt" seems to be the meaning required by the text.	
canabier, hemp-field	*canabe*, hemp
carnier, charnel-house; slaughter; game-bag	*carn*, flesh
escudelhier, receptacle for bowls	*escudel*, bowl
foguier,[3] hearth, fireplace	*foc*, fire
formiguier, ant-hill	*formiga*, ant
letrier, choir-desk	*letra*, letter
liberier, choir-desk	*libre*, book
penier, writing-desk	*pena*, pen
plantier, nursery for trees	*planta*, plant
polier,† poultry-yard	*pol*, chicken

Also *clapier*, rabbit-burrow, which from both form

[1] Cooper, 75. [2] I, 185.

[3] Exists also in French and Spanish, but is not found as a Latin word.

† Also the following words formed in Lat. times: *armier*, sepulcher graveyard<*armarium* (Olcott, 177); *celhier*, cellar, stable<*cellarium*, a common word found in Olcott, Rönsch, Goelzer, and Cooper; *pesquier*, fishpond<*piscarium*; *sagrier*, sanctuary<*sacrarium* (Olcott, 180); *vinhier*, vineyard<*vinarium*.

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and meaning should belong to this list, but the development of meaning from *clap*, pile (?) is not clear.

Another meaning which -IER, from -ARIUM, takes is that of the instrument or thing containing, or to contain, the simple noun. In some cases, words might be placed either in this list or in the preceding one, the difference being slight. For example, *letrier*, choir-desk, might be thought of either as place or instrument, and there are many words of this kind:

arbrier, crossbow stock	*arbre*, tree
berroier, weapon made in Berry	
bloquier, shield, buckler	*bloca*, boss; lump
braguier, belt	*braga*, breeches
brazier, brasier	*braza*, glowing mass
bugadier, wash-basin	*bugada*, wash
cabelhier, headgear[1]	*cabelh*, hair
calendier, calendar (also list following)	*calenda*, feast-day
candelier, candlestick	*candela*, candle
cremalhier, hearth	*cremalh*, pothook
cuisier, thigh-plate[1]	*cuisa*, thigh
dragier, candy-dish	*dragea*, candy
encensier, censer	*encens*, incense
escaquier, chessboard	*escac*, chess
espilier, pincushion	*espil*, needle
forsier, large chest	*forsa*, force, power
gotier, gutter	*gota*, drop
larmier, coping, drip	*larma*, tear
obrier, crossbow stock (should probably be written *arbrier*, as above)	
peirier, instrument for throwing stones	*peira*, stone
ponchier,† pickax	*ponch*, point

[1] *Cabelhier* and *cuisier* have the meaning of clothing, more commonly found under -IERA.

† Words of Lat. origin are: *aurelhier*, pillow<*auricularius*, found as an adjective (Olcott, 143); *culhier*, spoon, probably from *cochlearium*, for *cochleare; doblier*, doublet, chessboard<*duplarius*, for *duplaris* (Olcott, 151); *lampezier* and *madier*. *Lampezier*, candelabrum (also an adjective), is from *lampadarium* (Olcott, 155); *madier*, lid of baking-trough, is from *materium*.

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Under either of the precedings lists, the one denoting the place or the one denoting the instrument, might be given a few words which are almost collective in force, several of them denoting the book containing a collection of the thing described by the simple word:

comtier, calendar of feasts	*comte*, account
epistolier, book of epistles	*epistola*, epistle
legendier,[1] † collect-book	*legenda*, legend

From words such as these the transition to pure collectives is almost imperceptible. This next list contains not words meaning the book or thing containing a number of things, but the number of things itself.

comunalhier, association of a municipality	*comunalha*, community
elementier, the elements	*elemen(t)*, element
escrivanier, writing apparatus	*escrivan*, writer
garbier, pile of sheaves	*garba*, sheaf
latier, tariff of the fines called "lata"	*lata*, a fine for slowness in paying a debt
palhier, straw pile	*palha*, straw
ramier,†† foliage	*ram*, branch

A development of the idea of place—place where the object denoted by the simple noun could be found in quantities—is seen in a number of nouns meaning trees.[2] Thus are found:

aiglantier, wild rose stem	(only *aiglentin* found)
avelanier, oak	*avelana*, acorn
castanhier, chestnut tree	*castanh*, chestnut

[1] See double suffixes under -ANDIER, -ENDIER, p. 400.

[2] These were, of course, originally adjectives. *Arbre*, tree, was later understood and the adjective used substantively.

† Of Lat. origin there are *escalier*, staircase<*scalarium*, and *calendier*, collect-book<*calendarium*.

†† The following words of Lat. origin are also found: *fenier*, hay pile <*fenarium*; *lenhier*, wood pile<*lignarius* (Olcott, 156); *milier*, thousand <*milliarius* (Olcott, 159).

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cerier, cherry tree	*cereia*, cherry
codonhier, quince tree	*codonh*, quince
cornier, cornel tree	*corn*, cornel, cherry
figuier, fig tree	*figa*, fig
garravier, wild rose tree	*garrau* or *garral* (?)
glandier, acorn-bearing oak	*glanda*, acorn
laurier, laurel tree	*laur*, laurel
mandolier, *melier*, almond tree	*amandola*, *mela*, almond
milgranier,[1] pomegranate tree	*milgrana*, pomegranate
nesplier, medlar tree	*nespla*, medlar
palmier, palm tree	*palma*, palm
perier, pear tree	*pera*, pear
perseguier, peach tree	*persega*, peach
pimentier,[2]† tree of sweetness	*pimen(t)*, kind of drink

With the meaning of a tax, besides *loguier* < *locarium*, we find also *agrier*, a field-tithe, a substantive use of the neuter form of the Classic Latin adjective *agrarius*.

Besides all the special meanings given to words by the addition of -IER, there is a list of words to which the suffix has brought little or no change in meaning. The simple word had a clear enough meaning, and the suffix appears to have been added merely for the sake of greater length. Such words are:

autorier, agent	*autor*, author
broquier, pot, jug	*broc*, jug, pitcher
canier, reed	*cana*, reed
clerguier, priest	*clerc*, clerk
companhier, companion	*companh*, companion
escobilhier, sweepings	*escobilha*, sweepings
fenestrier, opening, hole	*fenestra*, window
flamier, flame, brand	*flama*, flame
grangier, barn, shed	*granja*, farmhouse
jazier, bed, couch	*jatz*, bed, couch

[1] See hybrid formations, p. 580.

[2] Or long-pepper tree. *Pimen*, kind of drink, got its name because the basis of the drink was spiced. See Du Cange, *pigmentum;* also *Romania*, XXXI, 150–51.

† Also, of Lat. origin, *fruchier*, fruit tree < *fructuarius* (Olcott, 153).

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masonier, mason	*mason*, mason
ombrier, shade	*ombra*, shade
orrezier,[1] filth	*orrezeza*, filth
parentier, relation	*paren(t)*, relation
pautonier, rascal	*pauton*, rascal
pazimentier, paving	*pazimen*, paving
pezonier,[2] pedestrian	*pezon*, pedestrian
plantier, newly planted vine	*planta*, plant
polverièr, dust, powder	*polvera*, dust
portalier,[3] city gate	*portal*, city gate
tempier,[3] tempest	*tem(p)*, weather
vasier,† basin	*vas*, vessel, vase

Now, besides all the different meanings of the Provençal suffix -IER already given, there is a rather large list of words with purely abstract force. This, however, in all probability, does not represent -ARIUS or -ARIUM, as the words in the preceding lists do, but rather -ERIUM, existing already in Latin in nouns corresponding to verbs ending in *-er-are*, as *imperium* to *imperare*, *refrige-*

[1] For *orrezezier*.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 384.

[3] This does not represent -ARIUM at all. The Lat. word ends in -ERIES, which was later supplanted by -ERIA. Does this word show a change of gender to -ERIUM? See *Nouv. Ess.*, 115.

† The words of Lat. origin are: *arenier*, gravel<*arenarius; eretier*, heir<*hereditarius; terrier*, terrace<*terrarium*.

There are also a few words ending in -IER that are somewhat obscure. Such are *braguier*, *convenensier*, *gavarrier*, *gavier*, and *grisier*.

braguier, feathers under a bird's tail, if it is derived from *braga*, stocking, as it would at first appear, can be classified in none of the above lists. It is probably from a Lat. **bracarius*, derived from *bracae*, which meant "legs" as well as "stockings." This *bracarius*, meaning "pertaining to the legs," was probably then used substantively. Thus we have (the feathers) belonging to the legs.

convenensier is probably an adjective derived from *convenensa*, meaning "fitting," and used substantively. Or it may be the adjective itself. No translation is given in Levy.

gavarrier, bush or clump, is obscure.

gavier, crop or craw, is formed on the same stem seen in *gavach*. Probably **gava*, found in Mistral, existed also in O.Prov.

grizier is probably only the adjective "grayish," formed on *gris*, gray, used to describe the liver.

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rium to *refrigerare*, and later *deliberium* to *deliberare*.[1] To explain its use as a suffix, Meyer-Lübke puts forward the hypothesis of the word *reproverium* as a starting-point, this word being formed on *reprobare*, on the model of *improperium*, at the time when the *p* of *improperium* as well as the *b* of *reprobare* would be voiced to *v*.[2] Having once formed *reproverium*, -ERIUM could be taken as a suffix to make new formations. Thomas, adopting Meyer-Lübke's theory of -ERIUM as the source of the abstract suffix -IER, points out that intervocalic *p* did not become *v* in Provençal, and finds the solution of the difficulty in the old form *reprober*, from **reproperium*, which is nothing but *improperium* with a change of prefix.[3] Then, adding to Meyer-Lübke's original list of abstracts,[4] he gives a long list of words.[5]

The words in Thomas' list are all abstracts, and formed on verb-stems by means of -IER, from -ERIUM. Some of the words are given as still being in use. Three words, however, *cantier*, *longuier*, and *panier*, are given with question marks.

To the list given by Thomas should be added several other words[6] found in Levy and Raynouard. The complete list will then be as follows:

[1] *Nouv. Ess.*, 113.

[2] II, 561, sec. 471; quoted in *Nouv. Ess.*, 111.

[3] *Nouv. Ess.*, 112. [4] II, 561.

[5] His list is as follows: *acordier*, *adobier*, *alegrier*, *alonguier*, *asegurier*, *autorguier*, *autregier*, *caitivier*, *cantier*, *caplier*, *castier*, *considier*, *consirier*, *deliurier*, *demorier*, *descordier*, *destorbier*, *dezacordier*, *dezirier*, *empachier*, *empaitrier*, *encombrier*, *enogier*, *espaventier*, *gabier*, *galier*, *longuier*, *melhorier*, *panier*, *pensier*, *pertorbier*, *plaidier*, *podier*, *recobrier*, *reprobier*, and *reprochier*.

[6] These words are: *astelhier*, *defensier*, *destrechier*, *embarguier*, *encobolier*, *gatgier*, *gravier*, *pejorier*, *poiridier* (also *poiriguier*), and *prolonguier*. These words, with their meanings, will be found in their proper alphabetic positions in the complete list.

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acordier, agreement, treaty	*acordar*, agree
adobier, reparation, arrangement	*adobar*, equip, arrange
alegrier, joy	*alegrar*, rejoice
alonguier, delay	*alongar*, lengthen
asegurier, guarantee	*asegurar*, assure
astelhier, splitting, breaking	*astelhar*, split, break
autorguier, permission	*autorgar*, authorize
autregier, consent	*autrejar*, grant, assure
caitivier, captivity	*captivar*, captivate
cantier, song	*cantar*, sing
caplier, slaughter	*caplar*, strike
castier, punishment; instruction	*castiar*, punish, teach
considier,[1] understanding	
consirier, thought, care	*consirar*, consider
defensier, resistance	*defensar*, defend
deliurier, deliverance, completion	*deliurar*, deliver
demorier, delay	*demorar*, delay, remain
descordier, discord	*descordar*, disagree
destorbier, trouble	*destorbar*, disturb, trouble
destrechier,[2] necessity	
dezacordier, discord	*dezacordar*, put into disaccord
dezirier, desire; also desired object	*dezirar*, desire
embarguier, inconvenience	*embargar*, embarrass, prevent
empachier, obstacle	*empachar*, prevent
empastrier, prevention, obstacle	*empastrar*, hinder
encobolier, prevention	*encobolar*, hinder
encombrier, prevention, obstacle; embarrassment	*encombrar*, prevent, embarrass
enogier, annoyance	*enojar*, annoy
espaventier, fear	*espaventar*, terrify
gabier, exaggeration, extravagance	*gabar*, joke, mock, exaggerate
galier, cheating	*galiar*, cheat
gatgier, security, pledge	*gatjar*, seize; impose a penalty
gravier, wrong, damage	*gravar*, injure; be painful
longuier[3]	

[1] From a Lat. *considerium* (?).

[2] *Destrechar* is not found, although its existence is made very probable by the nouns *destrechamen* and *destrecha*.

[3] No translation is given by Levy, and the word is puzzling. If formed on *longar*, remove, it should mean "removal," or possibly, in the text, have some such meaning as "absence." A correction of the word to *languir*, however, seems very plausible.

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melhorier, improvement	*melhorar*, improve
panier,[1] trickery (?)	*panar*, cheat
pejorier, deterioration	*pejorar*, deteriorate
pensier, thought	*pensar*, think
pertorbier, disturbance	*pertorbar*, disturb
plaidier, pleading	*plaidar*, plead
podier,[2] power	
poiridier,[3] *poiriguier*, rottenness	*poirir*, rot
prolonguier, delay	*prolongar*, put off
recobrier, recovery	*recobrar*, recover
reprobier, reproach, blame	*reprobar*, reprove
repropchier,† outrage	*repropchar*, reproach

-IERA

The Provençal suffix -IERA (also spelled -ERA, -EIRA, according to dialect) is another of the forms derived from the -ARIUS group, but it has been placed after -IER from -ERIUM on account of having in Provençal a different form from the rest of the -ARIUS derivatives together with those from -ERIUM. The forms -IERA, -ERA, -EIRA are all derived from -ARIA, the feminine of -ARIUS, and were probably used origi-

[1] Found with this meaning only in the phrase *faire panier*. Elsewhere *panier* means "basket."

[2] Not formed by means of -ERIUM at all. Here we have the Vulg. Lat. *potere*, seen also in the It. *potere*, Sp. *poder*.

[3] See also double suffixes. *Poiridier* is a very peculiar form, in that the termination -IER is not added to the stem of the verb, but that we have to do with a suffix -IDIER, similar in appearance to -ADIER, as seen above in *dauradier*, etc., and coming from -AT+-ARIUS. It does not seem very probable that the word *poiridier*, formed on *poirir*, could be due to the analogy of *dauradier*, formed on *daurar*, since in one -IER denotes the agent and comes from -ARIUS, whereas in the other -IER has abstract force and is from -ERIUM, but it is difficult to find any other solution of the difficulty. **Putridarius* (= *putridus* +-ARIUS) could give the form, and *putricarius* might give *poiriguier*, but it would still be difficult to account for the abstract force.

† For the developments of -ARIUS (-ARIUM) other than -IER, see -AIRE (p. 62) and -AR, -ARI (p. 129, note 2), above.

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nally with some word of place,[1] which was later omitted but implied. The meanings, therefore, do not differ greatly from those of the words in -IER from the neuter -ARIUM. First of all, they denote place—the place for keeping the thing expressed by the simple noun. Like -IER, again, they have the meaning of the instrument—closely connected in meaning with the idea of place—so that some words, as, for example, *formatgeira* and *rateira*, might equally well be placed under either list. A special meaning that these words take is that of an article of clothing, as, for example, *cambiera*, a place for the leg, or greaves, in armor. Beginning with the words denoting simply place, we find:

almonera, almoner's purse	*almosna*, alms
balestiera, loophole (for engines of war)	*balesta*, a war-engine
boisera, boxwood grove	*bois*, bush
caireliera, loophole for arrows	*cairel*, square, pane of glass
cardoniera, goldfinch[2]	*cardon*, thistle
cartiera, measure for holding a quart	*cart*, quart
cremiera, small cap for baptism (1st meaning)	*crema*, holy oil
fariniera, room for flour, granary	*farina*, flour
feniera, hay loft, hay pile	*fen*, hay
feuziera, place grown with ferns	*feuze*, fern
fumeriera,[3] dunghill	
gipiera, plaster factory	*gip*, plaster
jonquiera, place grown with reeds	*jonc*, reed
lobiera, wolf's den	*loba*, wolf

[1] Leaving out of consideration the words which are simply feminine forms of words in -IER. These words will be enumerated farther on.

[2] I.e., a bird fond of the seeds of the thistle. Cf. the Fr. *chardonneret*, which has a diminutive suffix added to -ARIUS.

[3] See double suffixes, p. 399. The *-er*, which is hard to explain, has already been discussed under *femoras*, under the suffix -AS (p. 141, n. †); *e* and *o* seem about equally common in *femoras*, *femeras*, and some other words.

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maladiera,[1] leper hospital	*malaut*, ill
milhiera, millet field	*milh*, millet
oliviera,[2] oil can	*oli*, oil
ombriera, shady place	*ombra*, shade
peiriera, quarry	*peira*, stone
ponhadiera, kind of measure	*ponhat*, handful
saliera, saltcellar	*sal*, salt
testiera,† headstall	*testa*, head

There is also one word formed on an adjective:

fresquiera, cool place	*fresc*, cool

Then, as under -IER, come the nouns denoting the instrument for the use of, or to contain, the simple noun. There is a barely perceptible transition from one class to the other. Here might be placed:

aiguiera, ewer	*aiga*, water
cropiera, crupper, tail band	*cropa*, croup
filiera, drawplate	*fil*, thread
formatgiera, cheese press	*formatge*, cheese
gotiera, gutter	*gota*, drop
graniera, broom	*gran*, grain, dust
marteliera,[3] lock, floodgate	*martel*, hammer
megiera, measure for liquids	*meg*, half
mostiera, vessel for must	*most*, must
ostiera, bag for consecrated wafers (?)	*ostia*, consecrated wafer
palombiera, place for catching pigeons	*palomba*, pigeon
pastiera, trough	*past*, food

[1] The form of the word is probably due to the influence of *ladre*, leper.

[2] Peculiar in form. We should expect *oliera* and not *oliviera* to have this meaning.

[3] Cf. O.Fr. *martelière*.

† Words of Lat. origin are: *bruguiera*, heath-covered land<*brucaria*, and *calquiera*, place for burning lime<*calcaria*. Another word probably of Lat. origin, is *falguiera*, fern, from *filicaria* (?). A word having only in appearance the suffix -IERA is *campoliera*, olive grove. See compound words, Part IV, p. 558.

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portadiera,[1] kind of litter	*portar*, carry
ratiera, rat trap	*rata*, rat
veiriera, beehive made of glass	*veire*, glass

Any one of these words, however, might be placed in the previous list, the difference between the two kinds of formation being very slight.

Under either of the above lists—the one denoting place or the one denoting the instrument—might be placed several words, which, from the idea of place, have come to possess the specialized meaning of articles of clothing, and, more particularly, pieces of armor:

cabeliera, hair band	*cabel*, hair
cambiera, gaiters	*camba*, leg
cerveliera, helmet	*cervel*, brain
espaliera, shoulder-piece	*espalha*, shoulder
gorgiera, neck-piece	*gorja*, throat
pansiera, part of armor covering the belly	*pansa*, belly

Again, as in -IER, there are a few words in -IERA with collective force:

garbiera, pile of sheaves	*garba*, sheaf
lamiera, plate armor	*lama*, metal plates
neviera, covering of snow	*niu*, snow
palhiera, straw pile	*palha*, straw

There are also several abstracts ending in -IERA, which probably is from -ERIA, for the Classic Latin -ERIES. The Provençal formations seem generally to be on adjectives, though in a few words the root seems to be a verb. On adjectives (except *naviera*), we find:

calviera, baldness	*calv*, bald
longuiera, length	*lonc*, long
naviera, ship's course	*nau*, ship
paubriera,[2] poverty	*paubre*, poor

[1] Or *portadoira* (?). This would seem a more usual kind of formation.

[2] *Paupriera* is also found, though not so commonly. It is probably from *pauperia*, with the *r* due to the influence of *paubre*, poor. *Paupiera*, the regular development, is likewise found.

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sequiera, dryness	*sec*, dry

And on verb-stems:

acabiera, perfection	*acabar*, complete
gatgiera, pledging	*gatjar*, pledge
lauziera, flattery (?)	*lauzar*, praise
sobriera, excess, insult	*sobrar*, exceed (or possibly on the preposition *sobre*)

Again, there is a list of words to which the suffix contributes little or no change of meaning:

bandiera, banner	*banda*, band
cazaliera, country seat	*cazal*, country house
clapiera, heap of stones	*clap*, heap of stones
ensenhiera, ensign, banner	*ensenha*, battle-cry
escabesiera,[1] head of bed, bolster	*cabes*, head of bed
espondiera, wooden leg (according to Levy)	*esponda*, edge of bed
estatgiera, stand, frame, shelves	*estatge*, place, residence
forniera, oven	*forn*, oven
frontiera, forehead	*front*, forehead
fumadiera,[2] puff of smoke	*fumada*, smoke
fumiera, smoke, vapor	*fum*, smoke
galiera, galley	*gale*, galley
lasiera, bond, snare, knot	*latz*, rope, string
lechiera, litter, sedan-chair	*lech*, bed
lumiera, light	*lum*, light
magorniera, stump of limb	*magorn*, leg without a foot
mainadiera, family	*mainada*, family
moliera, millstone	*mola*, millstone
oriera, hem (of garment)	*or*, hem
pasliera, dyer's woad	*pastel*, dyer's woad

Besides all these words denoting things, -IERA is found denoting persons, and attached to nouns. These nouns are mostly simply feminine forms of words ending in -IER already given. Examples of such words are: *mangoniera*, *merciera*, *moliniera*, *obriera*, *oficiera*, *oliera*,

[1] See parasyntheta, p. 528.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 393.

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ordeniera ospitaliera, personiera, pelisiera, portiera, preizoniera,[1] etc.

Two words in -IERA have the meaning of a certain kind of poem, but this is not a meaning conveyed by the suffix: it is simply the use of this feminine form of the agent suffix -IER, with the idea of a poem on the person described. Thus:

auquiera, (gooseherd) = poem on a (female) gooseherd — *auca*, goose

cabriera,† (goatherd) = poem on a (female) goatherd — *cabra*, goat

-IN

The nouns in Provençal ending in -IN, from the Latin -INUS, are mostly either adjectives used substantively, or else the suffix changes the simple word very little.

[1] For the meaning of these words, see the first list under -IER.

† There are several other words in -IERA not Prov. formations, some undoubtedly coming down to Prov. from Lat., others being more or less obscure. Such words are:

civiera, litter, probably from the Lat. *cibaria*.

corniera, corner, corner-piece, from Lat. *cornaria;* cf. O.Fr. *cornière*, and Engl. "corner."

esquiera, apparently meaning a square box, and probably, like the Fr. *équerre*, from *excuadra*, which should phonetically give *escaira*. The word has apparently been influenced by words with the suffix -IERA< -ARIA, which phonetically gave -AIRA.

fiviera, screw-auger. The word seems to show a substitution of -IERA for -ELA, found in *fivela*, clasp, eyelet (from *fibula*), in which the -ELA was taken for a suffix.

lardiera, rope. This may be a Prov. formation on *art*, rope + the forceless -IERA, the *l* representing agglutination of the article. But the word is doubtful.

madiera, wood, timber, from *materia*.

maniera, manner, from *manuaria*, an adjective used substantively.

moduriera, measure for grain.

mosniera, meaning doubtful; cf. O.Fr. *mosnerie*.

neciera, lack, dearth, from *necessaria* (see *Nouv. Ess.*, 114, n. 2).

pechiera, jug, pitcher, from *picaria* (?).

pegulhiera, dowry, from *peculiaria* (?).

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As the adjective suffix was used very frequently in Latin with names of animals, it is not surprising to find names of animals in the list of adjectives used substantively:[1]

acerin, steel arrow	*acier*, steel
camelin, a kind of wool stuff	*camel*, camel
Jacopin, Jacobin monk[2]	*Jacop*, Jacob
moresquin, dark brown cloth	*mores(c)(?)*, dark

In a few other words the adjective suffix -IN is added, bringing little change other than a more specialized meaning. Such words are:

esportin, a kind of basket	*esporta*, basket
gorgeirin, iron collar for the throat	*gorgiera*, collar
martrin, skin of marten	*martre*, skin of marten
orfanin, orphan	*orfe(n)*, orphan
picotin, a measure (for grain)	*picot*, a measure (for grain)

In a few other words the suffix seems to denote the agent. This, again, looks like the substantive use of an adjective.

baratin, cheat	*barat*, cheating
draconin (?),[3] dragon-tamer	*dragon*, dragon

Added to a preposition, we find -IN in:

darreirin, rear, back	*darreire*, behind

Two other words are found in which the suffix appears to be attached to the present participles of verbs:

observantin, Franciscan	*observan(t)*, from *observar*, observe
querentin,† beggar	*queren(t)*, from *querre*, seek

[1] See examples in Meyer-Lübke, II, 540. Another Prov. word of this kind is *cabrotin*, tanned goatskin, from a Lat. *caprotinus*, given by Olcott, 202.

[2] For description, see Du Cange, *Jacobitae*.

[3] Meyer-Lübke classifies this as a diminutive.

† -IN is found in a couple of words of foreign origin: *botin*, booty, and *escavin*, sheriff, alderman.

More obscure words are *bosin*, testicle; *estalsin*, outflow; and *flain*, a kind of ship. *Lopin* may be a borrowing from Fr. See *lopin* in *Dic. Gen.*

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-INA

Besides the masculine suffix -IN, we find also the feminine form -INA used in the same ways as -IN, and also in some others. -INA is already found in some Latin words, generally added to verb-stems with abstract force, as in *ruina*. Joined to noun-stems in Latin, it seems to have given little change to the simple word, as in *collina* and *pectorina*. The new words in -INA also, often show little change of meaning, the -INA in these cases appearing to have had adjectival force originally. But another development of meaning arose out of the adjectival use of the suffix—namely, the diminutive idea. As an adjective it denoted similarity, and from this use apparently grew the idea of inferiority: hence the diminutive meaning.[1] The suffix generally has this force in Romance, and the beginnings of the use are probably to be found in Vulgar Latin.[2]

The following words in which the suffix is added to nouns are either diminutive or show little change from the simple word:

bosquina, hedge	*bosc*, woods
corina, heart	*cor*, heart
cotina, netting	*cota*, coat
crapaudina,[3] precious stone	*crapaut*, toad
enfantina, young girl	*enfant*, child
fantina, young girl	*(en)fanta*, girl
mairina, godmother	*maire*, mother
megina, pluck	*meg*, middle
neblina, mist	*nebla*, mist
pudisina, stench	*puditz*, strong-smelling plant

[1] Meyer-Lübke, II, 540.

[2] Cooper, 141; Olcott, 134.

[3] A diminutive of *crapaut*, because the stone was believed to have come from the head of the toad.

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serpentina, kind of plant	*serpen(t)*, snake
tetina,† small nipple	*teta*, nipple

Cases in which the suffix is added to adjectives are:

crespina, fringe	*cresp*, curled
salvatgina, wild beast	*salvatge*, wild

There are also several cases of -INA in which it is certainly nothing but the feminine form of an adjective used substantively. -IN was a suffix often added to names of animals to form adjectives, and these words, all meaning skin of an animal, had some such word as "skin" understood:

boquina, buckskin	*boc*, buck
conina, *lebratina*,[1] rabbit skin	*conil*, *lebrat*, rabbit
martrina, marten skin	*martre*, marten, marten skin

Besides all the above cases, there is one more use of -INA that is somewhat different: it was added to stems of the verbs of Germanic origin to form abstracts, just as to Latin stems in *ruina*. Thus are found:

aizina, comfort	*aizir*, welcome
aplevina,[2] security, bail	*plevir*, pledge

[1] See double suffixes, p. 384. [2] For *aplevina*, see parasyntheta, p. 528.

† There are several words ending in -INA, and having no corresponding simple form, which may be explained in various ways. These words are: *aiglentina*, *arvina*, *bergantina*, *bozina*, *cardairina*, *floisina*, *gevelina*, *jaina*, *masmudina*, and *plovina*.

arvina, grease<*arvina*, and *bozina*, mouth<*buccina*, are clearly Lat. formations, and *plovina*, heavy rain, is probably one also. *Gevelina*, javelin, is probably a Celtic formation.

aiglentina, eglantine, is derived from **aiglent* (cf. O.Fr. *aiglent*), which Murray takes to come from *aculentus*, needle-like. See "eglantine."

bergantina, shirt of mail, is probably of the same origin as the Fr. *brigandine*, i.e., derived from the It. *brigante*.

cardairina appears to be another form of *cardoniera* (see p. 230).

floisina, pillow-case, is somewhat obscure, but appears to have its source in the Lat. *flŭxina*, the same word that may have given the O. Fr. *floenne* and the Mod. Fr. *flaine*. See *Mélanges*, 77.

jaina (also *jazena*, and in Du Cange, *jayna*), small beam, appears to come from a Lat. **jacina*, derived from the classical *jăcēre*.

masmudina, a coin of the Almohades, is probably derived from some form of "Mahomet."

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arcina, burning	From *ars*, past participle of *ardre* (?), burn
ataina,[1] delay	
dessazina, spoliation	*dessazir*, take away from
jazina,[2] childbed	*jazer*, lie
morina,[2] mortality, epidemic	*morir*, die
revolvina,[2] refrain	*revolver*, revolve
sazina, seizure	*sazir*, seize

-ION

The Provençal suffix -ION has its source in the Latin -IO, -IONIS. Not a very common suffix in Provençal, as compared with its other form -O, -ONIS,[3] it appears even less so on account of the frequent absorption of the *i* by the preceding consonant.[4] It apppears in:

campion, champion	*camp*, field
capion, cowl	*capa*, cape
carpion,[5] carp	
enquestion,[6] question	(*enquesti*, call, summons)
plantion,[7] planting	*planta* or *plantar*, plant (?)
plumion, feather bed (?)	*pluma*, feather
promesion, promise	*promesa*, promise
pruzion,† itching	*pruzer*, itch

[1] *Ataina* appears to be a verbal substantive built on *atainar*. See p. 545.

[2] *Arcina*, *jazina*, *morina*, and *revolvina* are founded on Lat. verbs, just as was *ruinā*.

[3] P. 243. [4] See p. 251.

[5] *Carpa*<Lat. *carpa* probably existed. If not, the word might be an imitation of the It. *carpione*.

[6] This word appears to be only the prefix EN- + *question* (see p. 472), though from its form it might be from *enquesta*, inquest. *Question*, which has the suffix, is, of course, Lat.

[7] Levy suggests a correction to *plantation*. This may be unnecessary, however. *Pruzion*, if a Prov. formation, is very similar.

† Words probably of Lat. origin are *mesion*, expenditure, wager< *missionem* (?), and *pervezion*, provision, which seems to be a deformation of *provisionem*.

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-ISME, -ISTA

The suffixes -ISME and -ISTA are of Greek origin and exist only in learned words. -ISME is added to nouns to form abstracts, as in the other languages; nevertheless, *terreisme* seems rather to have collective force:

judaisme, Judaism	*Juda*, Judah
terreisme, land, territory	*terra*, land

-ISTA likewise is rare in Provençal. It is added to describe the occupation of a person, or his ideas or theories:

decretista,[1] *decretalista*, authority on canon law
legista,[1] legist

-IT

The Provençal diminutive suffix -IT is extremely rare, but traces of it are still found. It is apparently of the same origin as the common diminutive suffix -ET, going back probably beyond -ITTUS to the adjective suffix -ITUS.[2] Besides *cabridet*, in which we see this suffix + the diminutive -ITTUS, there are two other words in which -ITUS, used alone, shows diminutive force:

auzelit, little bird	*auzel*, bird
branquit, little branch	*branc*, branch

-OA

Under the suffix -OA, the following words may be found, perhaps coming from a Latin -UUS:

perdoa, loss	*perdre*, lose
rendoa, rent	*rendre*, return
segoa, succession	*segre*, follow
vendoa,[3]† sale	*vendre*, sell

[1] Neither of these words is a real Prov. formation.

[2] For a treatment of the development of -ITTUS, see note to the introduction to -ET, its usual development (p. 188).

[3] For these words, see *Romania*, XXV, 392.

† A doubtful word is *metoa*, grimace (?), which may be derived from *metre*, put, in the same way as the other words.

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-OIRA

The suffix found in Provençal as -OIRA represents the Latin -ORIA, the feminine form of -ORIUS, which will be treated under its Provençal development of -OR. This suffix -ORIUS, -A, -UM was added to the stems of past participles, giving the forms -SORIUS and -TORIUS, the latter of which became the regular suffix to be added to verb-stems, and together with the stem-vowel gave the forms -ADOR, -ADOIRA, and -EDOR, -EDOIRA, already treated. As in the case of other suffixes,[1] the formations on the verb-stem became much more numerous than the original kind of formation on the past participle. -OIRA is found in few words in Provençal:

esclauzoira, sluice-gate	*esclauza*, sluice-gate
(No verb is to be found for this word, but one probably existed. There is no change in meaning from that of the simple word.)	
esparsoira, holy water sprinkler	*esparser*, sprinkle
fichoira, three-pointed fishhook	*fichar*, fix
fosoira, bit of land that can be dug in one day[2]	*fosar*, dig
molsoira,[3] milk-pail	*molsa*,[3] froth, foam

The suffix was originally added to verb-stems to form adjectives, but the substantive use of the feminine and the neuter is very common.

-OL, -OLA

There are a few words in Provençal with the ending -OL, -OLA, which is purely diminutive in force when it brings any change in meaning to the simple word. The

[1] As, for example, -URA, on p. 261, below.

[2] Undoubtedly this word shows a substantive use of the adjective in the phrase "*terra fosoira*."

[3] *Molsoira* seems to be formed directly on *molsa*, though **molsar* may have existed.

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Latin suffixes from which the Provençal form is descended are -EOLUS and -IOLUS, or -OLUS (the old form of -ULUS), which had come to be used only after *e* and *i*.[1] As for -ULUS itself, it is of little importance as a suffix in Provençal, the *u* being unaccented and consequently disappearing, as did the *u* in -ACULUS. The suffixes -EOLUS and -IOLUS, on the other hand, persisted, but the accent shifted from the *e* and the *i* to the *o*, the *e* being treated like the *i*, which developed as a *y*-element. This *yod* seems to have disappeared in all popular words; and the reason for this seems to be a confusion in the case of *filiolus*, the most important Latin example of the suffix. Taking into consideration the shifting of the accent, *filiolus* regularly became *filhol*, whereas *filius* became *filh*. The suffix that is added is apparently -OL, and the word through its commonness could serve as an example for new formations. Since in Classic Latin the suffix -OLUS could be added only to stems in *e* or *i*, we find not only the suffixes -EOLUS and -IOLUS, but also an *e* or *i* in hiatus in the simple word, and some of these other combinations of a consonant+*y* became in Provençal simply the palatalized consonant, as *ny*>*n'*. This also might help bring about the usual development of -IOLUS to -OL in Provençal. There are only two words found retaining the *y*-element—*bestiola* and *cambriola*, the former of which is of Latin origin and the latter learned. As a popular diminutive of *cambra*, we should expect *cambrola*.

The suffix, however, appears never to have been much in use in popular formations, there being a number of other equally useful diminutive forms to take its place. It is no longer used in forming new words in French.

[1] *Dic. Gen.*, I, 53, sec. 86.

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The suffix -OL is found in the following Provençal formations:

albola, white baptismal clothes	*alba*,[1] alb
aisola,[2] small ax	*aisa*, ax
bandola, company, party	*banda*, band
barbola,[3] barbed hook	*barba*, beard
bresol, cradle	*bretz*, cradle
cambriola, small room	*cambra*, room
crucol,[4] pitcher	*cruga*, pitcher
estanhol, small pond	*estanh*, pond
flaujol, small flute; also deception	*flauja*, flute
flautol, small flute	*flauta*, flute
fogasol,[5] small buttered roll	*fogasa*, buttered roll
lasol, cord	*latz*, string
masola, club	*masa*, club
mosola, winter wheat	*mos*, moss (?)
nuchola, screech-owl	*nuch*, night
orfanol, orphan	*orfe(n)*, orphan
palhol, childbed; woman in childbed	*palha*,[6] straw
pesol, wool remaining after the removal of the web.	*pes*, weight
pezol, pea	*peze*, pea
plumasol,[5] feather-broom quill	*pluma*, feather
puojol, hill	*puoi*, hill
tersol,[7]† male falcon	*tertz*, third

For words in -AIROL, see double suffixes, p. 399.

[1] *Alba* in Du Cange has, however, the special meaning that *albola* has here.

[2] For a probable Lat. source, see *Nouv. Ess.*, 162.

[3] See *Dic. Gen.*, introduction, sec. 86.

[4] The *c* is peculiar in this word. Another derivative of *cruga* is *crugon* (likewise *cruol*). Mod. Prov. has both *cruco* and *crugo*, and it would appear as though there might have been a form *cruca* as well as *cruga*, from the Germanic *k* in *kruka*. *C* would be the regular development of this letter.

[5] See double suffixes, p. 383.

[6] *Palha*, straw, is here apparently used with the meaning of bed.

[7] Possibly a Lat. formation. See Körting (No. 9,488), *tertiolus*.

† There is also a large list of words ending in -OL(A) not formed in Prov. Many of them are simply the Prov. forms of Lat. words. The list is as follows: *auriol(a)*, oriole; *arestol*, rest for a lance; *bestiola*, small animal; *bredola*, footstool; *bretol*, vain hope (?); *brufol*, buffalo;

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-ON

The Provençal suffix -ON is one that must be divided and subdivided a good deal in order to show all of its meanings and changes of meaning. The Latin suffix -ONE, from which it is derived, seems to have been rather vague in meaning and use, for not only do we find -ON added indiscriminately to nouns and to verbs, but its meanings are different in the various languages in which it is used, its principal use in most of them being augmen-

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camola, boreworm; *capsola*, small box: *caupol*, a kind of ship; *dragol*, dragon; *espol*, spool; *faisola*, belt, band; *fongol*, fungus; *framola*, jaw; *grifol*, fountain; *malhol*, vine, cutting; *mezol*, marrow, pith; *mojol*, beaker; *naujol*, tedium; *niola*, uvula; *nozol*, kind of bird; *orsol*, pitcher; *pairol*, kettle; *pampol*, vine-branch; *parvol*, child; *pegola*, pitch; *pibol*, poplar, poplar wood.

Of these words, in *auriol*, *bestiola*, *capsola*, *faisola*, *fongol*, *malhol*, *mezol*, *mojol*, *orsol*, *pairol*, *parvol*, and *pegola*, the Lat. originals *aureolus*, *bestiola*, *capsula*, *fasciola*, *fungulus*, *malleolus*, *medulla*, *modiolus*, *urceolus*, **pariolum* (Kŏrting, No. 6,872), *parvulus*, and *picula* are sufficiently obvious, though it must be noted that simple words *capse*, *fais*, *fonge*, *malh*, *orsa*, *parv*, and *pega* exist in Prov. beside the ones with the suffix, and that *parvol* is an adjective used substantively. Other words of Lat. origin, whose source is not quite so obvious, are *bredola*, footstool<*predella* (see Diez, 391), *brufol*, buffalo, from **bufalus* (Class. Lat. *bubalus*), in which the penultimate syllable appears to have been dropped and incorrectly replaced (cf. Fr. *bouffle*); *caupol*, a kind of ship<*caupulus* (see Du Cange); *camola*, boreworm<**camulus*, from *camur*, bent, curved; *niola*, uvula, which appears to spring from a confusion between *uvula* and *ligula* (see *Essais*, 327), *pampol*, vine-branch, from *pampinus*, vine-branch; and *pibol*, poplar<*populum*. In most of these words the accent has shifted in the Lat. word, and there have been other changes. *Arestol*, rest for a lance, appears to be formed on the noun *resta*, rest, either parasynthetically (see below) or possibly through the medium of the verb *arestar*. The *a* might, however, be due only to agglutination of the article, in which case the word would be a suffix-formation and belong here.

Of the remaining words, *dragol* and *grifol* seem to show substitutions of -OL for -ON in *dragon* and *grifon*; *espol* probably comes from the Germanic *spuolo* (see "spool" in Murray); *naujol*, tedium, appears to come from a dialect form *nauja* [(instead of *nauza*), from *nausea*]+-OL; *nozol*, a kind of bird, given as a type of ugliness, may be *nuchola*, changed through association with *nozer*, injure; *bretol*, vain hope (?), is doubtful even in form, and *framola*, jaw, is obscure.

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tative, whereas it is the opposite force—diminutive—that is common in Provençal, where the augmentative force is unknown. In many words in Latin, then, the suffix must have added little to the original word, as is still the case in many words in Provençal. The suffix was particularly common in the vulgar language, as Cooper and Olcott seem to agree, but it seems to have had various and rather ill-defined meanings. Olcott[1] gives four with which it is found in the inscriptions: (1) titles of religion and civic government; (2) military terms; (3) trades and occupations; (4) terms of abuse; yet none of these meanings can be said to be common in Provençal, if found at all there. Meyer-Lübke[2] says that -ONE in Latin served to individualize, and was added to nouns to denote the person who performed an action with particular predilection, or who is noticed by his occupation. All of these uses, therefore, are to form names of persons, which, indeed, seems to have been the most important use of the suffix.[3] In Provençal, nevertheless, as also in French, the names of persons with the suffix are rare, and those that are found are not formed by the addition of -ON, but instead, -ON is added to some simple word denoting the name of a person, either to give it diminutive force or else without perceptible change of meaning. The total disappearance of -ON as a suffix forming names of persons is worthy of note, but might perhaps be accounted for by the tremendous extension of the more specific -IER, from -ARIUS. The uses of -ON which have persisted in Provençal may all be developments of the original vague

[1] P. 83. [2] II, 543.

[3] For a detailed treatment of the names of persons formed by use of the suffix, see Fisch, *Nomina Personalia auf -O, -ONIS.*

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tendency toward individualization. Although there are few new names of persons with -ON, the suffix is somewhat commoner with names of animals, many of these showing diminutive force, and many others no change in meaning. In the names of things formed on nouns, there is exactly the same distinction, which seems to be a Romance development, being rare in Latin—the suffix has either diminutive force or adds little to the meaning of the word. Like -EL, for example, and other diminutives, the suffix was frequently used to designate objects in common use, and this usage continued in Romance beside the forming of diminutives in some languages and of augmentatives in others—processes growing out of the original use.

The names of persons will be given first, then the names of animals, and finally the names of things.

I. NAMES OF PERSONS

a) SHOWING LITTLE CHANGE IN MEANING

cuscon,[1] rascal, servant	*cusc*, rascal
fricon,[1] fool	*fric*, fool
geldon, infantry	*gelda*, infantry
guidon, guide	*guida*, guide
mainaton, child	*mainat*, child
masclon,† male	*mascle*, male

b) DIMINUTIVES

donzelon, young page	*donzel*, page
enfanton, small child	*enfan*(*t*), child
filhon, little son	*filh*, son
mastron, young master, dude	*mastre*, master

[1] In *cusc* and *cuscon*, *fric* and *fricon*, probably two forms of the same word are represented. *Cusc* probably comes from a Lat. *coctio*, and *cuscon* from its accusative, *coctionem*. In the case of *fric* and *fricon*, Levy, under the word *fricon*, gives a reference to Raynouard, and the example cited gives *fric* and not *fricon*. This survival of both forms is seen in other words, as *companh* and *companhon*, *bar* and *baron*.

† Another word, *pairon*, is from the Lat. *patronus*.

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basclon, guide, pilot (?); highwayman	(possibly from a Basque stem and formed on an adjective)
fricon,[1] young man	*fric*, young

II. NAMES OF ANIMALS

a) SHOWING LITTLE CHANGE IN MEANING

anhelon, lamb	*anhel*, lamb
aurion, kind of eagle; suffix-change for *auriol* (?)	
creston, see formations on verbs, p. 250	
erison, see formations on verbs, p. 250	
lampredon, lamprey	*lampre(d)a*, lamprey
vibron,† viper	*vibra*, viper

b) DIMINUTIVES

aiglon, eaglet	*aigla*, eagle
cavalon, picket, tent-pole (?)	*caval*, horse
fedon, lamb	*feda*, sheep
galon,[2] little hen	*gal*, cock
goson, pug-dog	*gos*, dog
moisalon, small mosquito	*moisala*, mosquito
nadon, young (of an animal)	*nat*, (thing) born
orson, young bear	*ors*, bear
paseron, small sparrow	*pasera*, sparrow
simion, young monkey	*simi*, monkey
tridon, young tiger	*trida*, tiger

[1] See *fricon* in the preceding list.

[2] Here the suffix seems to change a masculine noun to feminine as well as to add diminutive force.

† The words ending in -ON denoting animals, not formed in Prov. are: *corgozon*, *furon*, *gorgolhon*, *grifon*, and *garanhon*. The first four seem to be of Lat. origin:

corgozon, a kind of insect<**corcocius* (derived from *corcus*) +suffix.

furon, ferret<*furo*, *onis*. See *Romania*, XXXV, 174.

gorgolhon, corn-worm<*curculionem*. See Körting, No. 2,699.

grifon, gryphen<*gryphus* +suffix. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII, 49.

garanhon, stallion, seems to come from a Germ. *wrango*. See Körting, No. 10,414.

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III. NAMES OF THINGS

a) SHOWING LITTLE CHANGE IN MEANING

bacon, trough, hod	(*bac*, bowl, in Mistral)
banaston, basket, hamper	*banasta*, basket
bolon, counterweight	*bola*, ball
caison, box, chest	*caisa*, box
canon, pipe, reed	*cana*, reed
carton, quarter, piece	*cart*, quarter
coston, slope	*costa*, slope, hill
creison, cress	*creis*, cress
descon, basket	*desc*, basket
faron,[1] signal-light	*far*, signal-light, tower
flascon, bottle	*flasc*, bottle
fondon, depth	*fon*, depth
gafon (?), hook	*gafa*, hook
gambaizon, stuffed doublet	*gambais*, stuffed doublet; a material
geneston, dyer's broom	*genesta*, broom
gonelon,[2] gown	*gonela*, gown
laton, lath	*lata*, lath
malicion, wickedness	*malicia*, wickedness
manton, mantle	*manta*, mantle
mezolhon, marrow	*mezolh*, marrow
polejon, reel on crossbow	*poleja*, reel on crossbow
popelon, nipple	*popel*, nipple
valhon,† valley	*valh*, valley

b) DIMINUTIVES

blizaudon, dim. of *blizaut*	*blizaut*, an undergarment
boison, hedge	*bosc* (*bois*), woods
castelon, small castle	*castel*, castle
escanhon, small bench	*escanh*, bench
esclapon, chip, splinter	*esclap*, log

[1] See also *faraon* in n. †, p. 249.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 383.

† A word of interest of Lat. origin is *faichon*, face. It apparently comes from *factionem*, whose regular development would be *faison*, which is likewise found. The spelling *faichon* is given by Levy in one of the examples under *faison*, which is given with a number of meanings, of which "face," "form" is one. *Faicha* and *fachon* look like dialect forms.

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escudelon,[1] small bowl	*escudel*, bowl
esparron,[2] stake; a kind of cord	*esparra*, cross bar
esporton, small basket	*esporta*, basket
falson, sickle	*fals*, scythe
ferraion, dim. of *ferraia*	*ferraia*, field lying fallow
fivelon,[3] bodkin	*fivela*, clasp, buckle
formatjon, small cheese	*formatge*, cheese
girlon, small pail	*gerla*, basket, hamper
jupon, petticoat	*jup*, skirt
lanson, small lance	*lansa*, lance
lardon, slice of bacon	*lart*, bacon
madaison, small skein	*madaisa*, skein
moralhon,[4] clasp	*moralha*, horse-twitchers
monton, heap, pile	*mon(t)*, mountain
moscalhon,[4] small fly	*mosca*, fly
olhon, small eye	*olh*, eye
orton, small garden	*ort*, garden
padenon, small pan	*padena*, pan
paiseron,[1] small barrier	*paisiera*, barrier
paston, bit of pastry	*pasta*, paste
penon, banner	*pena*, feather
platon, small plate	*plata*, plate
pochon,† measure for fluids	*pocha*, pocket

A few words meaning things cannot be classified in either of the above groups. The tendency toward individualization is seen in these words, but they can hardly be classed as pure diminutives.

[1] See double suffixes, p. 383 and p. 399, n. †††.

[2] The little Levy lists two distinct Prov. words, one masculine and one feminine, having these two meanings, whereas the larger work gives *esparron* only once. It would appear possible, however, for a word derived from *esparra*, which has only one meaning, to acquire both the meanings given above.

[3] The *fivelon* seems to be the pin of the buckle, whereas the *fivela* apparently was the whole buckle.

[4] See double suffixes, p. 400.

† In -ALHON, besides the words given above, there are also *medalhon*, haystack; *pabalhon*, tent, and *parpalhon*, butterfly. Both of the last two words are from the Lat. *papalionen*, butterfly. The meaning of "tent" is a later development. As for *medalhon*, it seems to be derived from *me(z)alha*, mesh.

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c) UNCLASSIFIED

brazon, upper part of the arm	*bratz*, arm
doblon, double candle	*doble*, double
estalon, pillar, post	*estal*, place
granhon, grape	*granh*, grain
linhon, thread	*linha*, line
liuradon,[1] measure of ⅛ of bushel	*liurada*, pound
peiron, flight of steps	*peira*, stone
randon,[2] impetuosity	*randa*, firmness
toalhon,† towel	*toalha*, tablecloth

So far, the words listed have been formed on nominal stems, and all of the words, with the exception of *fricon*, have been clear formations on Provençal nouns. There are also, however, some words formed on verb-stems.

[1] See double suffixes, p. 384.

[2] Cf. the O.Fr. *randon*, which the *Dic. Gen.* derives from *randir*. In Prov., however, the noun *randa*, of Germ. origin, is found, and is the probable base-word.

† Other words ending in -ON, but not having the Prov. suffix, are as follows:

aranhon, wild plum. See Mistral, *aragnoun*.

aviron, tiller = prefix A- + *viron*. See prefix-formation, p. 464, below.

bodoison, rascal; stopper; excrement. These meanings are given in Mistral, under *boudissoun*. The word is very obscure. It seems to have some connection with the Fr. *bouchon*, but just what is not clear.

bordon, staff < *burdo, onis*.

cairaton, a kind of ship. From *cairat* (*carat*), four-cornered block.

carriaton. Obscure both in form and meaning.

darbon, mole. From Lat. *darpus*. See *Romania*, XXXV, 172.

esponton, a kind of spear. Cf. It. *spuntone*, derived from *spuntare* < *expunctare*. See Körting, No. 3,471. *Espontar* may have existed in Prov.

faraon, signal-light. From the Gr. φαρος, an island with a light-tower, giving *far* in Prov. and the derived form *faron* (see above). It is difficult to account for the form *faraon* except as having been influenced by *Faraon*, Pharaoh, though the connection is not very clear. It may possibly be with the pillar of fire that helped Moses to escape Pharaoh. *Faros* and *farot* (see -OT, below) are other forms of the word.

flaon, *flauzon*, flat cake. From an OHG *flado* (see Körting, No. 3,806). *Flaon* is the regular form. *Flauzon* appears to show the influence of *flauza*, white cinder, if not directly derived from it.

gofon, hinge, hook. Apparently written for *gafon*, from *gafar* (see below), under the influence of *gomphus*, hinge.

lauron, spring on a level with the ground. See *Romania*, I, 66, and Mistral.

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Here, the words denoting persons and animals are rare, and it is the words denoting things, especially the instrument of an action, as in the other verbal suffixes -ADOR and -ALH, that are commonest.

The division into words denoting persons, animals, and things will be made in the verbal as well as in the nominal formations.

I. NAMES OF PERSONS

As for the names of persons, there seem to be only two possible formations on verbs:

predon, robber	*predar*, prey on
sulhon, slut, scullion	*sulhar*, soil

II. NAMES OF ANIMALS

There are also three names of animals with the ending:

creston, castrated lamb	*crestar*, castrate
erison, hedgehog	*erisar*, stand erect
pepion, dove	*pepiar*, chirp

III. NAMES OF THINGS

The names of things generally denote the instrument with which to perform the action indicated by the verb:

corchon, piece of bread	*corchar*, cut
(Here the meaning is not that of the instrument, but rather the result of the action of cutting.)	
escarrason, litter, pole-ladder; iron carder[1] (?)	*escarrasar*, card wool
escoson, thresher, flail	(*escosar* is not to be found in Raynouard or Levy, but it probably existed. Cf. *escosser* in Old French)

[1] For his translation of pole-ladder, Levy cites Mistral, who has: "*escalassoun, escarrassou* = *rancher, échélier; échalas de vigne; civière*, etc." Mistral also has, however: "*escarrasso, escardasso, escarnasso* (It. *scardassi*) = *drousette, grosse carde de fer, dont on se sert pour commencer le cardage.*" In the passage cited in Levy, either translation is possible, but the second is the only one showing any connection with the verb *escarrassar*. The word meaning "ladder" is probably an augmentative of **escarras* (cf. the Fr. *échalas* < **echaracium*).

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esparson, holy water sprinkler	*esparser*, sprinkle
estaon, support; chain	*estar*, stand
estiron, furrow	*estirar*, stretch out
fison, dart, sticker	*fisar*, stick on, prick
gafon, hook	*gafar*, fasten, seize
guinhon, eyebrows	*guinhar*, wink
picon, small pickax	*picar*, prick
pizon, pestle of mortar	*pezar*, crush
prenhon, foetus	*prenhar*, impregnate

This concludes the list of words the source of whose suffix is the Latin -O, -ONIS.[1]

For -AIRON, see double suffixes, p. 399.

As under the heading -ON, however, all the words having this ending, whatever be its source, should be grouped, it is necessary to mention another set of words coming from a Latin -IO, -IONIS. The word-lists in Cooper and Olcott give the words with the two kinds of endings in the same lists, showing the same kind of use, and in Provençal, words the source of whose suffix is -IO, are sometimes found with the ending -ON. This occurred whenever the preceding consonant formed a combination to absorb the *y*-element. Thus we find the following words coming from -IO, -IONIS:

enfanson, child	*enfan(t)*, child
escuson, small shield	*escut*, shield
peison,[2]† fish	*peis*, fish

[1] This does not include, of course, the words ending in -TIONE added to verb-stems, which, together with the stem-vowel of the verb, have been treated under the forms -AZON, -EZON, -IZON, pp. 165 ff. Nevertheless, this abstract -TIONE gives some words ending in -ON in Prov. Thus *faison*<*factionem* and *derezemson*, redemption, which seems to come from *de redemptione*.

[2] The words in the other languages, *poisson*, *piscione*, etc., would seem to point to the existence of a *piscionem* in Lat., though *peison* is apparently formed in Prov.

† Also of Lat. origin are *parson*, part, from *partitionem* (?), and *tronson*, fragment, from *truncionem*. *Companhon* beside *companh* looks like a Prov. formation, but is simply an interesting case of the survival of the nominative as well as the accusative case, both words going back to *companio, -onis*. See p. 245, n. 1.

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There are also a few words in which the *i* of the suffix was not absorbed, thus giving the suffix -ION.[1]

-OR

-OR, the Provençal suffix, is descended from the Latin -OR, -ORIS, and is, like the latter, used in forming abstracts, although not nearly as common as the longer forms -AMEN, -ANSA, and -ATGE. Cooper says that words in -OR were characteristic of elevated style, and therefore not numerous in Vulgar Latin, and found in very few new words.[2] Like most abstracts, the Latin words in -OR were formed by adding the suffix to verb-stems, and there are in Provençal some formations of the kind; but the more usual process was the formation of new words on adjectives. *Albor*, dawn, found in Latin, and apparently built on *albus*, white, would give a starting-point for such formations.

Words in which -OR is added to adjectives:

agror, sharpness	*agre*, sharp
baudor, gaiety; boldness	*baut*, gay; bold
belor, beauty	*bel*, beautiful
brunor, brownness	*brun*, brown
dolsor, sweetness	*dols*, sweet
estrechor, narrowness	*estrech*, narrow
feror, wildness	*fer*, wild, fierce
folor, folly	*fol*, foolish
fortor, strength	*fort*, strong
frescor, freshness	*fresc*, fresh
gramor, chagrin	*gram*, sad
grevor, pain, injury	*greu*, painful
grosor, thickness	*gros*, thick
largor, extent	*larc*, broad
longor, length	*lonc*, long
negror, blackness, affliction	*negre*, black
pigror, annoyance (?), disadvantage (?)	*pigre*, surly, annoyed; lazy

[1] See p. 238.

[2] Cooper, 25.

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ricor, nobility, power	*ric*, noble, powerful
rosor, redness	*ros*, red
santor, sanctity	*sant*, saintly
tendror, tenderness	*tendre*, tender
tristor, sadness	*triste*, sad
velhor, old age	*velh*, old
verdor, greenness	*vert*, green

The formations on verbs are as follows:

alsor, height	*alsar*, raise. Cf. Sp. *alzar* < **altiare*, Fr. *hausser*
blasmor, blame	*blasmar*, blame
cremor, burning	*cremar*, burn
cridor, uproar	*cridar*, cry
doptor, doubt	*doptar*, doubt
fonsor, depth	*fonsar*, bury, dig
iror, fury, rage	(*irar* [?],[1] rage, rave)
lauzor, praise	*lauzar*, praise
leujor, wantonness; lightening, relief	*leujar*, lighten
lezor,[2] leisure	*lezer*, be at leisure (infinitive is found only as noun)
luzor,[2] light of the eyes	*luzir*, shine
pendor, inclination	*pendre*, hang
pezor, weight	*pezar*, weigh
pruzor, itching	*pruzer*, itch
raubor, pillage	*raubar*, rob, plunder
sobror, superiority	*sobrar*, subjugate
sostror, depreciation	*sostrar*, lower, depreciate
trigor,† delay	*trigar*, delay

Many of the words in the above list could, from their appearance, be formed as well on a simple noun as on a

[1] There is a past participle *irat* < Lat. *iratus*, and there is a compound *azirar*. These things make a simple verb **irar* seem possible.

[2] Beside *lezor* and *luzor* exist two other interesting forms, *legor* and *lugor*. These words would seem to indicate that the suffix -OR was added to the Lat. stems *lec* and *luc*. The other words, on the other hand, *lezer* and *luzor*, seem to point to a later addition of the suffix. Still, formations on *lezer* and *luzir* in Prov. beside the rarely used *legor* and *lugor* would not be impossible.

† Also of Lat. origin, *frior* < *frigorem*.

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verb, but as the Latin process in the case of this suffix was the addition to verb-stems, which is the regular process for the formation of abstracts in Provençal, it seems natural to suppose that in these cases also the verb was the source. In the case of *iror*, the noun *ira* < Latin *ira* exists, whereas the verb *irar* is uncertain. It probably existed, however, though *irat* may come from *iratus*, the past participle of *irasci*. *Testor*, extremity, and *brumor*, mist, are somewhat puzzling, being apparently derived from *testa*, head, and *bruma*, mist, without any verb intervening.

There is another suffix -OR in Provençal which cannot come from the Latin -OR, but must represent -ORIUM, the neuter form of -ORIA, which has been treated above under -OIRA.[1] The cases of -OR with this meaning, however, are far from numerous. In most cases the form found represents -A-DOR from -A-TORIUM.[2]

Cases of -OR:

fosor, hoe, mattock	*fosar*, dig. Cf. also the feminine form *fosoira* (p. 240, above)
prezor, rennet	*pres*[3] (past participle of *prendre*, grasp)

(A peculiar word given in Levy is *leudor*, raiser of the *leuda*, a tax, but it is given with a question-mark, with *leuder* = *leudier* suggested as a correction, which seems probable. *Fachor*, which looks like *fach*+-OR, is, of course, only a development of the Latin *factor*. *Escosor*, thresher, probably comes from a Latin *excussor*[4] and *mesor*, reaper, harvester, from the Latin *messor*.)

Still another class of words ending in -OR must be mentioned, although in these words no Latin suffix is

[1] See p. 240. [2] See p. 36.

[3] Or possibly formed on a Lat. **presus* (Classic Lat. *prensus*). Cf. the Fr. *présure*.

[4] See Du Cange. *Fosor* is, therefore, the only real example of the suffix -ORIUM, and that is found beside the feminine form in -OIRA.

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represented. Instead of a suffix it is a trace of a case-ending that is found here—that of the genitive plural *orum* of the second declension. It is not strange, therefore, that most of these words have collective force, being originally plural, nor is it surprising that many of them are really adjectives, for if *paganor* meant "of the pagans," it was equivalent to the adjective *pagan*. It is, on the contrary, the use as nouns that is new, being one of the usual substantive uses of adjectives. New formations are rare. For convenience, the whole list will be given here:

angilor, angels	*angel*, angel
calendor, Christmas	*calend*, calend
companhor, companions	*companh*, companion
comtor,[1] rank after viscount (?)	*comte*, count
crestianor, Christians	*crestian*, Christian
enfernor, of hell	*enfern*, hell
erbor, herbs	*erba*, herb
martror, feast of the martyrs	*martyr*, martyr
nadalor, Christmas	*nadal*, Christmas
paganor, land of pagans (?) or pagandom	*pagan*, pagan
parentor, relations, race, family	*paren(t)*, parent
pascor, spring	*pasca*, Easter
tenebror, darkness	*tenebre*, darkness
vavasor, vassal of a vassal (*vassus vassorum*)	

-OT

Belonging to the same group of diminutive suffixes as -AT, -ET, and -IT, is -OT, from -OTTUS, somewhat more usual than -IT, though not nearly so much so as

[1] It is difficult to state from which of the three sources of the Prov. suffix -OR the ending of this word comes. Its meaning is tolerably clear from the example "*coms, vescoms, ni comtors*" (Raynouard, II, 453). *comtor* appears to come from some such phrase as *comes comitorum*, due to the analogy of *vassus vassorum* (>*vavasor*) and imitating the genitive plural in -ORUM, already found in so many words. See Du Cange, *comitores*.

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the commoner form -ET. The use of the suffix is clear enough, giving diminutive force every time that it adds anything to the meaning of a word. It was regularly added to nouns, and probably in Provençal to nothing but nouns, though in French there seem to be cases in which it was added to verb-stems. The list of formations on nouns follows:

cabot, bullet-head (fish)	*cap*, head
cabrot, goat	*cabra*, goat
calota, little cap	*cala*, cap
clapot, rabbit-hutch	*clap*, heap of stones
coisot, leg (of beef)	*coisa*, thigh
cubelot, small cask	*cubel*, cask
dagot, small dagger	*daga*, dagger
farot,[1] light tower	*far*, light tower
falsot, garden knife	*fals*, scythe
filhot(a), small son or daughter	*filh(a)*, son, daughter
gabarrot, small freight ship	*gabarra*, (freight ship) lighter
gafot,[1] hook	*gafa*, hook
galiot, outlaw, galley-slave	*galea*, galley
garrot, crossbow, stick	*garra* (?), leg
lansot, lance	*lansa*, lance
mercerot, little mercer	*mercier*, mercer
nasot, small bow-net, weir	*nasa*, weir
ostalot, small house	*ostal*, house
palota, small shovel	*pala*, shovel
pegot, pitch-torch	*pega*, pitch
pelot, shell, bark	*pel*, skin
picot, measure for wine	(*pic*, pike)
pipot, small cask	*pipa*, cask
plasot,† small square	*plasa*, square

[1] See also *faron* and *gafon*, p. 247.

† Other words, ending in -OT, but not formed in Prov. by means of this suffix, are:

alcavot, *arcabot*, pimp, from the Arabic *al-qauvach*. See *Romania*, XXXIV, 197.

angelot, sarcocolla, from an Arabic *anzarot*. See *Nouv. Ess.*, 161.

egot, flowing away, which looks like a post-verbal noun derived from **egotar*, which may be assumed. Cf. the Fr. *égoutter*, drain, and *égout*, gutter. See nouns formed on verbs, p. 540.

cisalot, *isalot*, southeast wind, is from the Arabic *esh-sharq*, the latter

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-TAT

The ending -TAT, from the Latin -TATEM, is found in a great many words in Provençal, but in most of them the existence of the *i* of -ITATEM makes certain the learned character of the formations. Such words as these are *caritat*, *penalitat*, and *vigorositat*, which, with all others of the kind, will be omitted from the lists. Had the word *caritat*, for example, been a popular formation, the intertonic vowel *i* would have disappeared entirely, as happened in many words in Provençal, as, for example, in *egaltat*, representing an *aequalitatem*.[1] Besides these two cases, first of the retention of *i* and then of its total disappearance, there is another type of words, namely,

[1] Given in Olcott, 59. The Prov. word seems to have had a popular development, whereas the Fr. word, *égalité*, is evidently learned.

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part of which—the noun without the article *esh*—became the Lat. *siroccus*, the It. *sirocco*, and the Engl. *sirocco*, *siroc*. See *Cent. Dic.*, "siroc."

foliot, pendulum, is obscure. It may be connected with the verb *folir*, become crazy (therefore run back and forth), and *foliot* might mean "the little thing running back and forth," but it is very uncertain. *Foliot* is likewise in O.Fr.

lagot, flattery, exists beside *lagotear*, flatter. *Lagot* is probably a post-verbal noun formed on *lagotear*, but the formation is not certain. See Körting, No. 5,394, and Diez, 623.

lingot, ingot. Cf. the O.Fr. *lingot* and the Sp. *lingote;* obscure as to source. Du Cange's *lingotus* dates only from 1440, and therefore cannot be taken as the source. The Engl. word probably dropped the *l* through its being supposed to represent the Fr. article. The Engl. word is found in Chaucer. See Murray, under "ingot."

Still other words beside which no simple word is found, and probably not of Prov. origin, are *machota*, owl; *matalot*, sailor; *minhot*, cushion; *panhota*, kind of roll, and *pelota*, ball. Of these, *machota* is somewhat obscure. *Matalot* and *minhot* are of the same origin as the Fr. *matelot* and *mignot*, the original form of *mignon*. *Pelota* seems to come from a Lat. **pilotta*, and *panhota* is probably from **paniotta*. Du Cange gives a late form, *panhotus*.

Possible formations on verbs are *pilot*, machine for throwing missiles, from *pilar*, crush, and *picota*, smallpox, from *picar*, prick.

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those in which this *i* of the intertonic syllable becomes *e* instead of disappearing. There are several causes which could bring about such a result. In the first place, in such words as *castitatem*, *sanctitatem*, the disappearance of the intertonic vowel would have brought together two *t*'s, one belonging to the word proper and the other to the suffix, in a particularly difficult combination of consonants.[1] This seems to have been one of the reasons for the retention of the vowel as *e* in French, where, from such a starting-point as these forms, the *e* which was here developed came to be thought of as part of a suffix -ETÉ, giving rise to the belief that the suffix -TÉ from -TATE, was added to the feminine form of the adjective.[2] In Provençal, from the word *castitatem* we find two forms in Raynouard—the learned development *castitat*, and the form with *e*—*castedat*. We find also *dezonestat* beside *dezonestetat*, showing a good deal of confusion in the treatment of words of the kind, the usual development apparently being, however, the change of *i* to *e*, as in French. This change was then made in other words in which there was no difficult combination of consonants, being aided probably by the number of Provençal adjectives already ending in *e*, for whenever -TAT was added to one of these forms, we have, to all appearance, again a suffix -ETAT. The appearance of this *e* is often so capricious that it is difficult to account for it at all, but this much

[1] Another reason for the persistence of the intertonic vowel is the confusion that its disappearance would bring about in Prov. in such cases between the suffixes -AT and -TAT. Both these causes would help the development of the intertonic vowel; but possibly the model of learned and semi-learned words in which the suffix was recognized would be sufficient to preserve it in some words as *e* and to cause its insertion in some popular words. For further discussion of the intertonic vowel, see the verbal suffix -EGAR, p. 355, below.

[2] Meyer-Lübke, II, 586.

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may be said: In learned words *i* remained as *i*. In popular words formed in Latin, the intertonic vowel disappeared; and in popular Provençal formations an *e*, due to the reasons given above, was often, but not always, inserted.

As for the use of the suffix, it regularly formed abstracts and was added, except in very few cases, to adjectives, especially to those ending in -ABLE, -IBLE, and -OS.

Formations on adjectives without *e:*

amartat,[1] bitterness	*amar*, bitter
beltat, beauty	*bel*, beautiful
dezegaltat,[2] inequality	*dezegal*, unequal
dezonestat, dishonesty	*dezonest*, dishonest
malvestat, badness	*malvais*, bad
prodeltat,[3] heroes' deeds	*pro*, valiant
rictat, power, nobility	*ric*, powerful, noble
veltat,† old age	*velh*, old

Cases in which the simple adjective ends in *e:*

agradabletat,[4] harmony	*agradable*, agreeable
aprovechabletat,[4] perfectibility	*aprovechable*, profitable
debonairetat,[5] kind-heartedness	

[1] It is interesting to note the different suffixes that the word for "bitter" (Lat. *amarus*) adds to express abstract force: in Prov., we find besides *amartat*, *amarum* and *amareza;* in Fr., *amertume;* and in Sp., *amargura.*

[2] Or formed on *egaltat* by means of the prefix DES-.

[3] The *-el-* in *prodeltat* is a puzzle, as *prodel* is not found. It may have existed, however (cf. *crespel* and *falbel*, p. 305, in which we see adjectives in -EL formed on adjectives). In order to have the *d*, however, *prodel* must have been formed in Lat. on *prodem.* For a comment on the meaning of *prodeltat*, see text at the end of the word-list, p. 260.

[4] See double suffixes, p. 385.

[5] See hybrid formations. *Debonaire* is not given in either Raynouard or Levy, and probably did not exist as a single word, but only in the phrase *de bon aire. Debonairitat* seems to be a coinage of the author of *Flamenca.*

† Also, of Lat. origin, *denhtat*, dignity<*dignitatem; durtat*, hardness <*duritatem; fertat*<*feritatem; maltat*, badness<*malitatem; plentat*, fulness<*plenitatem; purtat*, purity<*puritatem.*

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orretat, dirtiness, filth	*orre*, dirty
orribletat, horror	*orrible*, horrible
terribletat, terrible things	*terrible*, terrible

Cases in which *e* is inserted:

avaretat, avarice	*avar*, avaricious
certanetat, certainty	*certan*, certain
egalieretat, cheapness	*egalier*, equal
enversetat, disagreeableness	*envers*, reversed
escarsetat, avarice	*escars*, stingy
esquerretat, refractoriness (?)	*esquer*, refractory (?)
fumosetat, vapor, smokiness	*fumos*, smoky
franquetat, frankness	*franc*, frank
leugieretat, frivolity	*leugier*, frivolous
nescietat, ignorance	*nesci*, ignorant
salvetat, safety	*salv*, safe
sobiranetat, pride, elevation	*sobeiran*, proud
vivasedat,† vivacity	*vivatz*, vivacious (being itself the comparative of adjective *vif*)

prodeltat, heroes' deeds, and *terribletat*, terrible things, have strayed from the strict abstract sense to a more concrete one, almost collective in force. There are also three words in -TAT which have gradually acquired the meaning of place:

aspretat, rough region	*aspre*, rough
ermetat, unplowed land	*erm*, deserted
lausedat, abandoned place or house	*laus*, abandoned

Besides these words with *e* there are also some words with *i*, yet which do not seem to have been formed in Latin:[1]

mesquinitat, misery	*mesquin*, miserable
potioritat, right of first mortgage (?)	
questalitat, position of one who has to pay the "questa"	*questal*, submitted to the "questa"

[1] They were formed in Prov. times in imitation of Lat. words.

† Words ending in -TAT formed in Lat. are *cobezetat*, cupidity< *cupiditatem*, and *maduretat*, maturity<*maturitatem; noveletat*, novelty< *novelitatem; pauquetat*, paucity<*paucitatem*, and *orrezetat*, probably from **horriditatem*.

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There are also a few formations on verbs:

emprenitat, impregnation	*emprenhar* (?)
encequetat, blindness	*encecar*, blind
estatuitat, order, decree	*estatuir*, order
greugetat, difficulty	*greujar*, make heavy

The formation on verbs is unusual, however, in abstracts of this kind. -AMEN, -ANSA, or -AZON would be more natural as suffixes.

The two following words appear to be formed on nouns:

mairetat, mayoralty	*maire*, mayor
onoretat, honor, honorable position	*onor*, honor

-URA

The Provençal suffix -URA, like -ADURA, etc., treated above,[1] is derived from the Latin suffix -TURA, which was used to form abstract nouns on verb-stems in Latin, and when used in forming new words in Provençal, was added to the stem of the infinitive. Latin words, such as *cinctura*, *mixtura*, and *strictura*, in which it is not the infinitive but the supine stem to which the ending is added, have given the suffix -TURA, which was later, in accordance with Romance principles of word-formation, to be added to the infinitive stem, giving in Provençal -ADURA,[2] etc. Then, apparently from some such word as *strictura*, existing beside the past participle *strictus*, was detached a suffix -URA, remaining -URA in Provençal. But *strictus* was used as an adjective; hence *strictura*, narrowness, resembles *strictus*, narrow + the suffix

[1] P. 57.

[2] This Prov. -ADURA, added to verb-stems in Prov., may, however, have come originally from the past participle of regular verbs, that is, those in -AT, + -URA, thus being just like the formations on the irregular past participles *cinctus* and *strictus*.

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-URA. Thus -ADURA and -URA come from absolutely the same source, and are a good example of the different uses of a suffix. -TURA>-ADURA continued to be added to verb-stems and formed abstracts denoting the action indicated by the verb. -URA, detached from a past participle which had come to be used as an adjective, and then added to other adjectives, also had abstract force, but denoted a condition—that of the quality described by the adjective. These are the two kinds of abstract meanings that are found, and the development this suffix has taken illustrates the principle that abstracts formed on verbs denoted action,[1] whereas those formed on adjectives denoted condition.

Another less usual kind of formation, that on nouns, is due to the use of past participles as nouns. The suffix -URA seemed to give little change to nouns of this kind, and this may explain why it is found in a few new formations joined to nouns whose meaning it changes but little.

Before turning to the Provençal formations on both adjectives and nouns, it might be well to enumerate the possible Provençal formations on past participles. These we find to be:

apostura, addition. The past participle of *aponre* is *apost*, but there is also a noun *aposta*, meaning "addition."

cobertura, covering. The past participle of *cobrir* is *cobert*, but there are also the nouns *cobert*, covered place, and *coberta*, covering.

descobertura, discovery. The past participle of *descobrir* is *descobert*.

desconfitura, discomfiture. The past participle of *desconfir* is *desconfit*, but there is also the noun *desconfida*, discomfiture.

ofertura, sacrifice. The past participle of *ofrir* is *ofert*, but the noun *oferta*, offering, also exists.

[1] For formations of this kind, see the suffixes -ADURA, -EDURA, and -IDURA, pp. 57 ff., above.

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pertrachura, picture. The past participle of *pertraire* is *pertrach*, but the noun *pertrach* also exists.

repostura, response (?) (Raynouard translates "retreat"). The past participle of *respondre* is *repost*, but the nouns *respost* and *resposta* both exist, meaning response.†

It seems probable that the Provençal examples may have been formed on past participles in imitation of Latin models, but the existence of the noun in every case would give a starting-point for formations on nouns. Such formations are seen in:

aurura, gold-colored trout	*aur*, gold
graisura, grease	*graisa*, grease
penchura, head of hair	(*penche*, comb)

One other word is somewhat puzzling. This is *corrompura*, which apparently adds -URA to an infinitive stem instead of adding -TURA, which here would have given -EDURA. Levy, however, suggests that the word should be corrected to *corrompedura*.[1] Unless the suggestion is adopted, the formation of the word is entirely exceptional and contrary to all principles of word-formation in the language.

The origin of the formations on adjectives has already been stated, as well as their meaning, which is abstract, and denotes a condition:

altura, height	*alt*, high
baisura, lowness, low position	*bas*, low

(The *i*, as in *baiseza*, may be due to the influence of *baisar*.)

[1] I, 381.

†The forms of certain Lat. origin should also be mentioned: *arsura*, burning < *arsura*; *centura*, belt < *cinctura*; *coltura*, culture < *coltura*; *comesura*, joint, seam < *commissura*; *estrechura*, narrowness < *strictura*; *fachura*, form < *factura*; *mistura*, mixture < *mixtura*; *onchura*, ointment < *unctura*; *penchura*, painting < *pinctura* for *pictura*; *ponchura*, pricking < *punctura*; *tenchura*, dyeing < *tinctura*. Other words also almost certainly of Lat. origin are *costura*, sewing < **consutura* (?), and *escosura*, threshing < **excussura*, just as *escosor* was derived from *excussorium* (see *Nouv. Ess.*, 251, n. 2).

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dolsura, sweetness	*dols*, sweet
drechura, right, title	*drech*, right
falsura, falsity	*fals*, false
folatura, *foletura*, folly, appears to be formed on *folet*, wanton, frivolous, derived from *fol*	
frejura, coldness	*freg*, cold
laidura, dirt; outrage	*laid*, dirty
largura, breadth	*larc*, broad
longura, length	*lonc*, long
negrura, blackness	*negre*, black
planura, smoothness, plain	*plan*, smooth
plenura, fulness	*plen*, full
sornura, obscurity	*sorn*, dark
verdura, verdure	*vert*, green
vilhura,† baseness	*vilh*, vile

Also, like -ADURA joined to nouns, -URA contracts a collective meaning in *agrura*, sour fruit, from *agre*, sour. The contracting of a concrete meaning is to be seen even in many of the words formed on verb-stems.[1]

[1] As in some of the words in -AMEN, given in the notes—*encartamen*, etc.

† Also, of Lat. origin, *estrechura*<*strictura*. See above, p. 263, n. †.

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CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

The suffixes that form adjectives may be classified according to the kind of adjectives they form, just as the noun-suffixes were classified according to the kind of nouns they formed, although the different kinds of adjectives do not, perhaps, stand out so clearly as did the different kinds of nouns. The adjectives may be divided, nevertheless, into those expressing possibility, those denoting possession of a quality, those denoting resemblance or having the idea of "belonging" or "pertaining to," and diminutives. Thus there are suffixes that give these various meanings to the words to which they are attached, and again, as was the case with the nouns, there is the suffix that changes in no way the meaning of this word—the forceless suffix. It is once more possible, also, to give a general rule for the part of speech to which each of these kinds of suffixes was added. Thus the suffixes denoting possibility are regularly attached to verb-stems, the ones denoting possession, to nouns as well as to verbs, those denoting resemblance, etc., to nouns, the diminutive suffixes to adjectives, and the forceless suffix always to adjectives.

Most of the questions that required study in dealing with the nouns may briefly be dismissed here. For example, there is but little confusion as to the source of adjectival suffixes.[1] The acquiring of new meanings by individual suffixes is also unusual, although sometimes the original meaning may be extended a little. This is

[1] -ENC and -ESC are the only ones showing any real confusion (see pp. 306 and 310 below), and these are also used in forming nouns.

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the case with the suffix -ES from the Latin -ENSIS, which was added only to names of places to denote the inhabitants thereof, but is found in Provençal, as well as in the other Romance languages, added, in one or two cases, to other words than nouns of place,[1] and in these words it has simply the meaning of "belonging to." The use of double suffixes is just the same here as that described in the chapter on nouns.[2]

A classification of the suffixes according to the part of speech to which they were added has been made above. It remains now to examine more in detail the formations on each part of speech.

1. The suffixes added to verb-stems will be treated first. Here we find -ABLE, -ADOR, -ADITZ, and -IU added only to verb-stems; -AT added to nouns as well as verbs; and -IER and -OS added to nouns, adjectives, and verbs. The suffixes added exclusively to verb-stems regularly denote possibility—that of performing the action expressed by the verb. This possibility may, indeed, be either active or passive. It is active in such words as *endurable*, everlasting (that which can last forever), and passive in such words as *amable*, lovable (that which may be loved), the passive adjectives naturally having to be formed on transitive verbs, and the active ones being generally formed on intransitive ones. A few words have both active and passive force, as *amonestable*, meaning both "persuasive" and "persuadable."[3] A noteworthy fact concerning these suffixes, considering the great similarity

[1] As in *canones*, for example, or *leones*, given under -ES, p. 309.

[2] All parts of speech formed by means of double suffixes will be treated together in chap. v. As examples of real double suffixes, *linhatjal* and *novelet* may be mentioned, and as examples of compound ones, *coladier* and *bastarez*.

[3] See pp. 272 and 274 for treatment of the word.

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in their use, is the scarcity of examples of stems showing two or more of these endings.[1] Examples of the interchange of -ABLE and -ADOR are seen in *ensenhable* and *ensenhador*, which are, however, different in meaning,[2] and in *espaventable* and *espaventador*, of which the latter, however, appears to be used only as a noun. -IU is found in *agradiu* beside *agradable*, both meaning "pleasing." It does not, however, appear ever to have the idea of passive possibility seen in -ABLE and -ADOR, and, rather than the idea of possibility, it seems often to mean "performing" the action expressed by the verb, as in *adomniu*, domineering, *asolasiu*, entertaining, *cargiu*, burdensome, etc., which is almost precisely the force seen in -ABLE and -ADOR[3] when attached to intransitive verbs.

The suffix that is attached to nouns as well as to verbs, -AT, denotes possession of a quality, as has been stated. It was originally a participial ending and not a suffix at all, but past participles were often used as adjectives, and an adjective suffix -AT was thus created. Later on, it became attached to nouns as well, owing to the coexistence of nouns similar in form to the verbs to which it was added.[4] Here it may be well also to mention -UT, detached

[1] The examples given here are almost the only ones, whereas under nouns, for example the abstracts, compare the number of examples of the same stem having -AMEN, -ANSA, and -AZON added to it, and giving the same meaning.

[2] *Ensenhable* = teachable, and *ensenhador* apparently means "about to teach."

[3] The difference in idea between "performing" and "capable of performing" being a rather slight one and often hard to define.

[4] As, for example, *molher* beside *molherar*. *Molherat*, married, the past participle of *molherar*, was used as an adjective in such a phrase *ome molherat*, married man, and then, through confusion with *molher*, woman, wife, the suffix became attached to nouns as well as to verbs. See Meyer-Lübke, II, 565, where *coronatus* is given as an example of this process. For suffix -AT, see p. 298 below.

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from the past participles of verbs ending in *-er* and *-re*. It is found added only to nouns, with a specialized development of the idea of possession.[1]

The only other suffixes ever attached to verbs are -IER and -OS, the former meaning "pertaining to" or "bearing," and the latter generally meaning "full of." Both of these suffixes, however, were originally attached to nouns. The extension of their use to verbs may have been due to some such confusion as that found in the case of -AT.

2. Next, turning to the suffixes added to nouns, we find them forming the adjectives expressing resemblance or having the idea of "belonging" or "pertaining to" mentioned above. No very strict classification can be made of their meanings, as these shade into each other much more than meanings of the nouns, which could be classified as abstracts, collectives, etc. The adjectival suffixes added to nouns, on the other hand, all give the same kind of force to these words—that of "pertaining to," "like" or "of" the noun to which they are attached, although these may be described as ideas of belonging, resemblance, and material. The suffixes of this kind are -AL, -AN, -AR, -ENC, -ES, -ESC, and -IN. Examples may be given to show how nearly alike the ideas just mentioned really are. Almost every word can be translated in ways showing more than one of these ideas. Thus we find *fogal*, of fire or fiery; *rozan*, of rose, pink; *lachenc*, of milk, milky, milk-giving, and *uvenc*, of grapes, grape-colored; *espanes*, of Spain, Spanish, and *leones*, of a lion, lion-like; *mulin*, of mules, mulish, etc. As there is so little difference between the different ideas which the suffixes added to nouns express that many words had more than one

[1] See p. 330, below.

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of them, it is natural to find these suffixes substituted freely for one another. They appear, indeed, to be almost interchangeable. Thus we find with the same meaning, *fogal* and *foguenc; rozan* and *rozenc; lachin* and *lachenc; espanes* and *espanesc.* It may be seen from this list that the suffix -ENC is added to the same words that take also -AL, -AN, and -IN, and with the same meaning: the only perceptible difference is in the *kind* of noun to which each suffix was *most frequently* added. -AL, for example, retains enough traces of its original use to be found added to some nouns denoting rank, as *comtal, consolal,*[1] etc. -ENC, originally denoting material, was added to many names of things of decided color, as *lach,* milk, *nieu,* snow, *sanc,* blood, which may have been the cause of a later addition of the suffix to many adjectives of color.[2] -ES is the commonest suffix denoting nationality, retaining thus its Latin usage of being attached to nouns of place, though this usage has been extended. -ESC, generally meaning simply "pertaining to," shows its twofold origin in a few adjectives of nationality formed on nouns of place; and -IN expressing the idea of "pertaining to" and "like" is very frequently added to names of animals and metals, again following Latin usage.

3. Finally, we come to the suffixes attached to adjectives. These are, for the most part, the same as the ones just studied as being attached to nouns, -AL, -AN, -AR and -ESC, as well as -IER and -OS, which, in addition to verbs, were attached to both nouns and adjectives. Aside from the suffixes -ET and -EN, -EL is the only one attached

[1] From the Lat. *consularis.*

[2] In these words it modifies to some extent the force of the adjective. Thus *rogenc,* reddish, from *rog,* red, etc. See p. 308 below.

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exclusively to adjectives, and this and all the others just named, when attached to adjectives, change in no way these words, and are, therefore, examples of the forceless suffix mentioned above. It is thus possible to deduce from these examples the rule that adjectival suffixes, when attached to adjectives, have no force whatever. The only exceptions would be -ET and -EN. -ET, as has been seen in the first chapter, is a true diminutive suffix, and turns into diminutive forms the words to which it is attached, whether nouns or adjectives. -EN is attached to numeral adjectives, and changes cardinals into ordinals.

The individual suffixes forming adjectives will now be studied in alphabetic order.

-ABLE, -IBLE

-ABLE and -IBLE are the forms which we find in Provençal derived from the Latin adjective suffix -BILIS. In Latin, the suffix was regularly attached to verbs, generally to the present stem, and the Romance languages have continued that process; they have, however, failed to form many new words on the stem of the past participle, one of the processes of formation in Latin. The formations in Provençal are made on the infinitive stem, as might be expected from the other verbal suffixes that we have studied. Yet instead of finding the forms -ABLE, -EBLE, and -IBLE which we might expect from joining -BLE<-B(I)LIS to the stem-vowel of the three conjugations, we find practically nothing but -ABLE and -IBLE, -EBLE being found in only one word (of Latin origin). Yet on examining the lists more closely, there are found very few words in -IBLE, and these are all evidently learned formations in Provençal. The reason

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is that in Latin there was no -ĪBILIS, the suffix being added only to *a*, *ē*, *ĭ*, and *ū*. -UBLE is not found at all in Provençal, -EBLE only in *iraiseble* (found also as *iraisable*), and -IBLE only in the few learned formations mentioned, one of which—*fluxible*—is evidently formed on a past participle, *fluxum*, from the verb *fluo*. This leaves, then, only -ABLE, which has not only persisted in adjectives derived from verbs of the first conjugation, but has also extended its use so as to be joined to verbs of other conjugations and to take the place of -EBLE and -UBLE. Thus the development of the suffix -BILIS is entirely different from that of -MENTUM, -TIONE, -TOR, and -TURA, all of which have taken three forms in Provençal—one beginning with *a* for verbs in *-ar*, one with *e* for verbs in *-er* or *-re*, and one with *i* for verbs in *-ir*, the whole ending being added as a single suffix—for instance, -ATOREM, -ATURAM, -ETOREM, -ETURAM, to the steam *am-*, *cred-*, etc. -BILIS, though frequent in Vulgar Latin, does not appear to have formed many new words in Provençal, or ever to have been felt sufficiently as a suffix to have been influenced by the verb to which it was joined. It had come down in a great many words from very early Latin,[1] and as the forms in -ABLE were much more numerous than all the others, -ABLE came to be used in many words which had originally ended in -ĪBILIS or -UBILIS, and all of the new popular formations took this ending.

The process for this suffix seems to have been, then, the reduction of -BILIS to one form used in all new popular words—the form added rightly to stems of verbs of the first conjugation, -ABLE. -IBLE was used in new words, but only in learned ones modeled on Latin words

[1] Cooper, p. 96.

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such as *audibilis*, which, however, had a short *i*.[1] Formations on nouns are very few.

The meaning of the suffix is to denote possibility or capability, but a possibility of two kinds. Thus *amonestable* means "persuasive" or "capable of persuading," but it means also "capable of being persuaded" or "persuadable," the first being the active, and the second the passive use. Words with both of these meanings are, however, rare, the rule being that -ABLE added to an active verb like *amonestar* should give the passive meaning; whereas an intransitive verb could have of course only the active meaning in the derived adjective. In Latin, the usual meaning was passive, although the active meaning is not uncommon.

The Provençal formations[2] with passive meaning are as follows:

amonestable,[3] persuadable	*amonestar*, persuade
azirable, detestable	*azirar*, hate
comprehendable, comprehensible (The Latin word is in -IBILIS and formed on the perfect stem)	*comprehender*, understand
contribuable, assessable	*contribuir*, contribute
corrompable, corruptible. This word is changed from a Latin word in -IBLE, which is formed on a perfect stem.	
damnatjable, damageable	*damnatjar*, damage
domesjable, tameable	*domesjar*, tame
engardable, noticeable	*engardar*, look at
ensenhable, teachable	*ensenhar*, teach

[1] Not in Harper's Dictionary, but White and Riddle give a reference to Boethius. Murray derives the Eng. "audible" from a Mediaeval Lat. *audibilis* with a long *i*.

[2] Words of Lat. origin are included in these lists when they show a change of -IBLE to -ABLE, making the words as we find them really Prov. formations.

[3] See also the list on p. 274.

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entendable, intelligible	*entender*, understand
escomunegable, excommunicable	*escomunegar*, excommunicate
esgardable, visible	*esgardar*, look at
figurable, capable of receiving a figure	*figurar*, give figure to
fizable, trustworthy	*fizar*, trust
flairable, smellable	*flairar*, smell
gazanhable, ploughable	*gazanhar*, plough
incomportable, unendurable = *comportable* with negative prefix	
increzable, incredible: Latin *incredibilis*	
invensable, invincible: Latin *invincibilis*	
justiciable, judgeable	*justiciar*, do justice
leudable, taxable	*leudar*, tax
malhable, malleable	*malhar*, hammer
penhorable, pledgeable	*penhorar*, pledge
pezable, weighable	*pezar*, weigh
piatable, pitiable	*piatar*, pity
plegable, pliable	*plegar*, bend
prendable, acceptable	*prendre*, take, accept
reprendable, reprehensible: Latin *reprehensibilis* (ending -IBILIS and on perfect stem).	*reprendre*, blame, accuse
sobremontable,† surmountable	*sobremontar*, surmount

Most of the adjectives in -ABLE that are active in meaning are formed on intransitive verbs:

agradable, pleasing, agreeable	*agradar*, please
bezonhable, necessary	*bezonhar*, be necessary (also active)
consonable, unanimous	*consonar*, be of one accord
continuable, continuous	*continuar*, continue
corrable, able to go	*correr*, run

† Also, of Lat. origin, we find: *amable*, *colpable*, *conservable*, *corbable*, *curable*, *dezirable*, *endeclinable*, *gostable*, *gravable*, *importable*, *interpretable*, *multiplicable*, *proable*, *and termenable*. Another word in -ABLE is *esplechable*. This is, however, a substantive, the only one with this ending. Its original adjectival force is of course clear. It means a man whose property may be seized judicially. Its substantive use undoubtedly comes from the disappearance of *ome* in the phrase *ome esplechable*. From *esplechar*, levy, a legal term.

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costumable, customary	*costumar*, be customary
convenable, suitable	*convenir*, suit
dezagradable, unpleasing	*dezagradar*, be unpleasing
desguizable, changeable	*desguizar*, change
endurable, everlasting	*endurar*, endure
escolorjable, slippery	*escolorjar*, slip
evaporable, volatile	*evaporar*, evaporate
grevable, burdensome	*grevar*, weigh down
meravelhable, marvelous	*meravelhar*, marvel
nozable, weighty	*nozer*, injure
penable, painful	*penar*, torture
perdurable, lasting	(*perdurar*,[1] last)
profetizable, prophetic	*profetizar*, prophecy
serviable[2] (instead of *servible*), serviceable	*servir*, serve
vergonhable,† shameful	*vergonhar*, be ashamed

A few, however, of these adjectives with active meaning are formed on transitive verbs, and these, therefore, but for the beginnings of the opposite process in Latin, we should expect to find with passive force. Thus *amonestable*, from *amonestar*, means persuasive as well as persuadable:

decevable, deceitful	*decebre*, deceive
defensable, defensive. For Latin *defensibilis*	*defendre*, defend
degastable, wasteful	*degastar*, waste
espaventable, frightful	*espaventar*, frighten
traucable, incisive	*traucar*, cut

Many verbs, however, such as *penar* and *degastar*, are used both transitively and intransitively, which makes it hard to classify the derived adjectives.[3]

[1] Not found in Prov., but existed in Lat.

[2] Possibly through influence of *amiable* (?), according to the *Dic. Gen.* See under *serviable*.

[3] Another similar word is *saludable*, healthful. The verb on which it is apparently formed is *saludar*, to greet, having no connection with it in meaning. If formed on *saludar*, it was doubtless because it had originally a meaning of "give health to," hence greet.

† A word of Lat. origin belonging to this list is *mirable*<*mirabilis*.

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One word in -EBLE has already been mentioned—*iraiseble*. This, however, is Latin, from *irascibilis*. Raynouard has *iraisable*.

The Provençal words in -IBLE, all learned formations, are as follows:

envazible, invadable	*envazir*, invade
franhible, fragile	*franher*, break
marcezible, perishable	*marcezir*, wither, fade
percorrible, having currency	*percorre*, run through
polible, polishable	*polir*, polish
tazible, silent	*tazer*, be silent
unible,† fit to be joined	*unir*, join

The same rule of formations with passive force on transitive verbs, and formations with active force on intransitive verbs, may be seen here also.

-ABLE and -IBLE are also found added to nouns in a few words. -ABLE is seen in:

metable, fit, suitable	*meta*, limit
pasionable, capable of passion[1]	*pasion*, passion
questable, subject to the "*questa*"	*questa*, a tax

-IBLE is seen in:

patzible, peaceable	*patz*, peace

Such formations might easily be due to the influence of such forms as *vergonhable*, beside which the noun *vergonha* as well as the verb *vergonhar* existed.

Before leaving the Provençal forms of the Latin -BILIS, it is necessary to mention another set of forms found in a few words, namely, -AVOL (found in two words), -EVOL (found in three), and -IVOL (in all other cases). These forms clearly represent the same Latin suffix as is seen in -ABLE, -EBLE, and -IBLE, and are different develop-

[1] Another word with the same meaning is *pasible*, coming from a Lat. *passibilis*, derived from *passus*, the past participle of *patior*.

† Of Lat. origin there is *nozible*. See *nozable* above for a corresponding Prov. formation.

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ments of it. A large number of these words are found in a Waldensian text, and probably were influenced by the Italian form -EVOLE (<-BILIS) as well as by -OL<-ULUS. The other words are limited to a few other texts, apparently showing the dialect of the same region. The frequency with which -IVOL is found may be due to the fact that these words are learned formations made by using -IBILIS. In the words in -EVOL, two of which are found in the Waldensian text mentioned above, the influence of the Italian -EVOLE appears to have been even stronger. The list of the formations on verbs follows:

cagivol, perishable	*cager* (for *cazer*?), fall
delechivol, delightful	*delechar*, delight
encreisivol, disgusting	*encreiser*, be displeasing
espautevol, frightful	*espautar*, frighten
espaventivol, frightful	*espaventar*, frighten
estimivol, calculable	*estimar*, calculate
fructifiavol, fruitful	*fructifiar*, bear fruit
mensurivol, measurable	*mensurar*, measure
movevol, moveable	*mover*, move
noizivol, injurious	*nozer*, injure
odorivol, odoriferous	*odorar*, smell
onorivol, rich, magnificent	*onorar*, honor, celebrate, adorn
perdonavol (in phrase *an p.* = jubilee)	*perdonar*, pardon
profechivol,† profitable	*profechar*, profit

A formation on a noun is:

baronivol, manly, virile	*baron*, man

-AC, -EC, -IC, -OC, -UC

For the adjectives in Provençal ending in -AC, -EC, -IC, -OC, and -UC, as well as for the nouns with these endings,[1] it is necessary to assume as a source for the

[1] P. 18.

† The ending -IVOL is also seen in the adverb *enseguivolmen*, in consequence.

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suffix a Latin -ACCUS, -ECCUS, -OCCUS, and -UCCUS, instead of the forms with a single *c*.

There are no real examples of -ACCUS in Provençal, *ebriac* being nothing but the Latin word *ebriacus*. For words in -AIC, see -IC, just below.

-EC, however, is found in three words in which it appears to represent a suffix -ECCUS: *bavec*, talkative, connected with *bavar*, to chatter, both of which are apparently derived from **bava*, drivel, not found in Provençal, but coming from a Latin **baba*, found in other languages as *bava*, *bave*, from which many other words are derived, as in French, *baver*, *bavard*, *bavarder*, etc.; *canec*, gray, *can* being found in Provençal, translated by Raynouard as *ardent*, though the meaning is not quite clear;[1] and *manec*, fixed, stopping, evidently connected with the verb *maner*, to remain.

-IC is found in several words in Provençal, but in most of them, it is evidently not a Provençal suffix that is to be dealt with, but instead, a remodeling of learned words existing in Latin.[2]

The complete list of the words in -IC is as follows: *algaravic*, *deific*, *ebraic*, *forsaic*, *juzaic*, *laic*, *mozaic*, *nizaic*.

In this list, the number of words in which the -IC is preceded by *a*, making probable a suffix -AIC instead of -IC, is at once obvious. The words in which -IC is not preceded by *a*, and the suffix -IC is clear, will be treated first:

[1] *Can*, given in Levy I, 195, is probably corrupt. Levy here refers to a commentary of his own in *Litbl.*, XI, 344, on the text of the *Auzels Casadors*. In ll. 2725 and 2726 we find *blancs* and *cans* rhyming. Yet it is quite possible that, although not found, *can*, gray, from *canus*, may have existed and have been the base of *canec*.

[2] As there are peculiarities in the formation of all of these words, however, each one will be treated individually, as though it were an ordinary Prov. formation.

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Deific, godlike, devout, comes from the Latin *deificus*, and shows, therefore, a shifting of the accent. It is a word modeled in Provençal times on the Latin source.[1]

Another word showing a shifting of the accent, making possible the ending -IC, is *algaravic*, arabic. Raynouard gives *arabi* and *arabit*, and Mistral *arabi* and *arabic*. *Arabic* certainly must have existed also in Old Provençal and have been formed, like the above words, with a shifting of the accent, on *arabĭcus*. *Algaravic* seems to point to a transfer of the suffix from *arabic* to the word found in Spanish as *algarabía* (from an Arabic *algarabia*), and probably borrowed in Provençal from Spanish.

Three of the other words in the above list[2] are simply regular developments of the Latin unaccented suffix -ICUS, preceded by *a*, and giving therefore -AIC and not -IC in Provençal, and another is likewise a Latin formation.[3]

The only word still remaining to be treated is therefore *forsaic*, strong, powerful. This is beyond doubt a Provençal formation, and its meaning, which there are many

[1] And to this word should also be added, though -IC is preceded by *a*, *juzaic*, Jewish, which shows a similar shifting of the accent. (Observe the rhyme-words given in Levy.) The word is from the Lat. *judaĭcus*, from *Juda*. It is interesting to compare it with *ebraic*, given below, in which apparently the accent did not shift (compare its rhyming with *laic*, which is often written *lec*), though we find the shifting in the remodeled Fr. form *hébraïque*.

[2] These are, of course, *ebraic* (Hebrew) < *hebraicus*; *laic* (lay) < *laicus*; and *mozaic* (Mosaic) < **mosaicus*, derived from *Moses*. Cf. in Mod. Fr. *laique*, instead of *lai*, the learned remodeling seen above in *deific*.

[3] *Nizaic*, silly, inexperienced, is apparently from the Lat. *nidax*, from *nidus*, nest, and is, therefore, about the only probable example of the existence of the suffix -AX in Prov. See Cooper, 109. The Prov. word has the same source as the Fr. *niais*, but is peculiar in form. We should expect *ni(z)ais*. Several words ending in *ais*, as for example, *putnais*, stinking, are found, but do not appear to represent -AX.

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examples to make clear, connects it with *forsa*, strength. The examples, however, do not make the accentuation of the word clear, though it must of necessity be *forsaic*. This -IC was detached from such words as *deific* and added as a Provençal suffix, which must naturally have borne the accent.

-OC representing a Latin -OCCUS is found in only two words:

badoc, silly, foolish, connected with the verb *badar*, to gape at.

buzoc, dull, foolish, the same word as given under nouns with the meaning of buzzard.[1] As a noun, it had also the suffixes -AT and -AC, diminutives. -OC shows by its use for -AT its diminutive force also.

The suffix -UC is the best represented of any of the suffixes of the group, being found in a number of words. The forms found in the other languages apparently are derived by means of both -UCUS and -UCCUS. Italian, for example, has forms both in -UCO and in -UCCO. It is difficult to determine the origin of the Provençal forms without finding an example of the feminine. Horning names *acertuc* and *faisuc*[2] as being derived by means of -UCCUS, and *astruc* is probably formed by using -UCUS (compare Spanish *malastrugo*). The suffix, like the others of the group, had generally a kind of diminutive force and built adjectives on nouns. -UCCUS seems to be the source of -UC in most of the words.

acertuc, strong, sure	*acert*, certitude
astruc, fortunate (with its compounds *benastruc*, fortunate and *malastruc*, unfortunate), by means of -UCUS, from	*astre*, star

[1] See pp. 20 and 22 above. [2] *Zeitschrift*, XX, 348.

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damnuc, defective	*dam*, damage (<Lat. *damnum*)
faduc, silly	*fat*, fool
faisuc, burdensome	*fais*, burden
frejuluc, sensitive to cold. The word seems to show a dissimilation for *frejuruc* built on *frejura*, coldness.	
paoruc, fearful	*paor*, fear
pezuc, heavy	*peza*, weight

One word appears to be formed on an adjective:

frevoluc, bad, breakable	*frevol*, wreak

Two rather obscure words are *badaluc* and *caluc*.

Badaluc, dawdling, silly, is evidently connected with the verb *badar*, gape at, wait, and possibly with the derived word *badalhar*, yawn. Various suggestions have been made[1] but none satisfactory.

caluc, shortsighted, is also puzzling. It is hard to connect it with *cocles* having this meaning in Latin. *Caducus* has been suggested, but can hardly be the source.

For words in -ADITZ, see under -ITZ, on p. 321.

-ADOR, -EDOR, -IDOR

The adjective suffix -ADOR is in development exactly like the nominal suffix -ADOR already treated,[2] both in coming from the Latin -TORIUS,[3] and in having the three forms -ADOR, -EDOR, and -IDOR according to the conjugation to which the suffix was added. The original use was, of course, the adjective one, and the use as nouns,

[1] See Körting, No. 1,150.

[2] P. 54 above.

[3] In some cases, however, it may be -TOR that we have. See note † on p. 282.

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as in so many other cases, was a later substantive use[1] of the neuter form.

The meanings given by the suffix are not very different from those belonging to -ABLE. Thus it denotes a possibility, either ability to perform some act, or purely passive possibility, the meaning generally contributed by the suffix when added to a transitive verb. The latter meaning, however, is not nearly as regular in this case as it is with -ABLE. *Amatorius*, for example, existing in Latin, means "amatory" or "loving," a personal characteristic, a meaning which is frequent with this suffix, whereas *amabilis* has the meaning of "lovable," or "worthy of being loved." The adjective with active force has other extensions of meaning, as, in some words, it denotes the *use* of the noun which it modifies, as in *brizador*, etc.

Adjectives used actively, denoting ability, a characteristic, an inclination, or futurity, are seen in:

abdurador, able to endure much, long-suffering; from *abdurar*, endure	
celador, secret, concealed	*celar*, conceal
creador, creative	*crear*, create
dezanador, transitory	*dezanar*, cease to go
durador, lasting	*durar*, last
ensenhador, ready to teach	*ensenhar*, teach
espaventador, terrifying	*espaventar*, frighten
guerrejador, fond of war	*guerrejar*, make war
larguejador, generous	*larguejar*, give largess
manifestador, ready to make manifest	*manifestar*, make manifest
menador, about to lead	*menar*, lead
mercejador, kindly (ready to ask pardon)	*mercejar*, ask or grant pardon, be merciful
navejador, ready to sail	*navejar*, sail

[1] Cooper, 155, points out the extreme rarity of these words in the classic period.

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negador, able to deny	*negar*, deny
parador, able to prepare (cloth)	*parar*, prepare
pasador, about to pass	*pasar*, pass
pojador, about to ascend	*pojar*, ascend
porgador (for *purgador*?), ready to justify oneself	*purgar*, purge, justify oneself. *Porgar* in Levy means "sift."
profechador, able to serve	*profechar*, be useful, serve
remembrador, mindful	*remembrar*, remember
sofertador,† patient, resigned	*sofertar*, suffer, endure

Adjectives meaning "serving to" (perform the action of the verb to which the suffix is added) are as follows:

barrador[1] (in the phrase *clavel barrador* = bolt with nut)	*barrar*, bar
qrizador, serving to break	*brizar*, break
carrejador, serving for transportation	*carrejar*, cart, transport
ferrador (in the phrases *clavel ferrador* and *martel ferrador*) serving to shoe horses	*ferrar*, shoe horses
latador (in the phrase *clavel latador*) serving to put on laths	*latar*, put on laths
mezurador, for measuring	*mezurar*, measure
pescador, for fishing	*pescar*, fish

Under -EDOR, the following adjectives with active force are found:

desconoisedor, ignorant	*desconoiser*, be ignorant
mordedor, biting	*mordre*, bite
naisedor, to be born	*naiser*, be born
parcedor, pardoning	*parcer*, pardon, spare
pertanhedor, to belong to	*pertanher*, belong
ponhedor, sharp, pointed	*ponher*, prick
sabedor, knowing	*saber*, know
sorzedor, gushing	*sorzer*, gush forth
volvedor, stirring, agile	*volver*, turn

[1] For *pasabarrador* p. 564, n. 1.

† Another interesting adjective found only in the feminine is *encantairitz*, enchanting, which comes from the Lat. *incantatrix*, the feminine form of *incantator*, not *incantatorius*. This clear example of a noun used as an adjective, quite the reverse of the usual process, makes it seem possible that some of the other adjectives given above may have been

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Under -IDOR, there are the following ones, many of them derived from the verb *venir* and its compounds, and expressing regularly futurity:

avenidor, future, bound to happen	*avenir*, happen
devenidor, future, bound to happen	*devenir*, happen, become
eisidor, about to be born	*eisir*, be born
endevenidor, having to happen (possible)	*endevenir*, happen
escremidor, cautious, prudent	*escremir*, fight, take care of oneself
fenidor, about to end	*fenir*, end
moridor, about to die	*morir*, die
peridor, about to perish	*perir*, perish
procezidor, about to proceed	*procezir*, proceed
venidor, coming, future	*venir*, come

Then come the words containing -ADOR, -EDOR, and -IDOR, used passively. These words generally show the possibility of a thing's being done, and sometimes a thing about to be done. The force here is almost exactly equal to -ABLE. Under -ADOR, are found:

aplicador, to be applied, destined	*aplicar*, apply
amasar, to be gathered	*amasar*, gather
blasmador, blameable	*blasmar*, blame
cantador, singable	*cantar*, sing
coltivador, tillable	*coltivar*, cultivate
comensador, to be begun	*comensar*, begin
condemnador, to be condemned	*condemnar*, condemn
deliurador, to be despatched	*deliurar*, deliver, despatch
demandador, requirable	*demandar*, ask, require
deputador, determinable	*deputar*, depute
derocador, to be taken down	*derocar*, overturn
despachador, despatchable	*despachar*, despatch
determenador, determinable	*determenar*, determine
donador, to be given	*donar*, give

---

nouns originally. Thus *ensenhador* and *creador* exist also as nouns with feminines in -AIRITZ. As the feminine form of the adjectives listed above is not given, it is impossible to state with certainty their origin. Also, of Lat. origin, *amador* < *amatorius*.

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doptador, to be feared	*doptar*, doubt, fear
empauzador, taxable	*empauzar*, tax
enlevador, raisable	*enlevar*, raise
escuzador, excusable	*escuzar*, excuse
estimador, appraisable	*estimar*, appraise
explicador, to be explained	*explicar*, explain
gardador, observable	*gardar*, observe
gitador, removable	*gitar*, throw aside
governador, governable	*governar*, govern
jurador, to be sworn	*jurar*, swear
jutjador, judgeable	*jutjar*, judge
lauzador, praiseworthy	*lauzar*, praise
levador, raisable	*levar*, raise
liurador, deliverable	*liurar*, deliver
manjador, edible	*manjar*, eat
maridador, marriageable	*maridar*, marry
moderador, to be determined	*moderar*, moderate
murador, to be walled up	*murar*, wall up
nomador, *nom(i)nador*, to be named	*nomar*, *nom(i)nar*, name
obrador, to be manufactured	*obrar*, manufacture
onrador, to be honored	*onrar*, honor
ostador, to be removed	*ostar*, take away
pagador, payable	*pagar*, pay
pauzador, to be applied or fixed	*pauzar*, fix, establish
percantador, to be administered	*percantar*, officiate, serve
pezador, to be weighed	*pezar*, weigh
plantador, fertile (capable of being planted)	*plantar*, plant
portador, portable	*portar*, carry
prepauzador, to be presented	*prepauzar*, present, submit
prestador, to be loaned or paid	*prestar*, lend
prezentador, to be offered	*prezentar*, offer
prononciador,† to be pronounced	*prononciar*, pronounce

Under -EDOR, the following adjectives with passive force are found:

combatedor, to be fought	*combatre*, fight
cometedor, committable	*cometre*, commit
conoisedor, determinable	*conoiser*, know

† Also, of Lat. origin, *examinador*. See Cooper, 160.

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convertedor, changeable (instead of *convertidor*)	*convertir*, change
crezedor, credible	*crezer*, believe
defendedor, defensible	*defendre*, defend
despendedor, spendable	*despendre*, spend
detenedor, detainable	*detener*, detain
encorredor, incurrible	*encorre*, incur
endizedor, to be imposed	**endezir* for *endire*, impose
entendedor, intelligible	*entendre*, understand
escrivedor, to be written	**escriver* for *escriure*, write
fazedor, possible to accomplish	**fazer* for *faire*, make
fendedor, splittable	*fendre*, split
mentavedor,[1] to be mentioned	**mentaver* for *mentaure*, mention
metedor, to be placed	*metre*, place
movedor, movable	*mover*, move
noncrezedor,[2] incredible	(*non*)*crezer*, (not to) believe
percebedor, to be collected	*percebre*, collect (a tax)
perdedor, which will be lost	*perdre*, lose
prendedor, to be taken	*prendre*, take
proferedor, to be pronounced	*proferre*, pronounce
temedor, dangerous	*temer*, fear
vendedor, saleable	*vendre*, sell

And under -IDOR, the following passive adjectives formed on verbs ending in *-ir:*

dirigidor, dirigeable	*dirigir*, direct
divizidor, divisible	*divizir*, divide
elegidor, eligible	*eligir*, elect
enqueridor, to be investigated (instead of -EDOR)	*enquerre*, seek, but also *enquerir*
esclarzidor, to be glorified	*esclarzir*, brighten
establidor, to be established	*establir*, establish
estatuidor, to be determined	*estatuir*, determine
exigidor, requirable	*exigir*, exact
nonauzidor,[2] unheard of	(*non*)*auzir*, (not to) hear
ordidor, weavable	*ordir*, weave
partidor, to be shared	*partir*, share

[1] See also hybrids, p. 581.

[2] *Noncrezer* and *nonauzir* cannot be said to be found in Prov., although they may have existed, just as *noncaler* did. *Nonauzidor* and *noncrezedor* appear, therefore, to be *non* + *auzidor* or *crezedor*, that is, compound words. See Part IV, chap. ii, p. 570.

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prefigidor, to be previously fixed	*prefigir*, fix
prezumidor, presumable	*prezumir*, presume
punidor, punishable, to be punished	*punir*, punish

It may be seen from the above lists that without exception the suffixes -ADOR, -EDOR, and -IDOR are added to verb-stems, and that *convertedor* and *enqueridor* are the only words at all exceptional in formation. In all other cases, -ADOR is added to verbs in *-ar*, -EDOR to verbs in *-er* or *-re*, and -IDOR to verbs in *-ir*. A very common meaning is that of some act to be done. Compounds are found in *noncrezedor* and *nonauzidor*.

One word is apparently not formed on a verb but a noun or adjective:

mejanador, to be continued	*mejan*, in the middle; middle

This word, like *ensenhador* and *creador* treated above may have been a noun originally.

-AI(S)

It is necessary to mention here the ending -AIS on account of its occurrence in a number of words, although it is doubtful whether it was ever really a Provençal suffix. The only words in which there is any probability of its having been so used are:

lecais,[1] dainty	*lec*, dainty person; fawner
morais,[2] Moorish	*mor*, Moor

[1] Lévy gives one example of the form *lecai* in the accusative case, singular. All the other examples, however, have *lecais*.

[2] This seems to be a real example of a Prov. suffix -AIS, used, for some reason or other, instead of the usual suffixes of nationality, -ES and -ESC. Most of the other words with this ending -AIS have contemptuous force, and a depreciative suffix -AIS may have been supposed to exist and have been here substituted for -ESC. There is a Lat. word *morax*, which would give *morais*, but it is formed on *morior* and means

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-AL, IL

The Provençal suffix -AL has already been treated under the nouns,[1] where it was seen that most of the formations were nothing but adjectives used substantively in Provençal itself. -AL represents the Latin -ALIS, a suffix used to form adjectives on nouns, and exceedingly common in the popular language. Its use was very broad and varied: perhaps most commonly it served to indicate a similarity or resemblance to the noun to which it was attached, as *abisal* (formed on *abis*) = like an abyss, or deep. It also meant "belonging" or "pertaining to," and denoted beside, suitability and relationship. In short, it became one of the principal adjectival suffixes, in Romance as well as in Latin. Olcott[2] notes also its use in the official terminology, particularly in the inscriptions, to denote rank, which use is also found represented to a certain extent in Provençal.

-AL is added to nouns in Provençal in:

abisal, deep	*abis*, abyss
aceiral, of steel	*acier*, steel
agraral, cultivated.[3]	
alodial, allodial	*alodi*, allode
aventural, enterprising, bold	*aventura*, adventure
bastonal, pertaining to a line	*baston*, line
boaral,[3] belonging to oxen; rough	*bou*, ox

"delaying." Still, if it did persist until Prov. times, it may have helped in the development of *morais*, Moorish.

The other words ending in -AIS are all of Lat. origin, and are as follows: *biais*, slope, slant, shift (a noun), possibly from *bifax; punais*, stinking, probably from *putinasius* or *putinaceus*; *malvais*, probably from *malevatius*, though its origin is somewhat uncertain; and *verais*, true, probably from *verax, -acem*, though the forms of the accusative masculine, *verai*, and the feminine *veraia* are difficult to explain.

[1] P. 63. [2] See Olcott, 227.

[3] See double suffixes, p. 398, n. 1; *agraral* used as a noun is also given on p. 64, above. The formations in -ARAL are treated in the note to this word given there as well as under double suffixes.

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cabal, capital, excellent	*cap*, head
calendal, calendal	*calenda*, calends
campal, "in the open" (found only in the phrase *batalha campal*, pitched battle)	*camp*, field
canorgal, belonging to yearly tax	*canorga*, canonicate; canonry, prebend (having a yearly tax?)
cantonal, pertaining to a corner	*canton*, corner
caral,[1] square	*caire*, square
caresmal, of Lent, lenten	*caresma*, Lent
cartaironal,[2] pertaining to a quarter-pound	*cartairon*, quarter-pound
cavaleiral,[3] belonging to knights	*cavalier*, knight
colpal, guilty	*colpa*, guilt
combal, lying in a valley	*comba*, valley
comtal, pertaining to a count	*comte*, count
consolal,[4] consular	*consol*, consul
coral, heartrending	*cor*, heart
costumal, customary	*costuma*, custom
diablal, diabolical	*diable*, devil
diaral,[5] daily	
dictional, concerning words	*diction*, diction
domergal, of the domain; of Sunday. *Domergue* is found meaning Sunday, but not with the meaning of domain. *Domergal* looks like **dominicalis*.	

[1] The form *caral* instead of *cairal* is worthy of note. Whether coming direct from the Lat. *quadralis*, or derived from *caire*, *cairal* would be the regular form. *Quadrale*, wine-measure, is found in Du Cange. In late learned words, *d* did not change to *i*, and *quadrale* may have had some influence on the form of *caral*.

[2] See also double suffixes, p. 386, n. 1.

[3] One of the very few words having *-eir-* as the first part of a double suffix instead of *-air-*. See double suffixes, p. 386, n. 2, for explanation.

[4] This word seems to contain an assimilation of *r* to *l*, and represent *consolar* < *consularis*.

[5] See double suffixes, p. 398, n. 1. *Dialis* is found in Olcott, 230, and as *diarius* is also Lat., the conditions that formed *agraral* are reproduced. See also *agraral* under nouns, p. 64.

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eclezial, ecclesiastic. *Eclezia* is not found in Provençal, but only a more popular development of *ecclesia*, church. *Eclezial* is certainly a learned formation in Provençal on the Latin *ecclesia*. -AL could therefore be used in learned as well as in popular words.

esciental, sensible	*escien(t)*, knowledge
esporlal, belonging to the *esporla*	*esporla*, a tax
estorial, historical	*estoria*, history
ferial, ferial	*feri*, weekday
figural, figurative	*figura*, figure
(Olcott gives *figuraliter*,[1] though not *figuralis*)	
filal, spinnable	*fil*, thread
fogal, fiery	*foc*, fire
fondal, deep	*fon(d)*, depth
fonsal, bottom	*fons*, bottom, depth
fontal, of a spring	*fon(t)*, spring
frairal, brotherly	*fraire*, brother
fumal, smoky	*fum*, smoke
gregorial, Gregorian	*Gregori*, Gregory
linhatjal,[2] ancestral	*linhatje*, lineage
lobal, greedy	*loba*, wolf
mairal, principal	*maire*, mother
manal, of the hand	*man*, hand
martirial, bloodthirsty	*martiri*, torture
mercadal, mercantile	*mercat*, market
me(z)alhal, worth a "me(z)alha"	*me(z)alha*, a coin
molinal, of a mill	*molin*, mill
muzical,[3] musical	*muzica*, music
novenal, pertaining to a "novena"	*novena*, a religious exercise
novial, nuptial	*novia*, bride
nuechal, nocturnal	*nuech*, night
oblial, subject to the "oblia"	*oblia*, a tax
onsal, weighing an ounce	*onsa*, ounce
organal (found in the phrase *vena o.*, meaning jugular vein)	

[1] P. 23. [2] See double suffixes, p. 387.

[3] *Musical* is found in many of the Romance languages, but *musicalis* is not found in Lat.

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palmal, a span long	*palma*, span
paludal, swampy	*palut*, swamp
paponal, belonging to a grandfather	*papon*, grandfather
parofianal, parochial	*parofian*, parishioner
patacal, worth a "patac"	*patac*, a coin
patrial, belonging to one's native land	*patria*, native land
poblal, public	*poble*, people
pogezal, worth a "poges"	*poges*, a coin
polgal (found in phrase *anguila p.* meaning "swamp-eel")	(*polga*), *polgar*,[1] thumb
ponhal, large as the fist	*ponh*, fist
porcarisal[2] (found in phrase *dart p.*, a kind of spear)	*porc*, pig
procesional,[3] of a procession	*procesion*, procession
profechal, useful	*profech*, use, profit
provizional,[3] provisional	*provizion*, provision
questal, subject to the "questa"	*questa*, a tax
terral, of earth	*terra*, earth
venal, veinous	*vena*, vein
vergonhal, shameful	*vergonha*, shame
vilanal,† rustic	*vilan*, villein

[1] The *anguila polgal* was a short, thick eel, probably shaped somewhat like the thumb. If *polga* ever meant thumb, which is not certain (see Levy, VI, 430) but probable, (compare other formations, as *polgada*), *polgal* was an adjective meaning "like the thumb," formed on it. Otherwise *polgal* and *polgada* are difficult to explain.

[2] This is a most puzzling word. Thomas (*Nouv. Ess.*, 92) suggests that *porcarisal* may be an elongated form of *porcariz* representing *porcaricius*, thus supposing a triple suffix added to *porc*. But in all the adjectives ending in -ARICIUS this suffix has become -AREZ, as in **bastarez*, *cesarez*, *crocarez*, etc. We should expect, therefore, *porcarez* instead of *porcariz*, and, with -AL added, a form **porcarezal*. It seems possible that *porcarisal* is derived from *porcaritz* +-AL, the *porcaritz* being formed of *porc*, pig, and *aritz*, hedgehog, just as *porcespin*, porcupine, was formed. *Porcarisal* is always used with *dart* and the *dart porcarisal* may have been the spear pertaining to (or used in hunting) the **porcaritz* (=wild boar?).

[3] These words are found in late Lat., though a Prov. simple word also exists.

† Also, of Lat. origin, *canal*<*canalis*; *cervigal*<*cervicalis*; *crual*<*crudelis* (with change of suffix); *feminal*<*feminalis*, *festal*<*festalis*,

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Besides, however, the formations on nouns just given, there are a number of words also that are formed on adjectives, and in most of these, as might be expected, the suffix brings little perceptible change of meaning to the simple word. It is merely a case of the addition of a suffix for a greater length, of the kind that has been met with so often:

a(d)versal, adverse	*a(d)vers*, averse
cincal,[1] fifth	*cinc*, five
detzal,[1] tenth	*detz*, ten
diversal, diverse	*divers*, diverse
divinal, divine	*divin*, divine
francal, free	*franc*, free
frejal, hard. If the Provençal *freg*, like the Latin *frigidus*, ever meant "stiff," there is no difficulty in the meaning of *frejal*.	*freg*, cold
frescal, fresh	*fresc*, fresh
inumanal, inhuman,	*inuman*, inhuman
majoral, principal, superior	*major*, larger, principal
maritimal, maritime	*maritim*, maritime
ochal,[1] eighth	*och*, eight
perfondal, deep	*perfon(d)*, deep
poblical,[2] public	*poblic*, public
prosmal, next	*prosme*, next
quintal, one-fifth of the produce of which is to be paid as a tax	*quint*, fifth
quinzal,[1] fifteenth	*quinze*, fifteen

[1] In *cincal*, *detzal*, *ochal*, and *quinzal* the adjective of number changes from cardinal to ordinal.

[2] There is also a form *poblejal*. This may have been formed on the verb *poblejar*, because of confusion in the formation of *poblical*, beside which the verb *poblicar* as well as the adjective *poblic* existed.

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lacrimal < *lacrimalis*; *mairenal*, maternal < *maternalis*; *monacal*, monkish < *monachalis*; *pairena(l)*, paternal < *paternalis*; *paironal*, patronal < *patronalis*; *penal*, penal < *penalis*; *presbiteral*, priestly < *presbyteralis*.

Other more obscure words but probably also of Lat. origin are *faichal*, joined together (< *fascialis*); *fasial* and *enfasial*, feasible, and infeasible < *facialis* and *infacialis*(?); *gauzinhal* (in the phrase *estela g.* = morning star) obscure, but probably connected with *gauzir*, rejoice; and *unialis*, unique < **unicalis*?

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terrenal, terrestrial	*terren*, terrestrial
umanal, human	*uman*, human

In the following words -AL is added to a preposition:

foral, outer	*for*, out of
jostal, nearby	*josta*, near

-IL

-IL will be given here with -AL, as was done with the two suffixes when they formed nouns. With -IL, as with -AL, the formation of adjectives was, of course, the original use, the Latin -ALIS and -ILIS having just about the same uses and giving almost the same meanings. The suffix is not so important in Romance generally in its adjectival use as -AL, however; and many of the words in Provençal have found a special use for the suffix. It seems to be added to nouns denoting persons, especially to those indicating position or rank in life, and to have formed adjectives on them. Almost all of the words in Provençal, and many in Spanish are of this kind, and their starting-point seems to have been the form *femenil*,[1] a dissimilation of *femininus*, together with such adjectives applying to persons as *servīlis* and *hostīlis*. The list of Provençal words is as follows:

abadil, concerning an abbot	*abat*, abbot
agradil, agreeable	*agrat*, satisfaction
barnil, noble	*bar*, *baron*, knight
clercil, clerical	*clerc*, clerk
estadil, settled, dwelling	*estat*, state
femil, womanly, feminine	*feme*, woman
gasconil, Gascon	*Gascon*, Gascon
laironil, seems to mean "stolen" from the example, though "pertaining to robbers" would be more to be expected in the adjective.	*lairon*, robber

[1] Meyer-Lübke, II, 526.

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maestril, masterly	*maestre*, master
mongil, monkish	*monge*, monk
paironil, paternal	*pairon*, father
payanil, pagan	*payan*, pagan
preveiril, priestly	*preveire*, priest
prioril, pertaining to priors	*prior*, prior
senhoril, lordly, seignorial	*senhor*, lord
sobresenhoril, superior	*sobresenhor*, overlord
volpil,† cowardly, fox-like	*volp*, fox

and formed on an adjective without change of meaning:

bonil, good-natured	*bon*, good

-AN

The adjectival suffix -AN, derived from a Latin -ANUS is found joined to some nouns in Provençal (as might be expected from the usual Latin process of formation, seen in *urbanus*, *mundanus*, etc.); and here it regularly expresses the idea of "belonging," which existed in these original Latin words. Although the suffix also formed nouns, under which heading it has already been met, even in these cases, it formed, probably, at the beginning, adjectives. Thus, in Latin, *castellanus* has both the meaning of "belonging to a castle" and the occupant of (or person belonging to) a castle, which meaning of person, therefore occupant, the adjective regularly took when used substantively.

Another use of the suffix, however, as early as Latin, is the forming of adjectives on adjectives, and here, as usual, the addition of the suffix brought no change of meaning. It was merely tacked on for greater length.

† Also of Lat. origin, *sextil*, sixth < *sextilis*.

Likewise there is a word not a Prov. formation, of some interest. This is *estril*, hostile, untoward(?). It is obscure in form and meaning. Levy suggests as source *strigilis*, scraper, which would do phonetically, but it seems unlikely that it should be used as an adjective. It might, however, come from *hostilis* under the influence of *strigilis*.

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Thus, in Latin, we may find *medianus* beside *medius*, and probably also, from the evidence of the Romance languages, we should find **certanus* beside *certus*. This process has been continued in Provençal, and the suffix has also been added to prepositions and to adverbs to turn them into adjectives, although this process too, probably began in Latin. Another appearance of -AN is in the present participle of verbs.

-AN is found added to nouns in:

alban, white	*alba*, dawn
auran, foolish	*aura*, air
coratjan, resolved, courageous	*coratje*, courage
forestan,[1] strange, foreign	*forest*, forest
joian, joyous	*joi*, joy
rozan,† pink	*roza*, rose

The formations on adjectives, mostly with absolutely no change in meaning from the simple word, are:

amaran, bitter	*amar*, bitter
altan,[2] haughty	*alt*, high
baian,[3] silly, insipid	*bai*, bay, brown

[1] Cf. the Fr. *forestier*, It. *forestiere*, Sp. *forastero*, in which -ARIUS is seen, and see Du Cange, *foresterius*. It would seem that when -AN was added, *forest* was still an adjective meaning outside of (=*forestis* from *foris*.) The difference of the Prov. suffix from that found in all the other languages is worthy of note.

[2] Found in Lat. as nouns, *altanus* meaning southwest wind, and *solanum* meaning nightshade (a plant).

[3] Here the change in meaning, if brought about by the suffix, is not very clear. It is not certain, however, that the word is formed as given above. *Baian* might be the present participle of a Prov. verb **baiar* (cf. the Fr. *aboyer*, bark, O. Fr. *abaier* from **adbadiare*, probably derived from *badare*, gape). Now, if for Prov. we might suppose a source **badiare*, instead of **adbadiare*, but likewise derived from *badare*, it would account for **baiar;* and *baian*, gaping, the present participle of such a verb might alone have survived, just as in Mod. Fr. we find in common use only the present participle *béant*, gaping.

† Also *adulteran*, which, judging from its form, must be either of Lat. origin, or a learned imitation. It is not found in the Lat. dictionaries or word-lists. Cf., however, *adulterinus*.

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dolsan, sweet	*dols*, sweet
esqueran, refractory	*esquer*, left
estremairan,[1] extreme	*estremier*, extreme
lonhan, far, removed	*lonh*, far
majoran, higher, superior	*major*, larger, superior
primeiran,[1] first	*primier*, first
prosman, next	*prosme*, next
santan, saintly	*san(t)*, saintly
seguran, certain	*segur*, certain
solan,[2] solitary	*sol*, alone
tarzan,[3]† late	(*tart*, late?)

On prepositions, the following words are formed:

dereiran, rear	*deriere*, behind
foran, outer, exterior	*for*, out of
juzan,†† lower	*jus*, below

-ANH

The only case of -ANH appears to be *grifanh*,[4] scowling, but it is not certain that it represents -ANEUS as do most of the nouns in -ANH.

[1] See double suffixes, p. 402.

[2] See note 2, p. 294.

[3] Probably Lat., from **tardanus*.

[4] See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII, 49, for formation and meanings of the word.

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† Of Lat. origin are *meijan*, intermediate<*medianus*, and *tersan*, tertian<*tertianus*. Probably also *certan*, certain<*certanus*.

†† Words probably formed in Lat., but irregularly, some of them on adverbs, are *lonhdan*<*longitanus* from *longiter*(?) from which by analogy *propitanus*, giving *propdan*, near; and *soteiran* and *sotran*<*subterranus*.

Other words are: *famolan* (probably for *famolen*<**famulentus*) and *grafan*, sad, gloomy (?), an obscure word. Mistral gives *Grafan* as a family name.

Words like *dezacordan*, discordant, *esforsan*, strong, etc., are simply present participles of verbs of the first conjugation, see p. 305, n. 3.) Other words of this kind, in which the participle is used as an adjective are *maestrejan*, clever, *perilhan*, in danger, *pezan*, troubled, and *profechan*, useful.

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-AR

The Provençal suffix -AR represents the Latin -ARIS, which was exactly like -ALIS, already studied under its Provençal form -AL. In meaning, the two suffixes were interchangeable, and the one used depended, therefore, on the word to which it was added. If this word contained an *l*, -AR was to be used, and if an *r*, -AL was added.[1] This rule, however, had lost its force long before Provençal times, greatly to the advantage of -ALIS, which has practically supplanted -ARIS in Provençal, especially in the original adjectival use. It is found in very few new words. Joined to nouns, it is seen in:

canelar, fluted	*canela*, pipe
favar (in phrase *colomb favar* = ring-dove). The bird was given this name because of being fond of beans.	*fava*, bean
maiselar (in phrase *den m.*), molar	*maisela*, jaw
molinar, belonging to a mill	*molin*, mill
mular (in phrase *bestia m.*), mule	*mul*, mule

Added to adjectives, the suffix of course gives no change of meaning:

novelar, new	*novel*, new
prosmar, next	*prosme*, next

The suffix appears to be added to an adverb in:

pluzar, plural	*plus*, more

-ARI, -ORI

Several words ending in -ARI and also -ORI may well be mentioned here. These are, of course, only learned developments of Latin words ending in -ARIUS and -ORIUS.

[1] See Olcott, 227.

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In ARI-, we find:

feudari, feudatari, feudal
plenari, full, complete

In -ORI, there are:

desmeritori, undeserving
estadori, living

-ART

The suffix -ART, from a Germanic -ARD or -HARD, has already been treated under the nouns, where its original adjectival use was shown. In fact, this use was very clear in most of the words there given. Words that have retained their adjectival use are as follows:

FORMED ON NOUNS

galhart, gay	(Celtic stem?)
testart, obstinate	*testa*, head

FORMED ON ADJECTIVES (NO CHANGE IN MEANING)

moisart, false, deceitful	*mois*, false, deceitful

FORMED ON VERBS

auzart, bold, daring	*auzar*, dare
muzart,[1] loitering, dawdling	
pilhart,[1] thievish	
trefart,† deceitful	*trefa*, false?

[1] Previously given under nouns. See p. 139–40.

† There are also two words of more obscure formation: *liart* and *pifart*.

Liart means variegated, and appears to apply to horses and to mean "with hair of different colors or "dappled."

For *liart* see Boehmer, *Rom. Stud.*, I, 264. Ott, *Étude sur les couleurs en ancien français*, p. 46, translates the word as "gray." It is supposed to be from *ligaranum*, from *liga*, dregs.

Pifart, thick-bellied, may have been influenced by the Italian *piffero* in its form. It seems to be derived from *pipar*, to play the flute, or from *pipa*, flute, the meaning of the adjective being "with a stomach like that of one who plays the flute."

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-AT

There are very many adjectives ending in -AT in Provençal, coming from the Latin -ATUS, the past participle of verbs in *-are*. When, however, these words remain past participles in meaning, as *amat*, loved < *amatus*, they have no reason to be treated here, but rather under verbs, even when the verb from which they were derived was a Provençal formation. It is only when they are real adjectives that their place is here; and these words may properly be regarded as examples of adjectives formed by means of suffixes, for although these adjectives are generally formed by adding -AT to the stems of verbs, as would be expected from the origin of -AT, quite frequently -AT is added to nouns instead. Nor is it difficult to see the reason for this extension in use. Very frequently, a noun corresponding in form existed beside the verb, and in the vulgar speech could be mistaken for the base to which -AT was attached. Meyer-Lübke gives the example of *coronatus* existing beside *corona* and *coronare*, in which it would be natural to see a formation on the common *corona* rather than the much less usual verb *coronare*. At any rate, the formations on nouns were very frequent in Vulgar Latin, if not in the classic writers. In Provençal, there are not very many adjectives in -AT that are known to be formed on nouns, but there are many cases, like the Latin *coronatus*, in which a verb and a noun both exist beside the derived word. And although most of these words are in all probability merely past participles used as adjectives—or -AT added to verb-stems—in some cases, the verb may have been a later formation than the word in -ATUS.[1] In view of all these facts, then, it seems better to treat -AT as an adjectival

[1] Olcott, 245.

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suffix than as a past participle used here as an adjective.[1] The meaning of the suffix was generally to denote possession—a possession of some quality or thing denoted by the simple word, verb or noun. It was added, then, to verbs and to nouns, and it was also used, in some cases, only when a prefix was used at the same time with the word.

The suffix will be treated and classified according to the various kinds of formations which it made, as: the cases where it was (1) added to verb-stems; (2) added to verb-stems, but only in connection with a prefix used at the same time; (3) added to nouns; (4) added to nouns together with a prefix.

1. -AT is added to verb-stems in the following list. Many of the derived words had prefixes, yet these were not used in the formation of the adjective, but existed in the verb on which it was formed.

abandonat, generous	*abandonar*, allow, grant, give up
abdurat, hard, terrible	*abdurar*, undergo, endure
acabat, perfect, complete	*acabar*, complete
acoratjat, ready, determined	*acoratjar*, encourage
acorsat, swift	*acorsar*, urge, incite[2]
afazendat, busy	*afazendar*, occupy
aizinat, fitting, suitable	*aizinar*, arrange
ajostat, adjacent	*ajostar*,[3] arrange

[1] Since all real participial forms are omitted, no attempt can be made here to give a complete list of the words ending in -AT and -IT. Raynouard does not list past participle forms. The words selected are taken almost entirely from Levy.

[2] The *Donatz Provensals* (p. 28, col. *a*, 40) gives as a translation for *acorsar*, "*ad cursum provocare.*" The word is listed in both Raynouard and Levy, but examples are given of only the past participle *acorsat*. This seems to come to mean "swift" from the original idea of "hastened, spurred on."

[3] The verb, however, has the different sense of "arrange." *Ajostat* is probably formed on *josta*, near. Others among these words are also probably parasynthetic formations, as *apoderat*, *empensat*, *descorat*, and *encolpat*, although in all of these cases, a corresponding verb in *-ar* does exist. See also p. 531, n. †.

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apoderat, mighty	*apoderar*, surpass
arendat, rich	*arendar*, rent
arrat, arranged	*arrar* (*se*), provide oneself with
asedat, greedy	*asedar*, be thirsty
asenat, sensible	*asenar*, make intelligible
avenhat, suitable	*avenhar*, happen(?)
costumat, customary	*costumar*, be accustomed
descorat, heartless	*descorar*, dissatisfy
descrinat, with disheveled hair	*descrinar*, loose the hair
desfaisonat, unusual	*desfaisonar*, distort
despoderat, powerless	*despoderar*, rob of power
eiservigat, with dislocated neck	*eiservigar*, sprain the neck(?)
empensat, thoughtful	*empensar*, contrive, invent
enclinat, inclined, ready, humble	*enclinar*, incline
encolpat, guilty	*encolpar*, accuse
encorat, willing, ready	*encorar*, touch the heart
encoratjat, inclined, willing	*encoratjar*, encourage
enflamat, angry (inflamed with anger)	*enflamar*, inflame
enforcat, forked	*enforcar*, fork
enrabiat, raging	*enrabiar*, rage
ensenhat, informed, well bred	*ensenhar*, teach
entestat, obstinate	*entestar*, persist
envezat,[1] happy	
esajat, trusty	*esajar*, try, test
escarpiat (instead of *escarpit*), boned	*escarpir*, cut, slash
escobat, naked	*escobar*, sweep, clean
escoltivat,[2] tilled	
escotat,[3] cut out	
escurat, dark	*escurar*, darken
escursat,[4] shortened	
esglaziat, murderous	*esglaziar*, kill
eslaisat, impetuous	*eslaisar* (*se*), hurry
esmerat, pure	*esmerar*, purify

[1] Not *envezar*, but only *envezat* is found in the examples. Cf., however, the O. Fr. *envoisier* < *invitiare*.

[2] *Escoltivar* is not found, but must have existed, to give *escoltivamen* and *escoltivador*, as well as *escoltivat*. So many independently formed parasyntheta would be extremely unlikely.

[3] *Escotar* is not found, but cf. the Sp. and It. *escotar*.

[4] *Escursar* is not found, but see *escursa* in Mistral.

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estirat, in distress	*estirar*, stretch, lengthen
estonat, confused	*estonar*, stun, deafen
estrunat,[1] wild, savage	
esvarrat,[2] confused	
esventat, floating in the wind	*esventar*, blow
faisonat, fine, well formed	*faisonar*, fashion
figurat,[3] allegorical	*figurar*, form, picture
forcat,[3] forked	*forcar*, fork
frequentat, frequent	*frequentar*, frequent
gotat, speckled	*gotar*, drop
greujat, suffering	*greujar*, injure
jurat, under oath	*jurar*, swear
lavat, empty-handed	*lavar*, wash
listat, striped	*listar*, stripe; marble
lizat, smooth	*lizar*, smooth
maestrat,[4] well wrought, artistic	
maestrejat, clever[5]	*maestrejar*, repress, subdue
molherat,[3] married	*molherar*, marry
mortificat, exhausted	*mortificar*, mortify
perilhat, perilous	*perilhar*, imperil
prezat, able, capable	*prezar*, prize
senat,[3] intelligent	*senar*, give sense to

All of the words in the above list are apparently formed on verbs, and in some of the words, the participial force rather than that of the adjective may stand out. The distinction, however, is a fine one, and the line between the two classes of words is hard to draw, as almost any past participle may be used as an adjective. Words with any passive force, as, for example, *amat*, loved,

[1] Seems to be found only in this form, though *estrunar* probably existed. It is listed in both Raynouard and Levy. *Estrunat*, formed on the adjective *estrun*, would not be a likely formation, though not impossible.

[2] *Esvarrar*, though given in Stichel (p. 57), probably doesn't exist, and *esvarrat* itself seems to be the same as *esgarat* (Fr. *égaré*). *Esgarar* in Prov., however, means to look at.

[3] Words like *figurat*, *forcat*, *molherat*, *senat*, etc., might, like *coronatus* be formed either on nouns or verbs.

[4] *Maestrar* is not found.

[5] Must come from some other meaning of the verb.

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which might, nevertheless, be used as an adjective, have very generally been omitted.

Words of the same kind as those in the preceding list, but ending in -IT, from being formed on verbs in *-ir*, follow:

ademplit, sated	*ademplir*, fill
adolit,[1] afflicted	*adoler* (*se*), be afflicted
afortit, obstinate	*afortir*, fortify
agrazit? pleasing, agreeable	*agrazir* is apparently not to be found meaning "to please." Levy suggests correction of *agrazit* to *grazit*.
cauzit, kind, friendly	*cauzir*, distinguish, choose
desgelozit, free from jealousy	*desgelozir*, to free from jealousy
desgrazit,[2] unrewarded	*desgrazir*, curse, grumble, be ungrateful
dezapedit, abandoned	
embait, troubled	*embair* (*se*), be full of care
encobit, covetous	*encobir*, covet
encoratgit, courageous	
enfrevolit, weak	*enfrevolir*, become weak
engelozit, jealous	*engelozir*, become jealous
engolit, greedy	*engolir*, swallow
engrenit, angry	
enrabgit, raging	
ensenhit, distinguished	
entendrit, soft, fresh-baked	
envermezit, full of worms	
esbalauzit, stunned	*esbalauzir*, stun
esbarrit, confused	
escabit, *escafit*, slender, well formed[3]	

[1] Here -IT is added to a verb in *-er*. -UT is comparatively rare.

[2] In spite of the existence of *desgrazir*, this word, from its meaning, would appear to be a parasynthetic formation on *grazir*.

[3] *Escabir* or *escafir* is not found, but *eschevir*, execute, perform, is found in O. Fr., and *escafit* means (well) formed, or carried out. See Diez, 573. Another word of this kind is *estordit*, confused. *Estordir* is not found, but compare *estordre* in O. Fr., and *estordir* in O. Sp. Compare likewise *stordire* in It., *étourdir* in Mod. Fr., and *aturdir* in Mod. Sp.

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escarit, separated, alone	*escarir*, have divided
escursit, robbed of sense	*escursir*, darken
espandit, disheveled (of hair)	*espandir*, strew about
estordit,[1] confused	
faidit, wretched, unhappy	*faidir*, banish
falhit, short of goal	*falhir*, fail
forbit,† smooth, polished	*forbir*, equip

-UT is found with adjectival force in the following past participles of verbs in *-er* and *-re:*

decazut, weak	*decazer*, fall
entendut, attentive, eager	*entendre*, attend
escomogut, anxious, uneasy	*escomover*, agitate
esmogut, excited	*esmover*, move
esperdut, silly, crazy	*esperdre*, distract

2. Here might be mentioned another kind of formation of which a complete list of examples will be given under parasyntheta.[2] In this kind of formation, the prefix is joined as well as the suffix—the type of word which *decazut*, for example, would be, if only *cazer*, and not *decazer* existed. These adjectival parasyntheta formed on verbs probably made the next step in the use of the suffix -AT. It should be observed that nouns of corresponding form exist beside most of the simple verbs.

[1] See note 3, p. 302. [2] See p. 529, below.

† In the cases of *dezapedit*, *engrenit*, *entendrit*, *envermezit*, and *esbarrit*, no verbs are found of which these adjectives in -IT could be the past participles, but the verb can generally be assumed. Compare, however, for *dezapedit*, *entendrit* and *esbarrit*, the Sp. *despedir*, the Catalan *entendrir*, and the Bearnese *esbarri*. *Dezapedir* is, however, peculiar in having a possible double prefix. *Engrenit* seems to show a change of prefix, from A- of *agrenir* to the common -EN. See Stichel, pp. 11 and 44. *Envermezit* seems to indicate a verb *envermezir*, built on *verm*, worm.

-IT is found in *encoratgit*, *enrabgit*, and *ensenhit* instead of -AT. In all of these cases, however, the form in -AT exists also. Why this second form in -IT should exist too, is not quite clear, but it shows that the suffixes had lost their participial force, hence their close connection with their respective verbs and conjugations. *Enrabgit* is a rather puzzling form, but the rhyme-words in the examples given show the irregular accentuation of the verb from which it is derived.

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3. Next come the formations on nouns by the addition of -AT, -IT, and -UT. Under -AT are found:

anat, old	*an*, year
anctat, dishonored	*ancta*, shame
armaudat, enameled	*armaut*, enamel
aurat, foolish	*aura*, air
bracat, breeches-wearing	*braca*, breeches
caudat, flat; in pairs (used of rhymes)	*cauda*, tail
cisclatonat, made of "cisclaton"	*cisclaton*, a kind of silk
colrat, angry	*col(e)ra*, anger
coratjat, resolute	*coratje*, courage
cordoanat, of (Cordovan) leather	*cordoan*, Cordovan
crozat, latticed (of windows)	*crotz*, cross
dechat, possessed of bad qualities	*decha*, fault
desmoniat, bedeviled	*desmoni*, devil
escacat, torn, cut	*escac*, spot
estanat, tinned	*estanh*, tin
fazendat, afflicted, instead of "made," "formed," the past participle of an assumed verb *fazendar*	*fazenda*, affair, need
flocat, tasseled	*floc*,[1] tassel
gabelat, examined by customs-officer	*gabela*, a tax
gemat, studded with gems	*gema*, gem
granat, full of grain	*gran*, grain
lanat, woolly	*lana*, wool
letrat, ornamented with letters, written; learned	*letra*, letter
paonat,† feathered like a peacock	*paon*, peacock

-IT is found added to nouns in the following words:

acerit, like steel	*acier*, steel
aibit, perfect	*aip*, good quality
maestrit, artificial	*maestre*, master
fraidit, rascally	(Germanic *fraidi*, rascal?)
poestadit, powerful	*poestat*, power
voltit, vaulted	*volta*, vault

For -UT added to nouns, see p. 330, below.

[1] *Flocar* exists, but with a different meaning.

† Also the following words of Lat. origin are found: *colegiat*, collegiate, *dentat*, toothed, and *estelat*, starry. For words like *aurpelat*, formed on *aurpel*, see hybrid formations, p. 581.

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4. Finally come the cases in which the suffix is added to nouns, with a prefix joined at the same time, true parasyntheta, which will therefore be treated under that head.[1]

-EL

The suffix -EL has been treated too fully under nouns to require any detailed treatment here, especially as there are very few words containing it. Those found are words which have added the suffix to adjectives, and, as is invariably the case in such formations, the derived word shows no change of meaning. *Novus, novellus,* is an example of this same thing in Latin. The Provençal formations are:

crespel, curled	*cresp*, curled
falbel, pale	*falb*, pale
maurel, dark-brown, black	*maur*, black
mejanel, middle, half	*mejan*, middle, half
mesquinel, poor	*mesquin*, poor

-AREL is found in several words and will be treated under this form among the double suffixes.[2]

-EN

The Provençal suffix -EN, not a present participle of verbs,[3] is derived from a Latin -ENUS, and its most important use is in forming the ordinal numerals on the cardinals, just as, in the case of nouns, it formed nouns of number:

dezen, 10th	*detz*, 10
milen, 1,000th	*mil*, 1,000
noven, 9th	*nou*, 9
ochen, 8th	*och, oit*, 8
seten, 7th	*set*, 7

[1] P. 530 below. [2] See p. 402, below.

[3] Such adjectives as *manen*, rich, *poden*, powerful, and *ponhen*, sharp, are merely present participles of verbs in *-er*, just as *dezacordan*, etc. (p. 295, note ††), are present participles of verbs in *-ar*.

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and probably many other forms. Otherwise -ENUS was hardly in use as an adjective. *Terren* is found coming however from the Latin *terrenus*. The other words are:

moren, dark	*mor*, Moor (cf. Spanish *moreno*)
vermen, wormy	*verm*, worm

-ENC

The source of the suffix -ENC has already been discussed under nouns,[1] in which place it was stated that most of the words ending in the suffix were adjectives, and many of the nouns themselves only adjectives used substantively. There is, indeed, a fairly large list of adjectives in -ENC, to be given below. In most cases, the suffix is added to nouns to form adjectives denoting material. It also denotes belonging and resemblance. Still another meaning that the suffix has—that of nationality or place of origin—is clearly to be derived from the Germanic suffix -ING, as opposed to the pre-Germanic -INCO.[2]

aerenc, of the air, aerial	*aer*, air
albenc, white	*alba*, dawn
caorsenc, of Cahors	*Caors*, Cahors
causerenc,[3] of or for lime	*caus*, lime
cazarenc,[3] pertaining to (dried in) a cheese-basket?	

[1] P. 178.

[2] For a discussion of the two suffixes, see pp. 178–79.

[3] Double suffixes? The formation of these words is peculiar. For *causerenc* the simple word *caus* appears to be the base-word, and there is, therefore, a double suffix -ERENC, instead of simply -ENC. Probably **causier* or **causer*, meaning a lime-kiln, existed (cf. *chauchiere* in Godefroy), and to it was added -ENC, making an adjective. In the same kind of way, *cazarenc* was probably formed on an O. Prov. form of *chaseiro*, a word which Mistral gives, meaning a cheese-basket. No such O. Prov. word is found, however, so its form is unknown. The *ar* syllable is interesting. Cf. *fumaral*, etc., p. 398, n. 1.

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cornenc, of horn	*corn*, horn
diablenc, devilish	*diable*, devil
doblenc, doubled	*doble*, double
estivenc, of summer	*estiu*, summer
ferrienc,[1] *ferrenc*, of iron	*fer*, iron
foguenc, *foguienc*, fiery	*foc*, fire
joanenc, (grass) to be cut in June	*Joan*, June
lachenc, milk-giving; milky, milk-white	*lach*, milk
magenc, of May	*Mag*, May
meitadenc, divided into equal halves	*meitat*, half
moladenc, stained with grindstone-dust	*molada*, grindstone-dust
montanhenc, mountainous	*montanh*, mountain
nevenc, snowy, of snow	*neu*, snow
novenc,[2] ninth (for *noven*?)	*nou*, nine
ortenc, of a garden	*ort*, garden
pinenc, of pine	*pin*, pine
plumbenc,[1] leaden	*plom(b)*, lead
ramenc, wandering (moving from branch to branch)	*ram*, branch
rozenc, rose, pink	*roza*, rose
rozenc, dewy, wet with dew	*ros*, dew
sulfurenc,[1] sulphurous	*solfre*, sulphur
unenc,[2] joined, united	*un*, one
uvenc, grape-colored	*uva*, grape
verginenc,[1] virginal	*verge(n)*, virgin
veirienc,[1] of glass	*veire*, glass
vinenc, winy, wine-colored	*vin*, wine

In a few cases, adjectives of nationality appear to be formed on other adjectives with no change of meaning:

[1] Forms like *ferrienc*, *sulfurenc*, *plumbenc*, *verginenc*, and *veirienc* would seem to indicate a Lat. formation.

[2] *Novenc* and *unenc* are formed on (numeral) adjectives. *Novenc*, at any rate, appears to be due to a confusion of -ENC with -EN, the suffix regularly forming ordinal numerals.

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arabienc, Arabian	*arabi*, Arabian
germanenc, Germanic	*german* (though not found in Provençal with the meaning of German)
Loarenc, of Lorraine (a word of Germanic origin)	

In these words -ENC appears to be derived from the Germanic -ING.

There is also another small list of words formed on adjectives, namely those describing color. Here the function of the suffix seems to be that of modifying very slightly the meaning of the original adjective—about the meaning which *-âtre* gives in French. Even this, however, is more of a change than is usual in a suffix added to an adjective to form an adjective. The suffix in the list just given, however, is already added to a number of nouns denoting things of decided color, as in *lachenc*, *foguenc*, *nevenc*, and *uvenc;* and thus -ENC, giving the meaning of *likeness* to the nouns to which it is added, has already in this list the idea of color. Then added to adjectives already denoting color, and keeping its idea of similarity, it necessarily has the meaning of the French *-âtre*. Just why the suffix when used with adjectives should be limited to those denoting color is not thoroughly clear, however. The list follows:

albuginenc, whitish	*albugine*, white[1]
blavenc, bluish	*blau*, blue
falbenc,[2] slightly pale	*falb*, pale
negrenc, black	*negre*, black
purpurenc, purple	*purpra*, purple
rogenc, reddish	*rog*, red

[1] *Albugo, -inis*, is a noun in Lat. This seems to be the only trace of the Lat. suffix -UGINE in Prov., though Meyer-Lübke, II, 517, derives some words in -UZI from this suffix.

[2] For the form with a prefix—*subfalbenc*—see also the parasyntheta.

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sanguinenc,[1] blood-colored	*sanguin*, bloody, sanguine
subalbenc,[2] whitening slightly	*alb*, white
subfalbenc,[2] slightly pale	*subfalb*, slightly pale

-ES

As stated under the nouns, the Provençal -ES is derived from the Latin -ENSIS, used in forming adjectives, particularly those of nationality, on nouns, the cases given under nouns being, for the most part, only adjectives used substantively. The list of words found in Provençal as adjectives of nationality follows:

arabies, Arabian	*arabi*, Arabian
campanes, of Champagne	*Campana*, Champagne
cortves, Cordovan	*Cordova*, Cordova
espanes, Spanish	*Espana*, Spain
frances, French	*Fransa*, France
pabies, of Pavia	*Pabia*(?), Pavia

With a wider meaning, several other words are found, in which the suffix appears to have the force of "pertaining to," a meaning seen in the more specialized developments in which the suffix was attached to the name of a country. Such words are:

canones, of reeds	*canon*, reed
leones,† lion-like	*leon*, lion

[1] This word, however, is probably the Lat. *sanguilentus* disguised by an assimilation of *l* to *n* and by a substitution of -ENC for -ENT, which suffixes were often confused.

Here should be mentioned also this apparent suffix -ENT, which cannot be treated as a real suffix. It is found in *manent*, etc., which forms represent, however, only a dialect difference from the forms in -EN, which are nothing but the present participles of verbs in *-er*, used as adjectives. -ENT is found also in *peirient* and *corporent*. *Peirient* (in Raynouard *peyrient*) should probably be corrected to *peirienc* which would be a regular formation (cf. *veirienc*). *Corporent*, of course, represents *corpulentus*. *Famolen* given also under -AN (p. 295, n. ††) represents **famulentus* (see the suffix -OLEN, pp. 323 f).

[2] See also adjectival parasyntheta (p. 529, n. 1), and prefix-formations.

† Two other words in which -ES is joined to nouns are *cortes* and *mares*. *Cortes*, courteous, being represented in many of the Romance

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In still other words -ES is seen to be added to adjectives. Here there is, as usual, no change of meaning to be found in the derived word:

enteres, perfect, entire	*entier*, perfect, entire
felones, bad, vindictive	*felon*, treacherous, vindictive
glotones, gluttonous	*gloton*, gluttonous
majores, principal	*major*, principal
manjadores, edible	*manjador*, edible
mores, black	*mor* (*maur*), black
mortales, mortal	*mortal*, mortal
proensales,[1] Provençal	*proensal*, Provençal

-ESC

The Provençal suffix -ESC, as stated under the nouns, is derived both from the Greek ἴσχος and the Germanic patronymic suffix -ISK. ἴσχος, originally diminutive, came to form ordinary adjectives, generally meaning "pertaining to." It is probably seen in:

folesc, foolish	*fol*, fool
gazanhesc, pertaining to the plough; ploughable	*gazanhar*, plough
joglaresc, low-bred	*joglar*, mountebank

though possibly these words represent a confusion of the two suffixes.[2]

The influence of the Germanic suffix is seen more clearly in the following adjectives of nationality:

espanesc, Spanish	*Espana*, Spain
francesc, French	*Fransa*, France

[1] See also *proensalesc* under -ESC. *Proensales* is the only adjective of nationality in -ES formed on an adjective.

[2] One more word of this kind is *manesc*, whose meaning is not clear. It seems to represent a confusion with the adverb *manes*.

languages (Fr. *courtois*, Sp. *cortes*, It. *cortese*), was probably formed in Lat. times. The -ES of *mares* is probably a substitution for -ESC, as the source of the word is the Germ. *marisk*. Cf. the Fr. *marais*.

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grezesc, Greek	*Grecia*,[1] Greece
proensalesc, Provençal	*proensal*, Provençal
sarrazinesc, Saracen	*sarrazin*, Saracen

the last two formations being made on adjectives, consequently giving no change in meaning. *Espanesc* and *francesc* are found also with -ES<-ENSIS, which probably had also an influence in giving -ESC<-ISK its meaning, through similarity in form.

-ET

The suffix -ET (<-ITTUS) has been fully discussed under nouns, where it was attached to simple nouns to form diminutives. In the case of the nouns, it was pointed out that -ET, unlike many other diminutive suffixes, continued in Provençal its functions as a true diminutive, instead of being added merely to give a greater length to the word. Added to adjectives to form new adjectives, -ET still retained its diminutive force, and seems to be the only example of a suffix retaining its force under such conditions. Yet this formation of diminutive adjectives on adjectives was the regular function of -ET, as will be seen from the list below.[2]

-ET is added to adjectives (and adverbs) with diminutive force in:

agudet, somewhat sharp	*agut*, sharp
aigret, somewhat acid	*aigre*, acid, tart

[1] Is there also a form *Greza*? See *Zeitschrift*, XXIV, 545, and XXV, 736. Horning here shows that in many words, as geographical names, *ty* and *cy* became *z* in a large section of Romance territory.

[2] Compare this use with that of other adjectival suffixes added to adjectives, which, when their meanings were not changed by the suffix, disappeared in the modern languages. Compare with the Prov. *fresc* and *frescal* the Sp. *fresco* and *frescal*, which two last words differ in meaning. Even -ET, the most important diminutive suffix, when added to adjectives, often had very little force, which would give a possible starting-point for this use in other adjective suffixes.

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alquantet,[1] a little	*alquant*, somewhat
amorozet,[2] somewhat loving	*amoros*, loving
baset, somewhat low	*bas*, low
blanquet, somewhat white	*blanc*, white
calvet, somewhat bald	*calv*, bald
caudet, somewhat hot	*caut*, hot
claret, somewhat clear	*clar*, clear
coindet, somewhat gracious	*cointe*, gracious
cortet, somewhat short	*cort*, short
cortezet,[2] somewhat courtly	*cortes*, courtly
fadet, somewhat silly	*fat*, silly
falbelet,[2] somewhat pale	*falbel* (<*falb*), pale
fortalet,[2] somewhat strong	(*fortal?*), *fort*, strong
fortet, somewhat strong	*fort*, strong
freget, somewhat cold	*freg*, cold
fresquenet,[3] fresh	*fresc*, fresh
fresquet, somewhat fresh	*fresc*, fresh
frevolet, somewhat weak	*frevol*, weak
gentet, somewhat gentle	*gent*, gentle
ginhozet,[3] fine, slender; clever	*ginhos*, skilful
grailet, somewhat slender	*graile*, slender
graset, somewhat fat	*gras*, fat
grevet, somewhat hard	*greu*, hard
grizet, somewhat gray	*gris*, gray
grizonet,[3] somewhat gray	*grizon* (<*gris*), gray
groset, somewhat large	*gros*, large, stout
jovenet, somewhat young	*jove*(*n*), young
larguet, somewhat large, broad	*larc*, large
levet, somewhat light	*leu*, light
longuet, somewhat long	*lonc*, long
lonhet, somewhat distant	*lonh*, distant
majoret, somewhat greater	*major*, greater
menudet, somewhat small	*menut*, small
mesquinet, somewhat shabby	*mesquin*, mean
molet, somewhat soft	*mol*, soft
morelet, somewhat black	*morel*, dark(?)
novelet,[3] somewhat new	*novel* (<*nou*), new
nudet, somewhat bare	*nut*, bare, naked

[1] Really an adverb formed on an adverb. Cf. also *tantet*, in the same list.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 387.

[3] See double suffixes, p. 388.

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petitet,[1] somewhat small	*petit*, small
planet, somewhat plain, smooth	*plan*, plain
primet, somewhat fine	*prim*, fine
rauquet, somewhat hoarse	*rauc*, hoarse
redondet, somewhat round	*redon(da)*, round
solet, somewhat solitary, alone	*sol*, only, solitary
sovendet,[2] somewhat often	*soven(t)*, often
subtilet, somewhat subtle	*subtil*, subtle
tantet,[2] just so much, a little	*tant*, so much
tendret, somewhat tender	*tendre*, tender
trefanet, somewhat deceitful	*trefan*, deceitful
verdet, somewhat green, greenish	*vert*, green
vermelhet,† somewhat vermilion	*vermelh*, vermilion

-IER

The origin of the suffix found in Provençal as -IER has been so fully treated under nouns that its development from -ARIUS will not be treated again here, but, instead, its use as an adjectival suffix in Provençal will be noted. -ARIUS in Latin, of course, formed adjectives originally,[3] although the use of these as nouns denoting persons, which later became so common, is found there also. But in Provençal, as in the other Romance languages also, the adjectives in -IER, although formed on nouns, adjectives, and verbs, have become rare, so great was the tendency toward their use as substantives, all three forms of the adjective being used thus. The adjectives formed on nouns have the usual adjectival force, meaning

[1] *Petitet* seems to show the reduplication of a suffix. See Körting, No. 7,106.

[2] An adjective formed on an adverb. Cf. *alquantet* above.

[3] See Cooper, 148.

† Another word possibly belonging here is *moflet*, found only in the phrase, *pan moflet*, indicating a kind of bread, the Fr. *pain mollet*. We should expect *pan molet* in Prov., but the word has probably been influenced by some other word, possibly **mofla* (Fr. *moufle*) from the Lat. *muffula*, mitten.

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generally "pertaining to" the nouns to which the suffix is added, evidently the force the suffix had in Latin. In the case of the suffix joined to adjectives to form adjectives, Goelzer and Cooper[1] both see a use of the suffix solely for greater length, which is undoubtedly the case in Provençal. Olcott[2] sees in many words not "a mere fondness for longer words." According to him these words fill "a real want in the language." These words, to be sure, were used in speaking of the adjectives formed on nouns to denote trades, where they are certainly true; but he immediately adds: "this commercial use of -ARIUS being established, the formations are extended to adjectives derived from adjectives." Several examples of this usage are given in adjectives of trade and of nationality: *candidarius*, *maurarius*, *privatarius*, etc., in which cases Olcott is undoubtedly right in pointing out a distinction of meaning from the simple adjectives *candidus*, *privatus*, and *maurus*. But these words did not remain adjectives in Provençal: the noun with which they were used disappeared and they became regular nouns. The Provençal words *caninier*, dog-fancier, *blanquier*, tanner, etc., instead of meaning "dog-fancying," "of white," tend to show this, as well as the relatively small total number of adjectives in -IER. And yet there was certainly also in Latin the type which Goelzer and Cooper noticed—the adjective formed on an adjective without change of meaning. *Adversarius* beside *adversus* seems to prove this. The adjectives formed on adjectives in Provençal are of this class, those on nouns and other parts of speech being adjectives meaning "referring," or "pertaining" to this simple word—generally a noun—and sometimes meaning "fond of" when applied to a person.

[1] Goelzer, 147; Cooper, 151. [2] P. 138.

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Adjectives of this kind formed on nouns are:

aglanier, gland-bearing	*aglan*, gland
agradier, pleasing	*agrat*, satisfaction
autorier, consenting; with the authority of	*autor*, author
baralhier, pugnacious	*baralha*, fight
batalhier,[1] bold, warlike; of war, fortified	*batalh*, battle
bevendier, bibulous	*bevenda*, drink
bladier, pertaining to crops	*blat*, wheat
bobansier, pompous	*bobansa*, pomp
capdalier, most distinguished, leading	*capdal*, leader
caronhier, bloodthirsty, carnivorous	*caronha*, carrion
confrairier, pertaining to a brotherhood	*confraire*, brotherhood
corsier, able to go?	*corsa*, course, way
costier, passing at the side	*costa*, side
drechurier, upright	*drechura*, uprightness
drudier, unchaste, amorous	*drut*, lover
estatgier, remaining standing	*estatge*, stay, position
ferrier, iron-color, gray	*fer*, iron
fromentier, of wheat	*fromen(t)*, wheat
frontier, shameless	*fron(t)*, front
furtier, thievish	*furt*, theft
galinier, hen-hunting (used of birds)	*galina*, hen
glazier, cruel, bloodthirsty	*glazi*, sword
gracier, ready to ask favors	*gracia*, favor
granier, grain-bearing	*gran*, grain
lachier, milk-giving	*lach*, milk
lagotier, lying, false	*lagot*, flattery, deception
lardier (in phrase *dimars l.* = Shrove Tuesday)	*lart*, bacon, fat
lucrier,[2] rich	*logre*, lucre
manier, of the hand; tamed (used to the hand)	*man*, hand

[1] This word shows the two kinds of meaning: (1) fond of, as in *baralhier*, above it, and (2) pertaining to.

[2] *Lucrier*, of course, cannot be a popular formation on *logre*. It seems to be formed by a late adding of the popular suffix -IER<-ARIUS to the Lat. *lucrum*.

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matinier, early-rising	*matin*, morning
mealhier, worth a "mealha"	*mealha*, a coin
megier, in the middle	*meg*, middle
megloguier, belonging to the middle class	*megloc*, middle
meitadier, in the middle; divided in halves; sharing equally	*meitat*, half
mejansier, of middle size or quality; middle-class	*mejansia*, interval
mercadier, marketable	*mercat*, market
merdier, dirty	*merda*, dung
montanhier, of the mountains; appearing over the mountains (used of the sun, etc.)	*montanha*, mountain
montier, for hunting (cf. Spanish *montero*)	*mon(t)*, mountain
nizier, still in the nest	*ni(s)*, nest
orfanier, orphaned	*orfan*, orphan
ostalier, hospitable	*ostal*, lodging
pasatgier, passing	*pasatge*, passage
plasier,[1] out of work	*plasa*, place, position
rabinier, impetuous	*rabina*, ardor
ratier, rat-catching	*rata*, rat
sobransier, arrogant	*sobransa*, superiority
solasier, joyous	*solatz*, enjoyment
talentier, desirous	*talen(t)*, desire
torturier, crooked	*tortura*, twisting
trebalhier, annoying	*trebalh*, trouble
ufanier, arrogant, proud	*ufana*, pride
vertadier,† true	*vertat*, truth

Thus, in this comparatively short list there are various meanings with which the suffix appears. Besides the

[1] I.e., place-hunting, a kind of meaning seen in *galinier* and *ratier*.

† Of Lat. origin there is *mercenier* < *mercenarius*, mercenary. An obscure word is *lanier*, which Levy takes to mean "common," "ordinary." Diez, 188, and Appel, selection 98, l. 37, both translate it, however, as "greedy." The context could bear either interpretation. Diez and Appel evidently connect the word with the O. Fr. and Prov. *lanier*, a bird of prey, from **laniarius* (Körting, 5,426) and with *laniare*, seen in the O. Fr. *laignier* and the Prov. *lanhar se*, complain. It is difficult to see with what Levy connects his meaning of the word.

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meanings of "pertaining to" and "fond of" or "addicted to," it often means "bearing" or "producing" the noun to which it is joined. Thus *aglanier*, *lachier*, etc., whereas the nouns denoting trees, as *figuier*, *perier*, etc.,[1] seem to be only a substantive use of this kind of adjective. The suffix is seen also to be attached to abstract nouns to denote qualities or characteristics, and in one adjective, *ferrier*, it gives the idea of color.

Joined to adjectives, as stated, little change in meaning can be observed in the derived word:

comunalier, common	*comunal*, common
domesguier, domestic	*domesgue*, domestic
egalier, equal	*egal*, equal
estranhier, strange	*estranh*, strange
esquerrier, left-handed	*esquer*, left
grizier, gray	*gris*, gray
malignier, bad, wicked	*maligne*, bad, wicked
menudier, small	*menut*, small
mortalier, mortal, deadly	*mortal*, mortal, deadly
parier, equal	*par*, equal
tardier, slow, late	*tart*, late
tersier, third	*ters*, third
traversier, oblique, transverse	*travers*, transverse
vivacier, vivacious	*vivatz*, vivacious
volatgier,† fickle	*volatge*, fickle

There are also several words formed on verb-stems, and among the total list of possible formations of this kind, some words, such as *esleneguier*, could have had no other base-word than a verb, and many others, given, for the most part under nouns, might have had a verb at their base, as, for example, *baralhier*, *batalhier*,[2] etc. The

[1] See above, nouns, p. 225.

[2] P. 315, above.

† Words of this kind formed in Lat. are *aversier* (see p. 218) and *leugier*, light, evidently coming from *leviarius* and not formed on *leu* < *levis*. Cf. the Fr. *léger* and the It. *leggiero*.

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verb-formations probably came about through some such confusion as to the base-word as may be seen in these examples. And their development was facilitated in cases where a common verb and a less usual noun existed side by side. The verb-formations follow:

afrontier, insolent	*afrontar*, face, insult
avansier, pushing forward	*avansar*, advance
esleneguier, slippery, smooth	*eslenegar*, slip
gabier, bragging, boasting	*gabar*, boast
lechadier,[1] dainty	*lechar*, lick
logadier,[1] to rent or hire	*logar*, lodge
marvier, alert	*marvir*(?), (not clear)
prezentier, pressing forward; hasty	*prezentar*, present

On other parts of speech the following words are formed:

avantier, bold, courageous	*avant*, before, forward
sobrier, excessive	*sobre*,[2] over
sovendier, assiduous	*soven*(*t*), often

-IN

The Provençal suffix -IN from a Latin -INUS is fairly clear as to its meanings, generally indicating resemblance, and being added to names of animals. Thus *elephantin* = elephantine or elephant-like. This use is, of course, found in Latin in such words as *equinus*, *caninus*, etc. Joined to the names of several metals and other objects, it serves to point out the material of which a thing is made, as in *peirin*, from the Latin *petrinus*. Another use found in Latin and in some of the other Romance languages—that of indicating the native of the place to the name of which the suffix is added—does not appear

[1] Here we have the double suffix -ADIER, already treated under nouns (see p. 219). See also double suffixes, p. 393.

[2] Or is *sobrier* possibly formed on the verb *sobrar*?

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to exist in Provençal. Joined to adjectives, the suffix changes the meaning of the word as little as usual.

-IN is added to nouns in the following list of words:

aceirin, of steel, steely	*acier*, steel
anetin, of dill	*anet*, dill
armalin (in phrase *bestia armalina*, horned beast), appears to be derived on *animal*, the word being used to denote some special animal as the cow or the ox	
aurin, of gold, golden (Lat. *aureus*)	*aur*, gold
boquin, of a buck	*boc*, buck
breguin, quarrelsome	*brega*, quarrel
corin, hearty, heartfelt	*cor*, heart
cornalin,[1] carnelian	*corn*, horn
foletin, silly	*folet*, goblin
jumentin, for burdens	*jumen(t)*, beast of burden
lachin, milk-giving	*lach*, milk
marbrin, of marble	*marbre*, marble
moltonin, of sheep, sheepish	*molton*, sheep
montadin,[2] of the mountains	*montada*, hill, mount
mulatin, of mules, mulish	*mulat*, mule
polprin, of purple cloth	*polpra*, purple cloth
saborin, savory	*sabor*, savor
veirin,† of glass	*veire*, glass

[1] The example in which this word is found is *peira cornalina*. It was therefore, at this time, an adjective. *Cornalin* would appear at first sight to be formed of *corn* and the compound suffix -ALIN, but probably **cornela* existed in Prov. (cf. the O. Fr. *cornelle* on which the *corneline*, referred to in the *Dic. Gen.*, though not given in Godefroy, was formed). The change of -ELIN to -ALIN is not quite clear. For Prov., *armalin*, horned, which is almost what *cornalin* must have meant originally, may have had some influence.

[2] Found also as *montazin*, *montagin* and *montarin*.

† Several words of Lat. origin are found, most of them being formed on names of animals. Such are *canin*, canine < *caninus*; *equin*, equine < *equinus*; *elephantin*, elephantine < *elephantinus*; *lopin*, wolfish < *lupinus*; *mulin*, mulish < *mulinus*; *orsin*, bearlike < *ursinus*; and *ovin*, sheepish < *ovinus*. *Pecorin*, sheepish, is also a Lat. formation built on the analogy of *ovinus*, though *pecorinus* is not found. Words of Lat. origin not formed on names of animals are *marin*, marine < *marinus*, and *peirin*,

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The words formed on adjectives are:

blanquin, white	*blanc*, white
celestin, blue	*celeste*, celestial
enteirin, entire	*entier*, entire

-ION

-ION is found in a very few words in Provençal, the only apparent representatives of the Latin suffix -(I)BUNDUS, which Cooper[1] calls "one of the archaisms preserved in popular speech for the sake of the heavy syllables, rather than for any distinctive meaning that the suffix properly had." The Provençal words are:

fadion, deprived of, frustrated	*fadiar*, lack
sazion,† satiated	*saziar*, be satiated

-IS, -ITZ (-ADITZ, -IDITZ)

The suffixes -IS, -ITZ, and -ADITZ have all been treated under nouns, although originally adjectival suffixes. All three are derived from the Latin -ICIUS. -IS and -ITZ are different spellings of the same suffix, and -ADITZ, -IDITZ represent AT-ICIUS and IT-ICIUS, or Provençal formations on the past participle of a Provençal verb.

We find -IS added as a suffix to the stems of past participles in:

faitis, well-made, shapely	*fait*, from *far*, make
fenhtis, false	*fenht*, from *fenher*, feign

[1] P. 93.

---

of stone < *petrinus*, and probably also *mezerin*, miserable < **miserinus* (cf. the O. Fr., *miserin*). *Aizin*, fitting, has not the suffix -IN, as it seems to be a post-verbal formation on *aizinar*, with the same meaning that is found in *aizinat*.

† Also of Lat. origin, *jauzion*, joyful, from the Lat. *gaudibundus*, cited in Cooper, 95.

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frachis, flexible	*frach*, from *franher*, break
mestis, of mixed breed	*mest*, from *mescer*, mix
tortis, twisted	*tort*, from *torser*, twist

-ITZ also is found in a few words:

apostitz, made-up, artificial	*apost*, from *aponre*, add, join
escostitz, secret	*escost*, from *escondre*, hide
malautitz, sickly	*malaut*, ill, from *male habitum*
natitz,[1] native	*nat*, from *naiser*, be born

-IS or -ITZ is apparently added also to simple verb-stems[2] in:

braidis,[3] neighing	*braidir*, neigh, cry
doblitz, double	*doblar*, double

The formations in Provençal in -ADITZ (or -ITZ added to the past participles of regular instead of irregular verbs) are:

escorjaditz, to be flayed	*escorjar*, flay
esposaditz, (*anel e.* = wedding-ring)	*esposar*, marry
estaditz, spoiled	*estar*, stand, stay
fermaditz (*anel f.* = betrothal-ring)	*fermar*, close, betroth
gitaditz, poured out, spilled	*gitar*, throw, pour out
laboraditz, ploughable	*laborar*, plough
pozaditz, that may be drawn	*pozar*, draw

and under -IDITZ:

fugiditz, fugitive, fleeing	*fugir*, flee

this last and possibly some of the others showing a substitution of -ICIUS for -IVUS (Latin *fugitivus*).

The meanings of the suffix in the above lists are rather difficult to classify.

In a few words -IS is added to nouns:

lachis (also *lachin*), milk-giving	*lach*, milk
lanis, woolen	*lana*, wool

[1] Found in Appel, but not in Raynouard or Levy. It is found as *natiz*.

[2] This new kind of formation is probably due to a substitution of -ITZ for -IU from -IVUS (cf. remark on *fugiditz*).

[3] *Braidiu* also exists (see under -IU). This suffix, originally attached to past participles, was joined also to verb-stems in Lat. times.

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masis, massive, full	*masa*, mass
ramis, branched	*ram*, branch

-ITZ also is found in:

mairitz, of a mother, nursing	*maire*, mother
podestaditz, having in one's power	*podestat*, power

-IU

-IU, from the Latin -IVUS, is found as a suffix in Provençal, but it is used much more freely than -IVUS, which was added in Latin usually to the stem of the past participle.[1] Provençal has a great many words of this kind, but they are mostly descendants of Latin words, or else learned formations on the Latin model, corresponding to many of the words in -IF in French.[2] New words were, however, formed on the stem of the verb[3] in many cases, and these words will be given here:

adomniu, dominating, excellent, predominant	*dominar* (not *domnar*), dominate
adoniu, generous	*adonar*, give, intrust
agradiu, agreeable, pleasing	*agradar*, please
aiziu, near, ready	*aizir*, receive
asolasiu, entertaining	*asolasar*, entertain
braidiu, eager	*braidir*, cry out
cargiu, onerous	*cargar*, load
celiu, hidden, secret	*celar*, hide
cridiu, tearful	*cridar*, cry
envaziu, serving for invasion	*envazir*, invade
esforsiu, zealous, energetic	*esforsar*, strive
faidiu, banished	*faidir*, banish
forsiu, strong	*forsar*, force
jauziu, rejoicing	*jauzir*, rejoice
penhoriu, pledgeable	*penhorar*, pledge

[1] Later, however, added also to adjectives and nouns, as in *vacivus* and *aestivum*.

[2] As *significatif*, *adhésif*, etc.

[3] This kind of formation may have been aided by the number of cases in which the verb-stem was similar in form to nouns, as in the case of *forsar* beside *forsa* or *cridar* beside *crit*.

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plegiu, weak, capricious	*plegar*, bend
preziu, precious	*prezar*, prize
regardiu, waiting, disposed	*regardar*, look at, wait for
remembriu, mindful	*remembrar*, remember

Besides the above words, pretty certainly formed on verb-stems, there are a few words formed in other ways. Thus there are some words formed on Provençal past participles:

ajostatiu, uniting	*ajostat*, joined
confortatiu, comforting	*confortat*, comforted
descobertiu, uncovered, open	*descobert*, uncovered
ententiu, attentive	*enten(t)*, attentive
lamentatiu, lamenting, complaining	*lamentat*, lamented
mostratiu, demonstrative	*mostrat*, shown
portatiu,† portable	*portat*, carried

A word formed on an adjective is

umiliu, humble	*umil*, humble

Here, as always in this kind of formation, the suffix is without force.

For the ending -IVOL, see under -ABLE, -IBLE, p. 276.

-O-LEN

The Provençal ending -LEN, or more properly -OLEN, occurs in very few words, but as it is derived from the Vulgar Latin suffix -LENTUS,[1] and as it is found in at

[1] -LENTUS is also represented in the Prov. *corporen(t)*, showing an assimilation from the form *corpolen* < *corpulentus*, cited in Cooper, 133.

† These words, which seem to be Prov. formations, and different, therefore, from such words as *significatiu*, show the continuation in Prov. of the Lat. process of adding the suffix to past participles. The addition of the suffix -IU makes little difference in the meaning of *descobert* and *entent*, which were used as adjectives: the formation of *descobertiu* and *ententiu* is, therefore, in accord with the general rule. In the other words, the suffix in question seems to be -ATIU (or -AT, the participial ending of the verbs of the first conjugation, +-IU) added to the stem of the verb. It is to be observed, however, that the combination -ATIU cannot have been formed early enough for the *t* to have become voiced as it did in -ADITZ, given above.

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least one new word, it must take its place among the suffixes used in Provençal. The possible new words are:

famolen, hungry. It has been impossible to find **famulentus* in Latin, but such a formation almost certainly existed, as derivatives of such a word are found in French, *famolent*, and Italian, *famolento*, as well as in Provençal.	
merdolen, dirty	*merda*, dung
pudolen, stinking	*pudor*, stench
suzolen, greasy, sweaty, apparently a new formation	*suzor*, perspiration

-OL

The suffix -OL is found in one word, *mespezol*, poorly weighed, from *mespezar*(?), weigh badly. See the nominal suffix -OL for the use of -OL as a suffix.

-OS

The Provençal suffix -OS, although exceedingly common, contains no great difficulties. It is derived from the Latin -OSUS joined to nouns to designate (1) quality and (2) abundance. This was its proper use in Latin, but, according to Cooper,[1] in Plebeian and Late Latin, it is found added both to adjectives and to verbs, the latter kind of formation being very rare, but the former of some frequency on account of giving an elongated form of a word without changing its meaning materially.

The following words are formed on nouns:

agulhos, pointed	*agulha*, needle
aibos, endowed (with a quality)	*aip*, quality
aisos, disgusted, uneasy	*aisa*, sadness
amoros, loving (*amorosus* not found, but compare the other Romance languages)	*amor*, love

[1] P. 124.

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angoisos, full of anguish	*angoisa*, anguish
artilhos, dexterous, clever[1]	*artilha*, fortification
artos, sly, cunning	*art*, art
aurios, crazy	*auria*, frivolity
autoros, weighty, important	*autor*, guarantee, voucher
aventuros, fortunate	*aventura*, adventure, fortune
avrilhos, of April	*avril(h)*, April
aziros, choleric	*azir*, hate
baralhos, quarrelsome	*baralh*, quarrel
bezonhos, needy	*bezonh*, need
beltados,[2] beautiful	*beltat*, beauty
blasmos, blameworthy	*blasma*, blame
bonauros,[3] luck-bringing	*bonaur*, luck
boscos, woody	*bosc*, wood
bragos, muddy	*brac*, mud
carestios, of famine, want	*carestia*, want
cavalairos,[3] knightly	*cavalier*, knight
clamos, complaining	*clam*, complaint
cochos, in haste	*cocha*, haste
conortos, satisfied	*conort*, encouragement
coratjos, courageous	*coratje*, courage
curos, careful	*cura*, care
damnatjos, injurious	*damnatje*, injury
dangieros, dangerous	*dangier*, danger
defecios, powerless	*defeci*, weakness
delechos, delightful	*delech*, delight
desdenhos, disdainful	*desdenh*, disdain
desventuros, unfortunate	*desventura*, misfortune
devotios, devoted	*devotion(?)*,[4] devotion

[1] Here the connection appears to be with *art* rather than with *artilha*. The meaning "fortification," however, is probably a late and a specialized translation of *artilha*, the original meaning being "arts," and due to the addition of the collective suffix -ILHA<Lat. -ILIA (see p. 80, above). *Artilhos*, therefore, would naturally mean full of arts, just as *artos* above means full of art, sly. For *artilhos*, see also double suffixes, p. 386, below.

[2] See double suffixes, p. 386, below.

[3] See hybrid formations, p. 581, below.

[4] There exists also the adjective *devot*, on which *devotios* might be formed. Its peculiar form, however, *devotios* instead of *devotos*, makes it seem likely to have been formed from a confusion of the two words. There seems to be only one example of the word, in which it is spelled *devotioux*.

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dios, aged	*dia*, day
encombros, embarrassed	*encombre*, embarrassment
enganos, deceptive	*engan*, deception
escientos, wise	*escien(t)*, knowledge
fangos, muddy	*fanc*, mud
fastigos, tiresome (?)	*fastic*, annoyance
ferezos, ferocious, frightful	*fereza*, fear, horror
fiansos, trusting	*fiansa*, trust
ficos, covered with fig-warts	*fic*, fig
filos, hairy	*fil*, thread, hair
flemos, phlegmatic	*flema*, phlegm
forfachos, guilty, criminal	*forfach*, crime
frachuros, indigent	*frachura*, want
frejuros, frosty, cold	*frejura*, cold
gaujos, joyful	*gauch*, joy
ginhos, skilful	*ginh*, skill, artifice
golos,[1] greedy	*gola*, gluttony
gotos, gouty	*gota*, gout
graisos, greasy	*graisa*, grease
greujos, injurious	*greuch*, injury
iros, angry	*ira*, anger
janglos, slanderous	*jangla*, slander
jogos, jocular	*joc*, joke
joios, joyous	*joi*, joy
lebros, leprous	*lepra*, leper
lengos, talkative	*lenga*, tongue
lezeros, at leisure	*lezer*, leisure
lugoros, gleaming	*lugor*, light
malauros,[2] unfortunate	*malaur*, misfortune
malencolios, melancholy	*malencolia*, sadness
meravelhos, marvellous; astonished	*meravelha*, marvel
miserios, miserable	*miseria*, misery
morinos, sickly	*morina*, mortality; epidemic
mostos, dirty	*most*, must
murmurios, complaining	*murmuri*, murmuring
neceiros, needy	*neceira*, lack, dearth
negocios, busy	*negoci*, affair, business
nelechos, guilty, wrong	*nelech*, wrong, fault
nozelos, knotty	*nozel*, knot
nualhos, lazy	*nualh(a)*, laziness

[1] There is also a noun *golicios*, apparently only an adjective used substantively and formed on **golicia*, greed.

[2] See also hybrids, p. 581, below.

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omicidios, murderous	*omicidi*, murder
ontos, shameful	*onta*, shame
orduros, dirty	*ordura*, dirt, filth
orgolhos,[1] proud; savage	*orgolh*, pride
palazinos, lame	*palazin*, lameness
paratjos, distinguished	*paratge*, lineage
perezos, lazy (*pezeros* also found)	*pereza*, laziness
pertusos, porous	*pertus*, hole
pezansos, sad; suspicious	*pezansa*, thought, care
pezolhos,[2] lousy	*pezolh*, louse
piatados, pitying	*piatat*, pity
ploros, tearful (also *ploiros*)	*plor*, tear, lamentation
poderos, powerful	*poder*, power
podragos, gouty	*podraga*, gout
polsos,[3] powdery, dusty	*pols*, powder, dust
profechos, powerful	*profech*, power
rainos, quarrelsome	*raina*, quarrel
rancuros, rancorous	*rancura*, rancor
rozilhos, rusty	*rozilh*, rust
sofrachos, needy	*sofracha*, lack, want
sonhos, careful	*sonh*, care
sospechos, suspicious	**sospecha*,[4] suspicion
tacos, soiled	*taca*, spot
talentos, desirous	*talen(t)*, desire
tensonos, quarrelsome	*tenson*, quarrel
trebalhos, painful	*trebalh*, pain, torture
valoros, valorous	*valor*, valor
vertudos, virtuous	*vertul*, virtue
voluntados,† desirous	*voluntat*, desire

[1] This and other words, such as *ploros*, *valoros*, and *vertudos*, given above, are found in most of the Romance languages, but no common source is to be found in Lat.

[2] *Pediculosus* is found in Cooper, 129, with *peduculosus*, the source of *pezolhos*, mentioned in a note.

[3] For *polsos*, with another meaning, see the formations on verbs.

[4] Although this noun is not found in Prov., its existence may be assumed (cf. Sp. *sospecha* and corresponding words in other languages). It would be formed from the past participle *suspectus*, from *suspĭcere*, and probably gave rise to the verb *sospechar*.

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† Also, of Lat. origin are *gracios*, gracious < *gratiosus*; *malicios*, wicked, angry < *malitiosus*; *pelos*, hairy < *pilosus*; *penos*, painful < *penosus*; *plumos*, feathery < *plumosus*; *polveros*, powdery < *pulverosus*;

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The words formed on adjectives have, as usual, hardly any change in meaning from that of the single word:

avaros, avaricious	*avar*, avaricious
catolios, Catholic	*catoli(c)*, Catholic
duros, hard	*dur*, hard
escuros, dark	*escur*, dark
falbelos,[1] pale	*falbel*, pale
fetos, stinking	*fet*, loathsome, fetid
grevos, difficult	*greu*, hard
malignos, spoiled, tainted	*maligne*, bad, maleficent
paurugos, fearful	*pauruc*, fearful
largos, generous	*larc*, broad, liberal
ricos, proud, powerful	*ric*, rich, powerful
seguros, assured, tranquil	*segur*, sure
tardios, † tardy, slow, appears to be derived from *tardi* (not found), a form of *tardiu* < *tardivus*, in the same way that *joli* from *joliu* (French *joli* from *jolif*) has come about.	

The formations on verb-stems are as follows:

abauzos, prostrate	*abauzar*, upset
abduros, long-enduring	*abdurar*, endure
abominos, abominable	*abominar*, abominate
abondos, abundant	*abondar*, abound
aontos, ashamed	*aontar*, degrade
cobejos,[2] covetous	*cobejar*, covet
cobezejos, covetous	*cobezejar*, covet

[1] See double suffixes, p. 387.

[2] Another word in -OS meaning covetous—*cobeitos*—evidently comes from the Lat. *cupiditosus*, but not directly. Paris (*Romania*, XXIII, 285) would explain such forms as this by **cupedietosus*, brought about by confusion with *cupedia* (found for *cuppedia*, a dainty).

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sancnos, bloody < *sanguinosus*; *somelhos*, sleepy < *somniculosus*; and *verenos*, poisonous < *venenosus*. Probably *lipos*, bleared, should be placed here also. *Lippus*, dripping (used of the eyes), is found in Lat., and *lipposus* seems to be a late and learned formation on it. O. Fr. has such learned words as *lipposité*. An obscure word is *milhargos*, measled (used of pigs). *Guiscos*, sticky, seems to represent *viscosus* under Germ. influence.

† Also of Lat. origin, *ebrios* and *ivros*, drunk, both coming from *ebriosus*.

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cremos, fearful	*cremer*, fear
enartos, crafty, sly	*enartar* (meaning not clear, but Levy suggests "arrange craftily")
endenhos, indignant	*endenhar*, be indignant
enojos, annoying	*enojar*, annoy (or possibly formed on noun *enueg*)
entalentos, desirous	*entalentar*, be eager, hasty
enverinos, poisonous	*enverinar*, poison
escandalizos, scandal-raising	*escandalizar*, scandalize
espantos, full of terror	*espantar*, terrify
gastos, liberal	*gastar*, spend
iraisos, irritable	*iraiser*, grow angry
morios (in phrase *carn m.*, flesh of an animal dead of disease)	*morir*, die
piatos,[1] pitying	*piadar*, make pious (?)
plegos, inclined	*plegar*, bend
polsos, suffering from palpitation of the heart	*polsar*, beat, palpitate
trauquilhos,† full of holes	*trauquilhar*, pierce holes

Dormilhos, sleepy, seems to be derived from a **dormilhar*, to take naps (not found).

-OTGE

-OTGE must be placed here as an adjective suffix, though found in very few words in Provençal. For

[1] This word from its meaning, however, seems rather to be formed on *piatat*, pity, which would give regularly *piatados* (see p. 327). Its formation is the same as that of the Fr. *piteux*, which the Hatzfeld-Darmesteter dictionary derives from a Lat. **pietosum* with the meaning of *pietat*+ -OSUS. Other formations exactly similar to *piatos* (i.e., the suffix -TAT has disappeared) are *denhitos*, full of worth, apparently from *denhitat; caritos*, charitable, apparently from *caritat; necesitos*, needy, apparently from *necesitat;* and *plentados*, rich, apparently from *plentat*.

† Other more obscure words in -OS are: *famelhos*, hungry, from **famiculosus* ? (cf. *fameillos*, *-eux*, etc., in O. Fr.); *fersios*, wild, savage, cruel, possibly from *ferocia* +the suffix -OS, with the intertonic syllable dropped. Another interesting word is *poiregos*, rotten < *putricosus*(?). For commentary, see p. 356, below.

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these, the source must have been a Latin -OTICUS, probably modeled on the commoner suffix -ATICUS. For example, in Provençal there is a word *ferotge*, ferocious, which must have been derived from *feroticus*, a form which would account for the words in the other Romance languages—French *farouche*, etc.—OTICUS undergoing a similar development to that of -ATICUS. This word *feroticus* itself, however, is only a deformation of *ferox*, due probably, to the analogy of *silvaticus*. Then the similarity of meaning might easily lead to the creation of *irotge* on *ira*, anger. *Ivernotge*, of winter, is evidently a Provençal formation by means of -OTGE on *iver(n)*, but no starting-point for such a creation is evident here. *Estiuvotga* (a noun) also exists, but its meaning is not clear. The probable Provençal formations, then, are:

irotge, angry	*ira*, anger
ivernotge, of winter	*iver(n)*, winter

-UT

The Provençal -UT is derived from a Latin -UTUS, which differs in meaning from the other suffixes of the group, -AT and -IT, and therefore has been registered here separately. These three suffixes in their adjectival use were treated above, and then the words in which -AT and -IT were added to nouns were listed, in which cases the idea of possession was always clear.[1] But -UT has taken a new development of meaning. It not only indicates possession, but generally possession of some physical characteristic of prominence. Latin had *manu-*

[1] Thus *coratjat*, bold, i.e., possessing courage; *anat*, old, i.e., possessing years, etc. See p. 304, above for the list.

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tus and *nasutus*[1] as a starting-point for new formations of the kind[2]:

alut, winged	*ala*, wing
barbut, bearded	*barba*, beard
brancut, branching, forked	*branc*, branched
cambarut,[3] *cambut*,[3] long-legged	*camba*, leg
carnut, fleshy	*carn*, flesh
coput, hollow (of cups and plates)	*copa*, cup
crinut, hairy	*crin*, hair
espalut, broad-shouldered	*espala*, shoulder
folhut, leafy	*folh*, leaf
golut, greedy	*gola*, throat
guinhonut, bewhiskered	*guinhon*, whiskers
lanut, woolly, wool-bearing	*lana*, wool
lengut, talkative	*lenga*, tongue
maucut, fat	*mauca*, belly
membrut, large-limbed	*membre*, limb
morut, thick-lipped	*mor*, snout
nozut, knotty	*nos*, knot
pelhut, hairy	*pelh*, hair
ponchut, pointed	*ponch*, point
ramut, branching	*ram*, branch
saberut, learned	*saber*, knowledge

Added to an adjective with no change in meaning, it is seen in:

calvut, bald	*calv*, bald

[1] Also *canutus*, represented in Prov. by *canut*, white-haired.

[2] Other words, too, which in Lat. had -ATUS or -ITUS are found with -UT in Prov., showing the restriction of this meaning to the suffix -UT. Thus, we find *barbut*, *carnut*, and *ramut* in Prov. as opposed to *barbatus*, *carnatus*, and *ramatus* in Classic Lat.; also *crinut* in Prov. and *crinitus* in Lat.

[3] *Cambut* would of course be the word regularly formed on *camba*. This inserted *-ar-*, however, though found in O. Prov. only in this word before -UT, is very common in the modern language, as is seen from the list given in the *Essais*, 250. It is found also in Sp. in *testarudo*. This *-ar-*, probably due to a false etymology, is found also in other words, as in *balaresc* (p. 187, n. †). See Diez, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, 259.

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CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF VERBS

The third kind of words commonly formed by the addition of suffixes is the verb, whose formation in Provençal, as elsewhere in Romance, is somewhat different from that of the noun and the adjective, in that most of the suffixes found are not simple developments of single Latin suffixes, but, on the contrary, compound ones made up of a nominal suffix plus the verbal endings *-are* or *-ire*.[1] These verbal endings in their Provençal forms *-ar* and *-ir* are themselves used as suffixes to form new words, and are practically the only examples of simple suffixes found.[2] The other suffixes, as -ALHAR, -ASAR, -EJAR, and -INAR, were formed by adding -AR in a number of cases to nouns already ending in -ALH, -AS, or some other suffix, which suffix came to be regarded finally as part of the verbal ending.[3] The simple suffixes or verbal endings, -AR and -IR, will be treated first; then will follow in alphabetical order the compound forms.

SUFFIX -AR

The suffix -AR was added generally to nouns and adjectives[4] to forms new verbs. It was added especially commonly to nouns, as will be seen from the following

[1] Thus these verbal endings are used as suffixes in this chapter. They will consequently be given here, and here only, in the type regularly used for suffixes. The same is true of the compound forms.

[2] Thus the Lat. -IARE is not found as a suffix in Prov., nor is -ESCERE in new words, and even the more popular -ICARE is rare.

[3] As with all compound suffixes, this was probably due to the disappearance of the word with the single suffix; or its minor importance as compared with the simple word.

[4] Also occasionally to past participles. See p. 344.

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lists. -AR was added so very freely and indiscriminately to nouns that its uses are somewhat difficult to describe. It may be said, however, that the force given to the noun by the suffix may often be rendered by to "cover with," "fill with," "put on," "have," "use," "equip with," etc.[1] The various meanings will be seen in the following lists:

abisar, sink, swallow up	*abis*, abyss
aceirar, cover with steel	*acier*, steel
afarar (*se*), set to work	*afar*, affair
agar, water	*aga*(*aiga*), water
agulhar, sew	*agulha*, needle
aizinar[2] (*se*), approach; arrange	*aizina*, comfort, commodity
albergar, lodge	*alberc*, lodging, dwelling, home
albirar, imagine	*albir*, opinion
almornar, give alms	*almosna*, alms
amorar,[3] feel love for	*amor*, love
angoisar, be pained	*angoisa*, anguish
antar, dishonor	*anta*, shame
aposturar, unite	*apostura*, joining
argentar, plate with silver	*argen*(*t*), silver
arnescar, equip	*arnesc*, equipment
arpar, play the harp	*arpa*, harp
astelar, break	*astela*, splint
astrar, predestine	*astre*, star
ausbergar, put on hauberk	*ausberc*, hauberk
auzelar, hunt birds	*auzel*, bird
azemprar, solicit	*azempre*, request
balansar, weigh	*balansa*, balance, scales

[1] It is impossible to give all the meanings that the suffix may have, as these depend on the noun itself. Thus, the meaning is generally, but not always, clear, from the meaning of the noun. The force given by the suffix seems to be practically that which is found in Engl. in the use of nouns as verbs without change, as cement and to cement; a button and to button; a hammer and to hammer, etc.

[2] The development of meaning here is somewhat peculiar. Thomas, *Essais*, 234, in a long article on the Fr. *aise* and the Prov. *aize*, says nothing about this. There is also a noun *aizin*, dwelling, and an adjective *aizin*, comfortable, ready, from which the verb might be derived. The meaning of "approach" may be connected with the word for "dwelling."

[3] Also reflexive, meaning "to fall in love with."

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barrar, close, bar	*barra*, bar
barutelar, bolt, sift (flour)	*barutel*, bolter
bastar, saddle	*bast*, pack-saddle
batalhar, fight, struggle	*batalha*, fight
batumar, stop up with cement	*batum*, cement
bec(h)ar, peck at	*bec*, beak
beneficiar, benefit	*benefici*, benefit, kindness
beordar, joust	*beort*, tourney
bezonhar, need	*bezonh*, need
biaisar, slant, use shifts, evasions	*biais*, slant, shift
bisestar, delay	*bisest*, bissextile day
bistensar, trouble, annoy	*bistensa*, hesitation
blocar, emboss, indent, bruise	*bloca*, dent, lump
bobansar (*se*), boast	*bobansa*, ostentation
bolar, limit	*bola*, limit, boundary
botonar, button	*boton*, button
bozinar, make a noise, murmur, rail at, act foolishly	*bozina*, trumpet
bozolar, limit	*bozola*, limit
brancar, put forth branches	*branc*, branch
bresar, rock	*bres*, cradle
brezilhar,[1] break, break up	*brezilh*, brazil-wood
brocar, prick	*broc*, spit, rod
brumar, form mist, be misty	*bruma*, mist
bugadar, wash, whitewash	*bugada*, lye, washing
cadenar, chain	*cadena*, chain
caminar,[2] journey	*camin*, road, way
capdelar, govern	*capdel*, lord, owner
carbonar, turn into coal	*carbon*, coal
cavalhar, ride, practice knightly art	*cavalh*, horse
cavilhar, use subterfuges or subtleties	*cavilha*, banter, raillery
cazar, provide	*caza*, house, hut
cembar, strike cymbals	*cemba*, cymbal
cembelar, decoy, allure	*cembel*, decoy, lure
cicatrizar,[3] heal over	

[1] Körting (No. 1,576) and Raynouard, II, 260, connect this word with *brizar*, break, but it is hard to see how the form will allow it. See *Dic. Gen.*, "*brésiller*."

[2] Possibly of Lat. origin, as it is found in most of the Romance languages.

[3] The noun **cicatriz* is not found in the Prov. dictionaries, but probably existed. Cf. Fr. *cicatrice*.

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clavelar, nail up	*clavel*, nail
cledar, provide with pens	*cleda*, pen
clocar, ring	*cloca*, bell
colar, embrace	*col*, neck
colorar, color	*color*, color
colpar, strike	*colp*, blow
comairar, make weekly visit	*comaire*, gossip
comjadar, dismiss, give leave to	*comjat*, leave
companhar, accompany	*companh*, companion
conhar, strengthen with a wedge	*conh*, wedge
contornar, clasp, enclose	*contorn*, surrounding, outline
cordalar,[1] measure with a "corda"	*corda*, a kind of measure
cordurar, sew	*cordura*, sewing
cornar, play the horn	*corn*, horn
correjar, bind together	*correja*, strap
cozinar, cook	*cozina*, kitchen, cooking
crestianar, convert	*crestian*, Christian
dalhar, cut with scythe	*dalh*, scythe
damnatjar, damage	*damnatje*, damage
dechar, deceive	*decha*, fault
defautar, be lacking	*defaut*, lack, fault
destrar, measure	*destre*, a measure
devizar, tell, relate	*devis*, speech
doctrinar, preach	*doctrina*, doctrine
domanar,[2] possess	*domaine*, domain
dorsar, thrash	*dors*, back
drechurar, aim at right goal	*drechura*, uprightness
elhausar, lighten	*elhaus*, lightning
embanar, fortify with "embans"	*emban*, enclosure
emplastrar, put on a plaster	*emplastre*, plaster
encensar, sprinkle incense	*encens*, incense
encorsar, confiscate	*encors*, confiscation
enfantar, bear (children)	*enfan(t)*, child
engenhar, contrive	*engenh*, spirit, genius
entresenhar, decorate with flags	*entresenh*, ensign
eretar (*ereditar*), inherit	*eret*, heir
escar, eat	*esc*, nourishment
escalar, scale, climb	*escala*, stair

[1] *Cordal* is not to be found, apparently, though it probably existed.

[2] A word ending in -AR, but formed by means of another suffix is *doloirar*, suffer, existing beside *dolor*, pain. The *i* before the -AR makes it clear that it is not -ARE but -IARE that is represented in the word.

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escalhar, break to pieces	*escalh*, splinter
escaramusar, skirmish	*escaramusa*, skirmish
esclapar, cut, split	*esclapa*, splinter
escobar, sweep	*escoba*, broom
escombrar,[1] clean up	*escombre*, rubbish
escrinar, support, prop	*escrin*, box, case
escrinhar, put in a chest	*escrin*, box, case
escudar, cover with a shield	*escut*, shield
escudelar,[2] empty a bowl	*escudela*, bowl
escumar, skim	*escuma*, foam
esglaiar,[2] frighten	*esglai*, fear, pain
esparronar, provide with posts	*esparron*, post
espasmar, faint	*espasme*, spasm
espazar, equip with a sword	*espaza*, sword
espelhar, mirror oneself	*espelh*, mirror
esperonar, spur on	*esperon*, spur
esplechar, exploit, use	*esplecha*, rent
esquilgachar, hold watch	*esquilgacha*, watch
estacar, fasten	*estaca*, fastening
estalbiar, save, spare	*estalbi*, saving, sparing
estanhar, tin	*estanh*, tin
estatjar, support	*estatja*, stay
estivar, play pipe	*estiva*, pipe
estivar, harvest	*estiu*, summer
estoriar, state, represent	*estoria*, history, story
estradar, cover	*estrada*, platform, cover
estrilhar, curry	*estrilha*, curry-comb
estropar, wrap up in swaddling-clothes	*estrop*, strap
estrunar, encourage	*estrun*, courage
estudiar,[3] study	*estudi*, study
estujar, put in a case	*estug*, case, box
fachilhar, bewitch	*fachilha*, charm
fachurar, bewitch, enchant	*fachura*, charm
faisar, bind	*faisa*, band
faisonar, fashion, form, etc.	*faison*, fashion
fargar, forge	*farga*, forge

[1] *Escombrar* and *escudelar* seem to show the direct opposite of the usual meaning, "to fill with."

[2] There is also another verb *esglaiar*, kill with the sword, a parasynthetic formation on *glai*, sword.

[3] Found in most of the Romance languages, but not in Lat.

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fazendar (only *fazendat* found)	*fazenda*, occupation
fenar, make hay	*fen*, hay
feriar, to celebrate, fête	*feria*, festival
ferrar, provide with iron-work	*fer*, iron
festar, celebrate	*festa*, feast, festival
fiansar, guarantee, promise	*fiansa*, trust, faith
filhar, adopt	*filh*, son
finar, end	*fin*, end
flautelar, play the flute	*flautel*, flute
flautjolar, play the flute	*flautjol*, flute
flestelar,[1] play the flute	*flestel*, flute
flocar,[2] spread about	*floc*, flake
florar, bloom	*flor*, flower
foetar, whip	*foet*, whip
fogasar, cook "fogasas"	*fogasa*, kind of roll
folhar, put forth leaves	*folh*, leaf
forcar, fork	*forc*, fork
forestar, exercise right of foresting	*forest*, forest
formatjar, make cheese	*formatje*, cheese
formigar, swarm	*formic*, ant
fornilhar, provide with twigs	*fornilha*, twig
forsar,[3] force	*forsa*, force
frachurar, want, lack	*frachura*, lack
frangar, fringe	*franga*, fringe
frevolar (*ir*), weaken	*frevol*, weak
frezar, shell beans	*freza*, a kind of shelled bean
frontadar, border upon	*frontada*, border
fugar, put to flight	*fuga*, flight
furetar, hunt with ferret	*furet*, ferret
furonar, hunt with ferret	*furon*, ferret
fustar, provide with woodwork	*fust*, wood
gabar, joke, boast	*gab*, boast
gachar, spy on	*gacha*, sentinel
galonar, trim, face	*galon*, stripe, border
garentar, guarantee, pledge	*garen*(*t*), guaranty
gatjar, pledge	*gatje*, pledge

[1] There is still another verb of this meaning, *flauzar*, but it is not formed on a Prov. noun by use of the suffix -AR. Possibly we have -IARE, not -ARE, in *flauzar*.

[2] *Flouca* in Mistral has a meaning more closely connected with the noun. It means "to provide with tufts or flakes."

[3] Or possibly from a Lat. *fortiare*.

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gaujar, measure, weigh
gavanhar,[1] injure, harm, destroy
gazalhar, associate with
gazardonar, reward
gemar, stud with gems
genolhar, kneel
gironar, turn about
giurar, prick like viper (?)
glasar, freeze
glenar, glean
glozar, gloss
gorbelar, measure with basket
golar, drop
graciar, pardon
granar, produce grain
grapar, scratch, tear
graüzar, murmur, complaint
grezar, pave with stone
grilar, sift through
gropar, knot, bind
guilar, deceive
guirlandar, wreathe
ipotecar, mortgage
joncar, strew with reeds
justiciar, do justice
laidenjar, insult
laironar, rob
lardar, interlard
latar, cover with laths
latinar, speak Latin
lauzar, cover with slabs
lauzenjar, flatter
lenhar, collect wood
leonar, bring forth lions
lermar, weep
leudar, raise the "leuda" tax
lezerar, have leisure
liamar, bind, attach

gauja, measure; also a tax
gavanh, gull
gazalha, association
gazardon, reward
gema, gem
gènolh, knee
giron, turn, belt
giure, viper
glasa, ice
glena (in phrase *g. de gel*), icicle
gloza, gloss
gorbel, basket
gota, drop
graci, pardon
gran, grain
grapa, claw
graüza, complaint
greza, a thick dirt (?)
gril(h), sieve
grop, knot
guila, deceit
guirlanda, wreath
ipoteca, mortgage
jonc, reed
justicia, justice
laidenja, insult
lairon, robber
lart, lard, bacon
lata, lath
latin, Latin
lauza, slab
lauzenja, flattery
lenha, wood
leon, lion
lerma, tear
leuda, a tax
lezer, leisure
liam, bond

[1] *Gavanhar* is rather obscure, but appears to be connected with *gavanh*, gull (a bird of prey, hence the meaning). Then from *gavanhar* was formed the abstract *gavanhamen* and apparently also a postverbal *gavanh*, with the same abstract meaning, "injury." Compare *gazanhamen* and *gazanh* on *gazanhar*.

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linhar, set in line	*linha*, line
listar, cover with stripes	*lista*, band, stripe
lograr, make a present	*logre*, present
loirar, lure	*loire*, snare, lure
lotjar, lodge	*lotja*, lodge
maestrar, arrange skilfully	*maestre*, master
maizonar, build a house	*maizon*, house
malenconiar (*se*), become sad	*malenconia*, sadness
malhar, make links of a shirt of mail	*malha*, link of a shirt of mail
malholar, wrap up, swaddle	*malhol*, slip, cutting
maneblar, handle, manipulate	*maneble*, maniple
manegar, provide with a handle	*manegue*, handle
mantelar, wrap up	*mantel*, mantle
marcar (also *mercar*), border on; trample on, march, stamp; arrest	*marca*, boundary; stamp; arrest
martelhar, hammer	*martelh*, hammer
martiriar, torture	*martiri*, torture
masar, strike	*masa*, club
masonar, wall up	*mason*, mason
mazedar,[1] subdue, soften (?)	*mazeda*, farmhouse
mazelhar, kill, butcher	*mazelh*, slaughter
mealhar (?)	*mealha*, halfpenny; medal
medalhonar, put in piles	*medalhon*, pile of hay
meitadar, divide in half	*meital*, half
meravelhar, marvel	*meravelha*, marvel
mercadar, bargain	*mercat*, market
mercandar, trade	*mercan(t)*, merchant
meslanhar, quarrel	*meslanha*, quarrel
mestivar, glean	*mestivas*, harvest-time
metjar, take medicine	*metje*, physician
mezinar, take medicine	*mezina*, medicine
moldurar, collect tax for grinding	*moldura*, grinding
molherar, marry	*molher*, woman, wife
molinar,[2] sink, fall in	*molin*, mill

[1] Apparently the meaning, although Levy gives no translation. The noun *mazeda*, itself, is found only in the little Levy. The verb used of animals seem to have the force of "accustom to the farm."

[2] The connection with the simple word may not be obvious, but the development of the verb seems to have been "to grind," "to whirl about," "to rush along whirling," and, used as the verb is, of a mountain, in the only example, it has come to mean "to sink away." This translation, however (Fr. *s'ébouler*), is given only in the little Levy.

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monedar, coin	*moneda*, money, coin
monjar (*se*), become a nun	*monja*, nun
morinar, perish, be consumed	*morina*, mortality
moscar, drive away flies	*mosca*, fly
muzar,[1] muse	*muza*, muse
neblar (*se*), be destroyed by fog	*nebla*, fog, mist
nerviar, provide with nerves	*nervi*, nerve
niar, nest	*ni*, nest
nielar, enamel	*niel*, enamel
noscar, put in beams	*nosca*, beam
nozelar, knot	*nozel*, knot
oliar, oil (?)	*oli*, oil
oltratjar, insult, outrage	*oltratge*, insult, outrage
opresar[1], oppress	*opresa*, oppression
ordilhar (*se*), supply oneself with tools	*ordilha*, tool
organar, organize	**organ*, organ. Only *orgue* < *organum* is found
orgulhar, make proud	*orgulh*, pride
ortigar, prick with nettles	*ortiga*, nettle
oscar, make or become jagged	*osca*, dent, breach
ostalar, lodge	*ostal*, lodging, inn
ostatjar, lodge	*ostatge*, lodging
padoensar, cut or gather wood	*padoensa*, common wood; right of cutting or gathering wood
paironar, see *patronar*	
paiselar, set up stakes	*paisel*, stake
palar, spade, dig	*pala*, spade
palhar, cover with straw	*palha*, straw
pasionar, torment	*pasion*, passion
pastar, crush, make paste of	*pasta*, paste
pasturar, pasture, feed	*pastura*, pasture
patiar, come to an agreement	*pati*, agreement
patronar, make according to the standard	*patron*, standard, model
pavezar, protect	*paves*, shield
peatjar, pay toll	*peatge*, toll
pechar, pay a fine	*pecha*, fine
pecolhar, provide with legs	*pecolh*, leg (of table)
pedasar, fill with trifles	*pedas*, trifle
pelhar, flay	*pelha*, skin
penar, punish	*pena*, punishment

[1] See also the formations on past participles.

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penchenar, comb	*penche(n)*, comb
penedensar, do penance; absolve	*penedensa*, penance
penhorar, pledge	*penhora*, pledge
pensionar, pay, give salary to	*pension*, salary, wage
perezar, be lazy	*pereza*, laziness
pernar, sharpen	*perna*, thin board (?)
personatjar, represent, act the part of	*personatge*, character, part
pesar, break to pieces	*pesa*, piece
pestelar, lock in, confine	*pestel*, pestle
pilar, pound, crush	*pila*, mortar
plaisar, supply with trees	*plaisa*, hedge
plancar, cover with boards	*planca*, board
platonar, provide with plates of metal	*platon*, plate of metal
plechar, bind with hoops	*plecha*, hoop
plevinar (*se*), pledge oneself	*plevina*, guaranty
plovinar, rain frequently	*plovina*, frequent rain
poizonar, give potion to, intoxicate	*poizon*, potion
pomar, put forth fruit (?)	*poma*, apple
pomelar,[1] throw apples into the air	*pomel*, small apple
pontelar,[1] support	*pontel*, support
popar, give suck to	*popa*, pap
porcelar, bring forth pigs	*porcel*, pig
pozar, draw (water)	*potz*, well
preizonar, make prisoner	*preizon*, prison
premiar, reward	*premi*, reward
prendar,[2] receive pledge from	
prezar, value, prize	*pretz*, value
prezurar, press, compress	*prezura*, pressure
principar, surpass, excel	*princep*, prince
profechar, profit	*profech*, profit
proverbiar, rebuke	*proverbi*, proverb, parable
puoiar, raise, excel	*puoi*, hill
querelhar (*se*), complain	*querelha*, complaint

[1] *Pomelar* might be formed on the simple word *poma*, and *pontelar* on *pont*, etc., giving a compound suffix -ELAR, but this does not seem probable.

[2] Undoubtedly formed on a Prov. *prenda*, not in the dictionaries, but of the same origin as the Sp. *prenda*.

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rainar, be angry, dispute	*raina*, quarrel
ramar, be covered with leaves	*ram*, branch
rancurar, reproach	*rancura*, bitterness
randar, cover with lace	*randa*, end, edge
randonar, run, hurry	*randon*, start, effort
razinar, produce grapes	*razin*, grape
rengar, arrange	*renc*, line, row
rimar, rhyme	*rim*, rhyme
romansar, translate into Romance	*romans*, Romance
sabatar, beat, strike[1]	*sabat*, shoe
sazonar, ripen in season	*sazon*, season
senar, give sense to	*sen*, sense
sentensar, judge, sentence	*sentensa*, sentence
sermonar, discourse	*sermon*, speech
sinalinfar, elide	*sinalinfa*, elision
sincopar, syncopate	*sincopa*, syncope
sobransar, dominate	*sobransa*, domination
sofismar, subtilize	*sofisma*, sophism
solar, establish	*sol*, ground
solasar, rejoice, divert	*solatz*, diversion
soldadar, pay	*soldada*, pay
solelhar, shine, be in sun	*solelh*, sun
somar, sum up	*som*, sum, top
tabornar,[2] strike	*tabor*, drum
!acar, spot	*taca*, spot
!alentar, be eager for, desire	*talen(t)*, desire
taular, sit at table	*taula*, table
tempestar, ruin, destroy	*tempest*, storm
testimoniar, testify	*testimoni*, testimony
tetar, suck	*teta*, nipple
tonsurar, tonsure	*tonsura*, tonsure
trabar, attach, bind	*trau*, beam
trelhar, spread like trellis	*trelha*, vine
trevar, have truce	*treva*, truce
trosar, pack up; break to pieces	*trosa*, bundle; piece
valadar, surround with drains	*valhat*, drain, ditch
verbar, talk	*verba*, word

[1] Only in one example, in which it seems to mean strike (with a shoe). Cf. the Fr. neologism *sabotage*.

[2] This word appears to be formed on the diminutive *taborin*.

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vernisar, varnish	*vernitz*, varnish
vezar, accustom	*vetz*, time, custom
vigorar, give vigor, fortify	*vigor*, vigor
violar,† play the violin	*viola*, violin

The total list of formations on all other kinds of words is relatively very small indeed. There are some formations on adjectives, but -IR seemed to be a much more usual suffix for these words to take. There are also some formations on the past participles of simple verbs, which became new infinitives by adding -AR, but most of these past participles had become used as nouns, which makes this kind of formation very much like the first and most usual one.

The adjectival formations are as follows:

aizinar,[1] arrange	*aizin*, comfortable
aizivar, approach	*aiziu*, near, ready
azautar, charm	*azaut*, charming
caninar, become angry	*canin*, doggish, bad
dezazautar, dislike, be displeasing	*dezazaut*, displeasing
desleialar, disgrace	*desleial*, faithless, inadequate
egalar, equal	*egal*, equal
enfrunar (*se*), stuff oneself	*enfrun*, greedy
escamusar, take off prominent parts, scale[2]	*escamus*, rough, scaly
estancar, stanch	*estanc*, stagnant
falsar, falsify, counterfeit	*fals*, false

[1] See also formations on nouns, p. 333.

[2] The meaning is doubtful, but judging from the translations given in Mistral of *escamusa*, this is the meaning which also belongs to the O. Prov. *escamusar*. *Escamus* appears to come from a Lat. *squamosus*, and not to be connected with *camus* (or *gamus*), silly, which in turn appears to be different from the Fr. *camus*, flat-nosed.

† The Prov. words of Lat. origin will not be given here, as the *-ar* was not a suffix but only a conjugation ending.

More or less doubtful words are *gorgolhonar* on *gorgolhon*, corn-worm, and a somewhat obscure word *gravaironar*, apparently formed on *gravairon*, which, from its formation, would seem to mean a sandy place, but leaves the derived verb obscure.

For *malcorar* and *manobrar*, see hybrids, p. 582.

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felenar,[1] be angry	
frevolar, weaken	*frevol*, weak
gentilar, please	*gentil*, gentle
largar, let loose	*larc*, free
lasar, tire	*las*, tired
mancar, lack	*manc*, crippled
nualhar, be idle	*nualh*, lazy
nulhar, annul	*nulh*, null
orrezar,[2] soil	*orre* (fem. *orreza*)
planar, make smooth	*plan*, smooth, level
primar, excel, lead	*prim*, first
redonhar, round off	*redon*, round
safranar, grow yellow	*safran*, saffron
sanglentar, make bloody	*sanglen(t)*, bloody
segurar, assure	*segur*, sure
sordejar, decline, degenerate	*sordei*, sordid
trefanar, betray	*trefan*, deceitful
truandar, ramble, beg	*truan(t)* rascally, poor
vojar, empty	*voi*, empty
volatjar,† flit about	*volatje*, flitting

The new verbs built on past participles derived directly from those of Latin verbs are as follows: *clucar*, *cobertar*, *conduchar*, *conversar*, *farsar*, *musar* (*?*), *ointar*, *profechar*, and *sofertar*. They will be treated individually.

Clucar, close (the eyes), blink, is derived from the past participle *cluc*, shut, closed, of a verb *cluire*. The past participle *cluc*, which is used only in reference to the eyes, is given in Levy as well as in Raynouard.

[1] *Felen* with the meaning of "angry" or "cruel" is not found. *Felenar* is probably a corruption of *felonar*, formed on *felon*, angry. In many words the *o* had disappeared, as in *felnes* beside *felones*, and the *e* may be due to an incorrect restoration of the vowels, possibly assisted by a confusion with *felen*, grandchild.

[2] The precise formation of this verb is not clear. There is confusion in several of the words derived from *orre* < *horridus*. *Orrezar* might come from *horridare*.

† Other words apparently formed on Prov. adjectives, but of Lat. formation, are: *escurar*, darken; *fermar*, fix, attach; and *pejorar*, become worse. *Piadar*, make pious, is peculiarly formed, the adjective "pious" being in Prov. *pios* and not *piat*, which would give the form we find. *Piadar* appears to be due to a confusion between *pios* and *piatos*, pitying.

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Cobertar, to cover, built on the past participle *cobert* of the verb *cobrir*, cover.

Conduchar, lead; also entertain guests, built on *conduch*, the past participle of the verb *conduire*, to lead. There are also nouns *conduch* and *conducha*.

Conversar, turn around; built on *convers*, turned around, coming from the Latin *conversus*. A noun *conversa* also exists.

Farsar, to stuff, cram, from a past participle *fars*, coming from the Latin *farsus* of the verb *farcire*, which gave *farsir* in Provençal. Thus there is in Provençal *farsir*, from the Latin verb direct, and *farsar*, formed on the derivative of its past participle.[1]

Musar, to gape at or muse, has already been given under formations on nouns, where it probably belongs. Körting, however, gives it also under *morsus*,[2] the past participle of *mordere*.

Onchar (*ointar*), anoint, from *onch* (*oint*), the past participle of the verb *onher*, anoint.

Profechar, profit. The word is formed on *profieg*, from *profectus*, the past participle of *proficere*. There is no word, however, in Provençal from the infinitive *proficere*. *Profieg* is used, not as a past participle, but as a noun meaning "profit."

Sofertar,† to suffer. From *sofert*, the past participle of the verb *sofrir*, suffer.

There are also a very few words formed on other parts of speech:

avantar, extol, glorify	*avan(t)*, before, forward
vironar, go around	*viron*, around

[1] This word is, therefore, an example of the extension of the suffix -AR in place of -IR. *Farsar* might represent nothing but a simple substitution of -AR for -IR.

[2] No. 6,307.

† *Opresar*, given among the formations on nouns may belong here. The past participle of *opremer* appears to be *opremut*, however.

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-IR

The formation of verbs in -IR differs in several respects from that of the verbs in -AR. There is not a very large total of the verbs in -IR formed in Provençal on other words without any prefix, and of these a very large proportion is formed on adjectives instead of on nouns.[1] There is, however, a very much larger list of verbs formed by the addition of a prefix such as A-, EN-, or ES- at the same time that the termination is added;[2] and of these, too, the great majority of the simple words on which the verb is built consists of adjectives. Thus, there is a great difference in the two conjugations as to the word at the base of the formation; but there is a much greater difference in the number of formations by the addition of both prefix and infinitive termination. In the verbs in -AR, this process barely exists, and is seen in a few verbs formed on nouns; for the verbs in -IR, it is the commonest of all formations.

There are also a few words having both the endings -AR and -IR, belonging largely to the class which adds a prefix together with the suffix. This appears to be an extension of the use of the termination -AR, by all odds the commonest verbal termination, into the field where -IR was originally alone. The cases of this kind will all be pointed out below, and treated individually.

[1] Another difference worthy of notice lies in the fact that most of the formations in -IR are intransitive in force, whereas those in -AR are regularly transitive, as may be seen from the list of meanings that these have, given above. -IR, on the other hand, generally gives the meaning of "to become" to the adjective to which it is added. When it became necessary to give transitive force to an adjective, this was usually done by adding -AR to it, but at the same time using one of the verbal prefixes. Thus we find *alargar*, *alongar*, etc.

[2] For words of this kind see the parasyntheta, pp. 517–21, below.

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The termination -IR is used to form verbs on adjectives in the following cases:

blavir(?) (no example given), grow pale	*blau*, blue
brunir, brown, darken	*brun*, brown
durir, harden	*dur*, hard
eretgir, become heretical	*eretge*, heretical
escurir, grow dark	*escur*, dark
fermir, fasten	*ferm*, firm, fast
folir, become foolish	*fol*, foolish
folatir,[1] be wanton. The word is of doubtful existence. *Folat* is not found.	
franquir, free	*franc*, free
frevolir, weaken; become weak	*frevol*, weak
jovenir, rejuvenate	*joven*, young
laidir, insult	*laid*, ugly
magrir, grow thin	*magre*, thin
orgolhozir, make proud	*orgolhos*, proud
riquir, enrich, increase	*ric*, rich
rogir,† redden	*rog*, red

It will be seen from the above list that there are two meanings for formations of this kind: (1) active and (2) passive. In the case of the first, the meaning is, to make a thing acquire a certain quality, as in *jovenir*, make young; according to the second, the meaning is, to acquire that quality, as in *folir*, *magrir*, etc. The latter seems to be the more usual kind of formation.

The few formations on nouns by means of -IR are as follows:

aizir,[2] approach, bring near	*aize*, proximity
bailir,[2] govern, steer	*baile*, bailiff

[1] The word occurs only once. Possibly it should be *foletir* and the *a* be attributed to a confusion with *folastre*.

[2] The formation of both of these words is more or less doubtful. Although *aizir* does really appear to be a formation on *aize* (see *Essais*, 232), *bailir* is probably not formed on *baile*, but *baile* on *bailir*. *Bailir* appears to be another form of *bailar* < *bajulare*.

† Another possible formation is *esquivir*, to avoid, shun, existing beside *esquiu*, but the adjective was probably derived from the verb, which is of Germ. origin.

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bordir,[1] tourney, joust	*bort*, tourney, joust
colorir,[2] become colored	*color*, color
confrairir, unite closely; fraternize	*confraire*, partner
garentir, guarantee, pledge	*garen(t)*, guaranty
golir, swallow up	*gola*, throat
maestrir, teach	*maestre*, master
nientir (*se*), be destroyed	*nien(t)*, nothingness
plomir, fall	*plom*, lead
polverir,[3] pulverize	*polvera*, powder

Formations on other parts of speech are seen in:

avantir, advance	*avan(t)*, forward
enantir,† advance, celebrate	*enan(t)*, forward

COMPOUND SUFFIXES

Besides the simple suffixes -AR and -IR with their different meanings and methods in forming words, there are several other suffixes of a compound nature, formed generally by adding -ARE to some noun already ending in a suffix. Thus -ACULARE (>-ALHAR) was formed originally by adding -ARE to nouns ending in -AC(U)LUS; but as there were a good many of these, the verbal suffix was taken to be -ACULARE instead of merely -ARE, and was thenceforth added to simple nouns to form new verbs. -ALHAR<-ACULARE is a typical example of the whole class of compound suffixes. Each of these compound suffixes will be treated individually. Most of them, however, give no very well-defined or classifiable meaning to the words to which they are joined other than that of turning them into verbs.

[1] This word is not entirely clear, however. *Beordar* exists also and seems to be formed on *beort*. In O. Fr., also, there are many forms of the word.

[2] Probably the formation is due to the analogy of the words in which -IR was added to adjectives of color, as *brunir*. *Colorar* is also found.

[3] Found also as *polverar* and *polverejar*.

† As was the case with -AR, and for the same reason, words in -IR of Lat. origin will not be given here.

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-ALHAR, -ELHAR, -ILHAR, -OLHAR

The suffixes -ALHAR, -ELHAR, -ILHAR, and -OLHAR will be treated together, as were the nominal forms -ALH, -ELH, -ILH, and -OLH, from -ACLUM, ICLUM, and -UCLUM. Generally speaking, however, the verbs were not formed on the nouns ending in these suffixes. Had they been so formed, there would be no need of considering -ALHAR, etc., as compound verbal suffixes: the formation would be brought about by adding -AR, not -ALHAR, to the noun. The actual formation seems, on the other hand, to be quite different. *Badalhar*, for example, was not formed on *badalh*, which exists,[1] but on *badar*, gape, open, by the addition of -ALHAR (<-ACULARE) to the stem. Yet this does not exclude all influence of the noun in -ALH on the verb, and indeed -ACULARE must have been originally formed by the combination of -AC(U)LUM + -ARE; but being very early regarded in its complete form as a new verbal suffix, it came to be substituted for the ordinary infinitive endings,[2] with a slight modification in meaning. -ALHAR, as in *badalhar* and *crizalhar*, seems to express the idea of frequent repetition. -ELHAR and -ILHAR, expressing this idea also, have often diminutive force, which could have originated through the usual meanings of -ELH and -ILH, and then spread to verbs in -ALHAR. Sometimes, again, this group of suffixes adds little change to a verb,

[1] This word is, on the contrary, a postverbal formation on *badalhar*.

[2] -ALHAR was added to verb-stems, such successive derivations as *batre*, *batalh*, then *batalhar*, finally leading to such direct formations as *badalhar* on *badar*. -ELHAR was apparently added also to verb-stems. There seems, however, to have been a good deal of confusion between the suffixes of this group. They have to some extent interchanged their meanings, and the processes used in the formation of the verbs of this group have likewise become somewhat confused.

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showing, as in the case of nominal suffixes originally diminutive, how common the suffix had become in the vulgar language.[1]

A circumstance that adds some confusion to the verbs of this group is that there was another Latin suffix which might give the same results in certain cases. This is -ILLARE (found in a few words in Latin),[2] which became very common in French, where it is found at present under the form -ELER, and forms verbs on nouns as well as on verb-stems. Now this suffix would become -ELAR or -ELHAR in Provençal, having therefore the same form as might be derived from -ĬC(U)LARE. Its traces are, however, few in Provençal, though some apparently exist.

-ALHAR is added to verb-stems in:

badalhar, yawn	*badar*, open, gape
crizalhar, keep crying, bawl	*cridar*, cry
tornalhar, † whirl around	*tornar*, turn

-ELHAR is added to verb-stems in:

destorbelhar,[3] trouble, torment	*destorbar*, disturb
gabelhar,[4] boast, brag	*gabar*, boast
pendelhar, hang lightly	*pendre*, hang
plevelhar, †† assure, guarantee (?)	*plevir*, guaranty

[1] Cooper, 243, and reference there to Funck, *ALL.*, IV, 68.

[2] Such words as *cantillare*, *vacillare*, etc.

[3] Cf. also *estorbelhar* (representing a prefix-change ?).

[4] Some confusion exists between -ELHAR and -EJAR, studied farther on. Thus we find *gabelhar* and *gabejar* with the same meaning, and Levy gives *esbaudelhar* = *esbaudejar*. Cf. also *sordelhar* mentioned in note †, p. 351.

† For such words as *batalhar*, fight, *escalhar*, scale off, and *gazalhar*, assemble, see the suffix -AR, as these words are formed on the noun *batalha*, *escalh*, and *gazalha* by means of this suffix and not by -ALHAR. Another word, *coralhar*, is obscure in meaning, and may not exist. See Levy, I, 363.

†† A word obscure in form and meaning is *mercelhar*.

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It is apparently added to nouns in:

dentelhar, take by the teeth	*dent*, tooth
tore(i)lhar, barricade, bolt	*tor*, tower

and to an adjective in:

rauquelhar,† choke	*rauc*, hoarse

-ILHAR is added to verb-stems in:

estendilhar, stretch out	*estendre*, extend
fendilhar, crack, chap	*fendre*, split
fozilhar, dig	*fozer*, for *foire*, dig
grondilhar, murmur	*grondir*, murmur
trauquilhar, pierce	*traucar*, pierce

It is apparently added to nouns in:

crozilhar, weave into a cross	*crotz*, cross
grezilhar,[1] hail	*greza*, hail
maestrilhar, teach	*maestre*, master
ranquilhar,[2]††, grieve, lament	*ranc*, rancid

-OLHAR is found in:

janglolhar,††† slander, rail at	*janglar*, slander

[1] Like this word is *brezilhar*, to break (like wood), from *brezilh*, brazil-wood, the suffix being -AR, therefore, instead of -ILHAR. *Grezilhar* itself is probably formed in the same way, on **grezilh*, which, though not found, probably existed. Cf. the Fr. *grésil*.

[2] For a discussion of this word see *ranquejar*, given under -EJAR, p. 361 below, and the note on it.

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† Another word apparently formed in the same way is *sordelhar*, decline, but it is probably the same as *sordejar*, from *sordei* < *sordidus*.

†† Other words ending in -ILHAR but not formed by means of this suffix are *cavilhar*, *estrilhar*, and *ponsilhar*. *Cavilhar* may have been formed by attaching -AR to *cavilha* (see -AR above), but it more probably came direct from the Lat. *cavillari*. *Estrilhar*, meaning "stretch oneself"(?) (or *s'étriller*, curry oneself, as Meyer translates it in the vocabulary to *Flamenca*), has evidently the same source seen in *s'étriller*, namely *strigulare*, formed on *strigula*. The *e* in the Mod. Prov. *esterilha*, likewise in the *Flamenca* passage, must have come through some analogy. *Ponsilhar*, support, appears to have come from *punctillare*, perhaps influenced by *ponsel*, small bridge.

††† A somewhat obscure word is *tantolhar*, soil, cover with dirt. It is found in O. Fr. as *tantouiller* and in Mod. Prov. as *tantoulha*.

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-ASAR

In the "Traité de la formation de la langue française," or Introduction to the dictionary of Hatzfeld and Darmesteter,[1] -ASSER is given under the heading of "French suffix." This classification is correct in the sense that -ERIE, -ERON, etc., are French suffixes—they are not simple Latin suffixes—but such a suffix as -ERIE, corresponding forms of which are found in Spanish, Italian, and Provençal, cannot be treated as belonging peculiarly to any one Romance language. This is the case with many of these double suffixes, and is certainly true of -ASAR (or -ASSER). It is derived from a Latin *-ACEARE in much the same way that -ALHAR was derived from -ACULARE—by adding -ARE to nouns in -ACEU(M) originally—and then was regarded in its complete form as a new verbal suffix to be added to verb-stems, the intermediate step having been forgotten. Thus we have *crebasar*, for example. *Crebasa* exists in Provençal, and *crévasse* in French, coming from **crepacea*;[2] but as *crebasar* is found in Provençal, *crévasser* in French, and *crepacciare*[3] in Italian, it seems natural to suppose that -ACEARE was formed in Latin, rather than that exactly the same process should be followed independently in each of these languages. Now **crepaceare* must have existed

[1] Vol. I, p. 71 of Introduction.

[2] That is, the stem of *crepare* + -ACEA. As a matter of fact, *crepacea* is not found, and *crebasa* may have been formed by adding the Prov. suffix -ASA (<-ACEA) to the Prov. verb *crebar*. See *crebas* under the suffix -AS, p. 141 above.

[3] Meyer-Lübke (II, 659) gives this word as the only example in which -ACEUS gives *cc* in It., all the other words giving *zz*. These words giving *zz* may, however, represent -ATIARE (=-ATIO + -ARE), or, if -ACEUS ever gave -AZZO, as Meyer-Lübke states, they would be regularly descended from -ACEARE, and *crepacciare* would still be irregular. -ACCIO and not -AZZO appears, nevertheless, to be the usual phonetic development of -ACEUS in It.

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beside *crepare*, or *crebasar* beside *crebar*, and -ASAR had therefore the appearance of being in itself a verbal suffix added to stems of verbs in *-ar*. Hence the new Provençal formations on verb-stems:

espinasar,[1] crown or cover with thorns	*espinar*, cover with thorns, prick
tirasar,[2] twitch, draw	*tirar*, draw

A word formed on a noun is:

reumasar,† catch cold	*reuma*, cold

This kind of formation has already been seen in -ALHAR. It may have been aided by the frequent existence of simple nouns to which the compound suffix could be added, beside the verb-stems. Thus, for example, *espina* and *espinar*.

From the few examples, -ASAR seems to have contributed little individual meaning, and has just about the force of -AR. Had -AR been added separately, however, to nouns in -AS, some more distinct trace of the augmentative meaning of -ACEUM would probably be observable.

-AISER, -EISER, -OISER

Several verbs are found in Provençal with the ending -EISER, also a few in -AISER and -OISER, but it is doubtful whether any of these forms was used as a suffix

[1] Possibly formed on the noun *espina*, thorn. *Espinasa*, place grown with thorns, also exists, but its meaning makes it improbable as a base-word for *espinasar*.

[2] Cf. the corresponding Fr. word *tirailler*, formed by means of -ACULARE.

† Another word which at first sight seems to belong here is *pedasar*, patch, mend. It is formed, however, on *pedas*, trifle, by means of the simple verbal ending -AR. Still another word in -ASAR is *estrasar*, for which see the parasyntheta, p. 513.

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to form new words. These forms are not at all common in Provençal, and the few words found appear to have lost all of the original force of the suffix, or at least that which it had in many Latin verbs—of beginning an action. They have exactly the same meaning as the corresponding verbs in *-ir*, this weakening of the force of the suffix appearing to go back to Late Latin times. Thus in French the *-iss-* of the verbs in *-ir* has come to be nothing but an inflectional ending.

Iraiser appears to be the only form in -AISER in Provençal, from *irascere* for *irasci*.

In -EISER we find *langueiser* from *languescere; pareiser* and *despareiser* from **parescere* and **disparescere*, which are not found, but to whose existence the forms in all the Romance languages point; *espereiser*, awake, which Stichel derives from **expergiscere* for *expergisci;* and perhaps a verb *escarneiser*, existing beside *escarnir*.

In -OISER is found *conoiser* from *cognoscere*.

Thus there seem to be no Provençal formations with these suffixes.

-IGAR, -EGAR

The Provençal suffix -IGAR or -EGAR is derived from a Latin -ICARE, probably formed originally by adding -ARE to adjectives ending in -ICUS or to nouns whose stems ended in -IC, as *nutrix* (*nutricis*), for example. But like -ALHAR, -ASAR, and the other compound suffixes, -ICARE was soon regarded as a whole—a new simple verbal suffix to be added to verb-stems, *nutricare* possibly being supposed to be formed on *nutrire*. Yet -ICARE in such words as *nutricare* did not ordinarily give either -EGAR or -IGAR, as the intertonic vowel regularly disappeared in all popular words very early. This is

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seen in most of the words derived from -ICARE, in which a number of forms are found, depending on the time of the disappearance of the vowel, or, in other words, on whether it remained long enough to allow the consonant to voice.[1] Thus we find so many different results from this suffix that the idea of a common origin, or even of the existence of a suffix at all in these words, must have soon become totally effaced. Yet long before this, the idea of the existence of a suffix must have given way to a great extent, for had the suffix been clearly felt as such, the intertonic vowel would have remained as it remains in the suffixes -ADOR, -AMEN, -ADURA; -EMEN, -EDOR, -EDURA, etc. The words ending in -ICARE were exceedingly common in popular Latin, as the Romance languages show, and the suffix had no clearly defined force, *nutrire* and *nutricare* meaning the same thing. Though the -ICARE may have had its starting-point in adjectives in -ICUS, or in noun-stems in -IC, when it came to be regarded as a *suffix* -ICARE to be added to verb-stems, it seems frequently to have been substituted for -IRE or -ARE, simply on account of the popular tendency toward greater length in words. There having been no real difference in meaning from -ARE, finally only a vague idea of the suffix -ICARE may have been retained, which would account for the disappearance of the intertonic vowel. As words of this kind have no one Provençal form, and as they were beyond doubt Latin formations, they need not be given here.

There are, however, several words in Provençal with the endings -EGAR and -IGAR, thus showing the retention of the intertonic vowel, and they may be explained in two ways. They may have been learned words of Latin

[1] Thus, for example *cargar*<*carricare*, *cavalgar*<*caballicare*, etc.

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formation, or they may have been Provençal imitations of such words. *Nutricare* existed in Latin beside *nutrire;* and it seems to have given rise to the analogical formation **putricare* beside *putrire*. This form is made more probable by the existence of a form *poiregos*,[1] rotten, in Provençal, apparently derived from **putricosus*. *Putricare* may have given rise to **petricare*, no derivative of which is found in Old Provençal, but whose existence is made probable by the Modern Provençal word *peirega*,[2] to stone, and the Spanish word *pedregoso* from **petricosus*. *Peiregar* seems not to be found in Provençal, but this word is found joined to the prefix A- in *apeiregar*,[3] stone.

Two words of somewhat similar formation, apparently, are:

afamegar, famish
amolegar, soften

Afamegar[4] is probably formed on *famejar*, hunger, with the substitution of -EGAR for -EJAR, which is not unusual. This is also found in *enmalegar* for *enmalejar*,[5] and possibly in *espezegar*[6] from *expeditare* with a substitution of -ICARE for -ITARE. *Amolegar*[4] seems to represent a **mollicare* formed on *mollis* or on *mollire* +the prefix A-, due to the analogy of *amolir*, a real *parasyntheton* therefore. Then are found other words of this kind having suffix and prefix:

dementegar, forget	*men(t)*, mind
espesegar, break to pieces	*pesa*, piece

[1] See p. 329, n. † above. [2] See Mistral's dictionary.

[3] Probably *peiregar* and *poiregar* both existed, though only *poiregar* is found. -EGAR has been consistently used in these words, though -IGAR is found also. *Nutricare* formed on *nutrix* has a long *i* and we should expect -IGAR from this starting-point. -EGAR, nevertheless, seems rather commoner.

[4] See parasyntheta, p. 523. [5] Parasyntheta, p. 522.

[6] This should be distinguished from *espesegar*, given in the list.

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There appear to be only three formations without prefixes, one of these words (*lenegar*) being formed on an adjective:

leisegar (?), give judgment	*leis*, law
lenegar, slip, slide	*len*, smooth
rosegar,[1]† thrash	*rosa*, nag

-EJAR

The Provençal suffix -EJAR is derived from the Greek verbal ending -ιζειν through the popular Latin form -IDIARE. These verbs in -EJAR differ little in meaning from the corresponding ones in -AR, and it appears probable that during the Christian period, when this suffix was introduced into Latin, it was often substituted for the regular -ARE in verbs already formed, and took its place in many new formations in which -ARE might be expected. The force of the suffix seems to be exactly the same as that of -AR, and, like -AR, it is added both to nouns and to adjectives, but very much more frequently to nouns.

[1] This word may be compared with the Fr. *rosser*, which has the same meaning. According to the Darmesteter-Hatzfeld dictionary, *rosser* is derived from *rosse*, nag. The force of the verbal suffix here is apparently that of "treat like," the verb meaning "to treat like a horse," i.e., to beat. This meaning is occasionally found among the verbs in the Fr. -ER and the Prov. -AR. Körting (No. 8,215) and Diez, (p. 672) derive *rosser* from *ruptiare*, but this would not account for the Prov. word. The Fr. and Prov. words seem to be based on the same word (*rosse*, *rosa*), but the Prov. word has -ICARE instead of -ARE. Appel, in the vocabulary to his *Chrestomathy*, translates *rosegar* by "*schleifen*," "*ziehen*," but the meaning of the word appears to be "to beat." Confusion is due to the fact that there is another word *rosegar* (or *rozegar*), meaning to gnaw, nibble, found in It. as *rosicare*, and probably derived from a Lat. **rosicare* (Körting, No. 8,149).

† Another word of Lat. origin ending in -EGAR is *eisigar*, become dry, from *exsiccare*. An obscure word, both in form and in meaning, is *garlegar*.

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The words formed on nouns follow:

airejar, to air, ventilate	*air*, air
amorejar (*se*), fall in love with	*amor*, love
arquejar, bend oneself like a bow	*arc*, bow
bailejar, govern	*baile*, bailiff, steward
bandejar, wave	*banda*, band, strip
barrejar, rob, plunder	*barra*, toll
beluguejar, flash, sparkle	*beluga*, flash
bordejar, joust	*bort*, joust
bretonejar, stammer	*Breton*, native of Brittany
cambrejar, go to stool	*cambra*, privy
carpentejar,[1] do carpentry	
carrasejar, float, cause to float	*carras*,[2] pile of wood
causejar, trample on, destroy[3]	*causa*, stocking
clasejar, ring a bell	*clas*, ringing, peal
clerguejar, harangue	*clerc*, clerk
coladejar, strike	*colada*, blow
colbejar, strike	*colbe*, blow
cordejar,[4] pull at cord, strike with cord (?)	*corda*, cord
cortejar, visit court, pay court	*cort*, court
domnejar, pay court	*domna*, lady
espondejar, embroider	*esponda*, edge
fadejar, act foolishly	*fat*, fool
famejar, to hunger	*fam*, hunger
fanguejar, remove mud	*fanc*, mud
fatonejar, joke (?), speak foolishly	*faton*, (?)
faulejar, tell stories	*faula*, tale, fable
favorejar, favor	*favor*, favor
febrejar, have a fever; rave	*febre*, fever

[1] No simple word is found in Prov., but corresponding forms are seen elsewhere, as in the O. Fr. *charpent*, wagon (not the modern *charpente*, which is probably a postverbal formation). *Charpent*, etc., come from the Lat. *carpentum*, coach, from which was derived *carpentarius* (Prov. *carpentier*). *Carpen*(*t*) probably existed in Prov. and gave rise to *carpentejar*.

[2] Mistral has *carras*, raft. Probably the O. Prov. form had such meaning also, hence the meaning found in the verb.

[3] Apparently by stepping on a thing.

[4] The precise meaning is somewhat obscure. For a discussion of the word, see Levy, I, 367.

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felnejar,[1] commit a felony	*felnia*, felony
femejar,[2] go to stool	*fem*, manure
festejar, celebrate	*festa*, feast
flamejar, sparkle	*flama*, flame
fondejar, use a sling	*fonda*, sling
formiguejar, swarm, itch	*formiga*, ant
forrejar, forage, pillage	*forre*, forage
frachurejar, suffer want	*frachura*, want
frenejar, chain, link, be linked	*fren*, rein
frontejar, border on, adjoin	*fron(t)*, front
fumejar, smoke	*fum*, smoke
fustejar, cut wood	*fust*, wood
gabejar, chatter, rail at, ridicule	*gab*, boast
gardejar, look at	*garda*, guard
gardiejar, protect fields	*gardia*, watchman
garentejar, guarantee	*garen(t)*, guaranty
gerbejar, cut grass	*gerba*, grass
girbaudonejar, debauch	*girbaudon*, rascal
glanejar, collect acorns	*glan*, acorn
gloriejar, boast	*gloria*, glory, fame
glotonejar, be a glutton	*gloton*, glutton
golejar, long for, desire	*golą*, gluttony[3]
gotejar, distil	*gota*, drop
grailejar, blow trumpet	*graile*, trumpet
guerrejar, make war	*guerra*, war
joglarejar, be a minstrel	*joglar*, minstrel
lagremejar, weep	*lagrema*, tear
maestrejar, repress	*maestre*, master
manejar, touch with the hand, wield	*man*, hand
marejar, navigate, sail	*mar*, sea
matrasejar, slaughter	*matras*, projectile
mercejar, implore mercy	*merce*, mercy
mosquejar, clear of flies	*mosca*, fly
mulejar, ride a mule	*mul*, mule
naulejar, charter a boat	*naule*, chartering of a boat
nertejar, gather myrtles	*nerta*, myrtle

[1] This word is not perfectly clear in form. *Felniar* is also found, and looks like *felnia* + -AR.

[2] *Femorejar* is also found. For the form *femora*, see the discussion of *femoras*, under the suffix -AS, p. 141, n. † above.

[3] Primitive meaning is "throat."

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nosejar, marry	*nosas*, wedding
obrejar(?), be at work	*obra*, work
oclejar, wink (for *olhejar?*)	*olh*, eye
ombrejar, give shade	*ombra*, shade
ondejar, rise in waves	*onda*, wave
onsejar, draw in the toes	*onsa*, finger- (or toe-?) joint
ostejar, make war	*osta*, army
pairejar, act as or resemble a father	*paire*, father
panejar, wave	*pan*, flap
paratgejar, be of value	*paratge*, birth, rank
parcenejar,[1] participate, share	*parcela*, share
personejar, associate with	*persona*, person
pesejar, break to bits	*pesa*, bit
petejar, crackle	*pet*, fart
plaidejar, dispute, contest	*plaid*, lawsuit
plasejar, wander about public places	*plasa*, public square
polverejar, pulverize	*polvera*, powder
putanejar, fornicate	*putana*, prostitute
sagramentejar, blaspheme	*sagramen(t)*, oath
salmejar, sing psalms	*salme*, psalm
senhorejar, command	*senhor*, lord
setejar, be thirsty	*set*, thirst
sobresenhorejar, rule over	*sobresenhor*, overlord
ta(m)borejar, play the drum	*ta(m)bor*, drum
taulejar, play castanets	*taula(-eta)*, castanet
tornejar, tourney	*torn*, turn
valadejar, make a ditch	*valat*, ditch

The verbs in -EJAR which are built on adjectives are as follows:

amarejar, be bitter; also make bitter (?)	*amar*, bitter
balbejar, stammer	*balb*, stammering
blanquejar, be or become white	*blanc*, white
blavejar, become blue	*blau*, blue
cabalejar, be excellent	*cabal*, excellent
clarejar, shine	*clar*, clear
clopejar, limp	*clop*, lame

[1] The *n* instead of *l* occurs in other words also, as *parcenier* beside *parcelier*, *parcenaria*, etc.

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cobejar,[1] covet, long for	*cobe*, greedy, covetous
contrariejar, be opposed to	*contrari*, opposite
egalejar, equalize	*egal*, equal
endignejar, scorn	*endigne*, unworthy
fadejar, act foolishly	*fat*, foolish, absurd
falsejar, be false, deceive	*fals*, false
falbejar, grow pale	*falb*, pale
ferejar (*?*), become frightened	*fer*, wild, untamed
flaquejar, become weak	*flac*, weak
folejar, do foolish things	*fol*, foolish
foralejar, treat unlawfully	*foral*, outer, external
laidejar, insult, offend (?)	*laid*, ugly
larguejar, make largesses	*larc*, liberal
malaudejar, be or become ill	*malaut*, ill
malejar, be angry, rage	*mal*, angry
menudejar, cut into small pieces	*menut*, small
nesciejar, be silly	*nesci*, silly, ignorant
nedejar,[2] clean, purify	*net*, clean
noblejar, shine, be resplendent	*noble*, noble
orrejar,[3] soil	*orre*, dirty
peguejar, be silly, wander	*pec*, silly
plazentejar, be agreeable	*plazen(t)*, agreeable
ranquejar, limp[4]	*ranc*, crippled
rogejar, redden	*rog*, red
vanejar, trifle, joke	*van*, vain

[1] There is also another word, *cobezejar*, which appears to be formed on the feminine of *cobe*—*cobeza* (<*cupida*), rather than on *cobes*, which is found in the nominative form, or on the noun *cobezeza*, on which is formed the adjective *cobezezos*. *Cobezeza* would not give the proper form or meaning to the verb, however.

[2] For another form of this verb (*denejar*), see parasyntheta, p. 522, n. †.

[3] There is also a form *ordejar*, which appears to come from a Lat. **horr(i) didiare*. The adjective *horridus* had a different development from this verb derived from it. In the adjective the *i* persisted, and the word became *orre*, with a feminine *orreza*.

[4] There is also a verb *ranquejar*, meaning "to mutter, to be angry" (also "to ruminate"?), whose base seems different. The word given in the list above is based on an adjective of Germ. origin, but there is another adjective having the same form (*ranc*), and yet apparently of the same origin as the Fr. *rance*, rancid (<*rancidus*). This second *ranquejar*, like *ranquilhar*, listed under -ALHAR, p. 351, seems to be derived from this adjective *ranc*.

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verdejar, become green	*vert*, green
vermelhejar, become pink	*vermelh*, pink
vilanejar, become coarse	*vilan*, coarse

On another part of speech—an adverb—is:

sovendejar, mention often	*soven(t)*, often

There are also a few words that are not formed on any one simple word, but which seem rather to be due to a substitution of the suffix -EJAR for some other endings. Such words are:

damnejar, damage, instead of *damnar*
fremejar, tremble, instead of *fremir*
mantenejar, keep, maintain, instead of *mantener*
oprimejar, press down, instead of *oprimir*
trepejar[1], stamp, instead of *trepar*
vaguejar, † wander, instead of *vagar*

[1] There is also a verb *estrepejar*, to tear out, in appearance the prefix ES-+*trepejar*, but probably of different origin. It seems to come from *exstirpare*. If so, the ending -EJAR may be due to the influence of *trepejar*, stamp.

† Other words in -EJAR of more or less obscure formation are: *avoquejar*, *femorejar*, *mercenejar*, *palotejar*, *papiejar*, *pelejar*, *poblejar*, and *ponsejar*.

Avoquejar, act as lawyer, appears to be a shortened form of **avocadejar*, formed on *avocat*, lawyer. The shortening may have been helped by association with *avocar*, invoke.

Femorejar, clear away manure, seems to have been formed on **femor*. For this word see *femoras* under the suffix -AS, p. 141, n. †.

Mercenejar, have pity on, is formed on the stem seen in *mercenier* < *mercenarius*.

Palotejar, skirmish along the palisades protecting a town, is undoubtedly formed on **palot*, a diminutive of *pal*, stake. Cf. the Fr. *palot*.

Papiejar, wander back and forth, is doubtful in form. One commentator suggests a correction to *patejar*. Mistral, however, has a form *pepieja*, meaning "act foolishly," which meaning would fit the passage in which *papiejar* is found. The origin of the verb seems obscure.

Pelejar, dishonor a woman, seems to be of the same origin as the Sp. *pelear*, fight. Körting (No. 6789) and Diez, p. 475, suggest a Gr.

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-EZIR, (-ZIR)

The Provençal suffix -EZIR, -ZIR, is somewhat difficult to treat, as its source itself is not perfectly clear. The earliest theory, that of Diez,[1] who derived it from -ESCERE, is clearly impossible on account of the development of the *sc* into *z*, which it would be necessary to assume only for words of this class, and which elsewhere becomes *s*, as in the regular development of -ESCERE into -EISER.[2] A more plausible theory is the one advocated by Meyer-Lübke in his *Grammar*,[3] which accounts for -EZIR by a few verbs ending in -IDIRE, of which *tepidire* is a type. *Tepidire*, says Meyer-Lübke, would give in Provençal *tebezir:* which, existing beside *tebe* from *tepidus*, gave rise to a belief in a suffix -EZIR added to adjectives to form new verbs. Yet there are several difficulties with this hypothesis. In the first place, it accounts for the French words in -CIR by a different process from the one employed for Provençal. But a more serious objection is that, as Thomas shows, *d* became *z* only in certain dialects, whereas the ending -EZIR is common all over the Provençal territory.[4] Thomas also shows that in a text filled with verbs ending in -EZIR (Girart

[1] *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, 374.

[2] The inceptive meaning found in a number of these words gave a very good basis for this supposition.

[3] II, 666. [4] *Essais*, 284.

παλαίειν as source, and Caix suggests *pel*<*pilus*, hair. *Pel*<*pellis*, skin, has also been suggested as the base-word (*Stud. Rom.*, VIII, 377). *Pel*, besides skin, means scrotum, and the envelope containing the embryo. This, therefore, is surely the source of the Sp. and Prov. words. *Pelejarse* has the meaning of "to fight," which the Sp. word possesses.

Poblejar, proclaim, seems to come from *publicare*, which would regularly give *poblegar*. *Pobligar* is, indeed, found. It may have become *poblejar* through being supposed to have been formed on *poble*, people.

Ponsejar, quarrel over trifles, is obscure.

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de Rossilhon) we find a verb *encobeir* from *incupidire* showing the other development of *d*—its disappearance. It is extremely unlikely, then, that -EZIR can come about as Meyer-Lübke suggests, and its source has to be sought elsewhere. The most plausible theory, perhaps, is found in the introduction to the *Dictionnaire Général*[1] of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, where a suffix -ICIRE is assumed to have existed in Vulgar Latin beside -ICARE. Such a suffix would account for the forms found in both Provençal and French. The few words found in French end in -CIR,[2] thus showing the disappearance of the intertonic vowel, the first *i* of -ICIRE, just as this vowel disappears in the words having the ending -ICARE. Most of the Provençal words, on the other hand, have the ending -EZIR, in which the intertonic vowel is retained, though the ending -ZIR is found in a few words. The history of the suffix seems to have been as follows: In Latin, words in -IC-IRE were formed beside those in -IC-ARE, probably on the analogy of the simple verbal endings -ARE and -IRE. In these words, the intertonic vowel naturally disappeared, leaving the suffix -ZIR, as seen in *durzir* and *clarzir*. Yet the majority of words in Provençal show the ending -EZIR rather than -ZIR, a fact which is difficult to explain. In many of the words ending in -EZIR, the presence of the *e* in the suffix may be regarded as only apparent, as the adjectives to which the suffix was added ended in *e*. Such words are *aigrezir*, *alegrezir*, *feblezir*, *negrezir*, *noblezir*, *paubrezir*, and *tebezir*, formed on *aigre*, *alegre*, *feble*, etc. Yet in many cases, we find verbs in -EZIR beside adjectives ending in a consonant, as in *falbezir* beside *falb*, and *flaquezir* beside *flac*—

[1] Vol. I, p. 70 of the Introduction.

[2] As in *durcir*, *éclaircir*, and *noircir*.

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thus a real suffix -EZIR. Several possible explanations of these words may be offered, though none seems thoroughly satisfactory. The large number of words in which the *e* of the suffix was due to phonetic reasons, as in the words given above, may have influenced the form of the suffix when added to words ending in consonants, particularly if they ended in consonant-groups, as *velh* and *blanc*, or in *s*, as in *dols* and *espes*.[1] Or the *e* may have been due in some cases to the formation of learned words in Provençal times by means of the Latin suffix -ICIRE.[2] The whole matter, however, even the form of the suffix from which the Provençal -(E)ZIR is derived, is purely hypothetical.

The following verbs end in -EZIR, and their base is in each case an adjective:

aigrezir, become sour	*aigre*, sour
alegrezir, make happy	*alegre*, happy
blanquezir, whiten	*blanc*, white
brunezir, become brown	*brun*, brown
dolsezir, soften, sweeten	*dols*, sweet
espesezir, thicken	*espes*, thick
falbezir, become pale	*falb*, pale
feblezir, grow weak, weaken	*feble*, weak
ferezir, frighten, drive wild	*fer*, wild
flaquezir, become weak	*flac*, weak
fredezir, become cold	*fret*, cold
garrezir, become gray	(*garre* is in Mistral)
laidezir, make ugly	*laid*, ugly
malezir, become bad, deteriorate	*mal*, bad
molhezir, moisten	*molh*, moist
negrezir, become black	*negre*, black
noblezir, ennoble	*noble*, noble

[1] In *espessir* or *espeszir* the suffix would apparently have been -IR not -ZIR. In Fr., only *épaissir* is now found. This is probably, however, only a formation in -IR on the adjective *épais*.

[2] As, for example, **fericire*. Some such form as *nigricire* (> Prov. *negrezir*) may have served as a model for formations on Germ. adjectives of color, such as *blanc* and *brun*.

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palezir, grow pale	*pale*, pale
paubrezir, make poor	*paubre*, poor
velhezir, † grow old	*velh*, old

One word appears to be formed on a noun:

vergonhezir,[1] make ashamed	*vergonha*, shame

Vergonhar, showing one of the usual types of formations, also exists. The addition of this suffix to a noun appears unusual.

Several words add -ZIR[2] instead of -EZIR. Such are:

amarzir, make bitter	*amar*, bitter
carzir, make dear	*car*, dear
clarzir, make clear	*clar*, clear
durzir, become hard	*dur*, hard
vilzir, make vile	*vil*, vile

-IAR

The Latin suffix -IARE was very commonly used in forming verbs on adjectives, as is made clear by the forms in the Romance languages, as well as by the words found

[1] Although this word may really exist, it appears to be nothing but a corruption of *vergonhozir*, formed on *vergonhos*, ashamed, just as we find *orgolhozir*, make proud, formed on *orgolhos*, proud.

[2] These words are quite possibly Lat. formations, in which case the *i* of -ICIRE—the intertonic vowel—would naturally disappear. It is to be noted that *amaricare*, *claricare*, and *vilicare* are actually found, and the forms in -ICIRE are analogical formations. In the case of *durzir*, *durescere* is the Lat. word found, and the Sp. words corresponding to -CIR and -EZIR having -ECER (<-ESCERE) may have helped to bring about the confusion with -ESCERE, from which the Fr. and Prov. words cannot phonetically be derived.

† Other words ending in an -EZIR that cannot possibly come from -ICIRE are *estobezir*, *flechezir*, *fremezir*, *marcezir*, *tebezir*, and *tortezir*. *Estobezir*, be astonished, and *tebezir*, become warm, may possibly come from **stupidire* and *tepidire*, formed on *stupidus* and *tepidus* (see p. 363). Yet this process could not have spread much farther. *Flechezir*, bend, and *fremezir*, tremble, may show substitutions of -EZIR for -IR. *Marcezir*, wither, fade, appears to represent *marcescere*, though not a perfectly phonetic development of it. In *tortezir*, twist, -EZIR seems to be added to the past participle *tort* (probably used as an adjective) of the verb *torser*.

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in Latin itself. But it is never found as a suffix in Romance for the reason that its unaccented *i* or *y* element combined regularly according to phonetic laws with the preceding consonant, giving a different result in each case according to the consonant. The force of the suffix was about the same as that of -AR, and there was nothing to make it strongly enough felt as a suffix to prevent the accomplishment of phonetic laws. It appears not to have been used in learned words, and could not be used as a suffix to form new words. Several words in Provençal end in -IAR but these may all be explained in other ways. The list is as follows:

contrariar, oppose; *erbiar*, weed out; *espesiar*, break to pieces; *estresiar*, compress, confine; *magriar*, become thin; *martiriar*, torture; *meitiar*, divide in half; *negociar*, trade; *principiar*, begin; and *rauquiar*, cry hoarsely.

Contrariar and *martiriar* appear to be formed by means of the suffix -AR, not -IAR, on the learned words *contrari*, opposite, and *martiri*, torture.

Erbiar and *rauquiar* probably should be *erbejar* and *rauquejar*. The latter is found in Old Provençal, and the former in the modern language.

Espesiar shows a change from -EGAR to -IAR, or else a dropping of the *g*. *Espesegar* has been treated under -EGAR.

Estresiar is probably only a learned development of *strictiare*, tighten, the popular form being *estreisar*. The form of the word is doubtful, however. Levy points out that Rochegude has *estreciar*, which would be the regular learned development of *strictiare*.

Magriar and *principiar* are undoubtedly the Latin **macriare* and **principiare* (the latter giving the Spanish *principiar*). *Negociar* is from *negotiari*.

Meitiar is a peculiar formation. We should expect *meitadiar* from *meitat*. It appears to represent a *medietare*.

-IFICAR

There is a good-sized list of words in -IFICAR in Provençal, but they cause little difficulty, as such a suffix is obviously learned, and the words which end in it are

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either developments of Latin words in -IFICARE, practically unchanged, or else are Provençal imitations of these words,[1] similar to some of the verbs in -IFIER in French. The suffix was formed both on adjectives in -IFICUS, as *magnificus*, by adding -ARE, and also by adding -FICARE (for *facere*) to nouns and adjectives and even to verb-stems.[2] In Provençal, -IFICAR is always found in all of these uses. The list follows:

albeficar, whiten (*alb*); *damnificar*, injure (*damnar*); *deificar*,[3] deify; *dignificar*,[3] dignify (*digne*); *esamplificar*,[3] exemplify (*eisample*); *latificar*, broaden (*lat*); *lenificar*, soften (*len*); *maleficar*, bewitch (*mal*); *mondificar*,[4] purify (*monde*); *mordeficar*,[3] prick; *ramificar*,[5] ramify (*ram*); *ratificar*,[4] ratify (*rata?*); *rubificar*,[6] redden (*rubeus*); *sanctificar*,[3] sanctify (*sanct*); *sensificar*,[3] make sensitive (*sens*); *vilificar*,[7] vilify (*vil*).

-INAR, -ONAR

The suffixes -INAR and -ONAR, which are of about equal frequency in Provençal, will be treated together here. -INARE, from which the Provençal -INAR is derived, is found as a suffix in Latin, but -ONAR seems to be of more recent and probably analogical formation. -INARE is, for example, given by Cooper in his list of Latin verbal suffixes, but it is mentioned as a suffix particularly common in Vulgar Latin, though found occasionally in Cicero. It is found in Classical Latin in such words

[1] That is, the suffix is never found in any really popular Prov. formations.

[2] To nouns in such words as *aedificare;* to adjectives in such words as *sanctificare*, and to verb-stems in *horrificare*, etc. It has the meanings of "to make," "to bring to a certain state," and "to cause."

[3] Found in Class. Lat.

[4] Of Low Lat. origin.

[5] Found in scholastic Lat.

[6] Clearly a Lat. formation.

[7] Given by Goelzer, 90, together with many of the other words listed above.

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as *destinare* and *obstinare*, the latter of which, through its existence beside *obstare*, would give the appearance of a suffix -INARE added to the stem of the verb. This suffix was then added to verb-stems.

The Romance languages in general show how common -INARE must have been, but in most of them the fall of the intertonic vowel prevents it from appearing clearly as a suffix. It nevertheless was frequent enough in Vulgar Latin to be substituted for other suffixes, as -ITARE, for example. The Spanish word *voznar* clearly shows this substitution, and Spanish *graznar* and Italian *gracidare* show -INARE and -ITARE existing side by side in their modern developments.[1] The Spanish *maznar* (for *macerare?*) also shows a substitution of -INAR for another ending. The words which show -INAR in Provençal, however, cannot, of course, be formed in this way, in which case the vowel would have disappeared as in the other words. Some of them are really only verbs formed by adding the verbal ending -AR to nouns ending in -IN; others seem to have continued the Latin process of substituting -INAR for other verbal suffixes; and one word apparently shows the suffix added to a noun within Romance times. Thus the suffix continued to be felt, although in the popular words formed in Latin, it gradually lost the appearance of a suffix.

The Provençal words in -INAR (which will be treated individually below) are as follows:

bozinar, englutinar, girbaudinar, grafinar, and *languinar*.

Bozinar and *grafinar* appear to be formed by adding -AR, and not -INAR, to the nouns *bozina* and *grafi*. *Bozinar* is found with the meaning of "to make a noise,"

[1] For these suffixes in Lat., see Meyer-Lübke, II, 663, sec. 587; Cooper, 242.

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"rumble," etc., similar to the meaning which Mistral gives for *bousina*, and could be formed on *bozina*,[1] trumpet, although it has another meaning of "to act foolishly," according to Levy,[2] which may represent a word of entirely different origin. *Grafinar*, to scratch, may have been formed on *grafi*, stylus.

Languinar, to languish, yearn after, shows -INAR added to a verb-stem, that of *languir*, and substituted for -IR with little or no change of meaning. *Englutinar* is only the Latin *glutinare* with a prefix. Words like this, reaching the Romance languages practically unchanged, together with such common words as the derivatives of *obstinare*, give rise to the use of -INAR as a suffix added to verb-stems.[3]

One other Provençal word with this suffix is *girbaudinar*,[4] to outrage, insult. This appears to be formed on *girbaut*, vulgar fellow. *Girbaudar* is not found.

-ONARE does not appear to have been used as a suffix in Latin, but the forms derived from it, -ONAR and -ONNER, are found used as suffixes in Provençal and French. In Provençal, -ONAR occurs in several words, but in most of them, as was sometimes the case with -INAR, it is not a compound verbal suffix that is represented, but only the simple suffix -AR attached to a noun in -ON. As these words were fairly common, and because of the influence of the suffix -INAR, there may have come about the use of -ONAR as a real suffix.[5]

[1] From *buccina*.

[2] I, 160.

[3] Cf. the Fr. words ending in -INER, as *trottiner*, *piétiner*, etc., in which -INER is substituted for -ER.

[4] Or possibly *enguirbaudinar*. See Levy, III, 2.

[5] If such use exists. *Tastonar* seems to be the only probable example of it. In Fr., however, -ONNER is much commoner than -INER.

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The words in which -ONAR is found, the verbal suffix being, however, only -AR, are:

agachonar, provide witnesses	*agachon*, witness
amolonar, pile up. The word may be a parasynthetón formed on *molon*, a mass, or it may possibly be a real example of the use of the verbal suffix -ONAR, being formed on the verb *amolar*, pile up.	
mencionar,† mention	*mencion*, mention

The only word that is a certain example of a suffix -ONAR is:

tastonar,[1] grope	*tastar*, touch

-IZAR

The Provençal words ending in -IZAR give little difficulty. They are few in number and are regularly formed by adding the suffix to nouns. The source of the suffix is the same as for -EJAR, the Greek -ιζειν, which became -IZARE in Latin. This form was first added to words of Greek origin, and then to Latin words. On the one hand, both the form of the suffix and the kind of word formed remained very nearly the same as at the beginning, as in -IZAR; on the other, in popular words, the suffix must have changed into -IDIARE, whence the Provençal -EJAR, already treated. -IZAR from -IZARE was not, then, a popular suffix, as indeed our Provençal words show. These are either words formed in Latin, or Provençal imitations of such learned words. Some of them, as *escandalizar*, scandalize, *evangelizar*, evangelize, *organizar*, organize, and *sincopizar*, faint, have Greek

[1] Cf. the Fr. *tâtonner*, beside *tâter*.

† Also *escaironar*, from *escairon*, but the word is doubtful.

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words at their base, and appear to have been formed in Latin. *Polverizar* also may be derived from a word already formed in Latin.[1]

A few words seem to be formed in Provençal in imitation of the Latin learned formation:

cotizar,[2] pay a tax	*cota*, price, share
favorizar,[2] favor	*favor*, favor
inventarizar, make inventory	*inventari*, inventory
martirizar,[2] massacre	*martiri*, torture
mercandizar,† carry on business	*mercan(t)*, merchant

The later history of the suffix may be seen in French—in which new verbs in -IZAR, often taking the place of those in -ER, are formed on modern French words, both nouns and adjectives—and in English where it exists as -IZE.

[1] A corresponding form exists also in Fr., in which language the simple word developed into *poudre*. The Fr. verb might, of course, be a late imitation of a Lat. word, but similar forms exist in too many languages for this to be probable.

[2] Found also in Fr. From Late Lat. words?

† Other words not formed in Prov. are *pactizar*, make an agreement (found also in Fr.), and *preconizar*, make known, from a Late Lat. *praeconizare*.

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CHAPTER IV

FORMATION OF ADVERBS

The last of the great divisions containing words formed by the addition of suffixes consists of adverbs. Here, however, though one other ending will be mentioned, there is only one suffix requiring detailed treatment, having become in all Romance practically the only one used in the formation of adverbs. This is, of course, the Latin suffix -MENTE and the Provençal -MEN, which, on account of being added to the feminine form of the adjective[1]—generally ending in *a*—may be given as -AMEN.

(-A)MEN

The numerous adverbs in -AMEN and -MEN formed on adjectives present little interest, being always regularly formed.[2] Adverbs formed by means of this suffix on words other than adjectives and past participles are very rare and hard to explain. For example, there are a few words formed on nouns:

[1] The reason being that -MENTE represented the Lat. feminine noun *mens, mentis*.

[2] There are several words with these endings beside which no corresponding adjectives are found, examples of such words being *onorificablamen*, to the full value; *plaziblamen*, in a pleasing manner; *plorivolmen*, lamentably; *presencialmen*, as being present; and *prodomialmen*, honorably. Probably the adjectives *onorificable*, *plorivol*, etc., existed, but it seems unnecessary to assume their existence. Since -ABLE and -AL are two of the commonest endings for adjectives, and -MEN is very often attached to words with these endings to form adverbs, -ABLEMEN and -ALMEN were found very frequently, and may have come to be added as single suffixes to the proper base-words when need for such formations arose. Thus *presencialmen* may have been formed directly on *presencia*, etc. They would in this case be double suffixes.

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domenjamen, in particular, privately	*domenge*, property
ligemen,[1] like a vassal	*lige*, liege
mercandamen, in a businesslike way	*mercan(t)* merchant

There are also words apparently formed on verb-stems:

de(s)liuramen; Levy translates by "free, unhindered," thus making the word an adjective; it also has the meaning "immediately"; from *de(s)liurar*, deliver	
enrevironamen, roundabout	*enrevironar*, surround

-MEN is added to other words in:

eisemsmen,[2] together	*eisems*, together

Here the suffix has no force.

-ADAMEN, -IDAMEN, -UDAMEN

This brings us to the words formed on past participles. These are numerous enough to have given rise in the regular past participles to apparent suffixes -ADAMEN, -IDAMEN, and -UDAMEN, which are, however, only the feminine form of past participles in -AT, -IT, and -UT+the adverbial suffix. Past participles being often used precisely as adjectives, it was natural to form adverbs

[1] *Lige*, on which this adverb is formed, is used in the examples both as adjective and noun, and would be a proper starting-point for the formation of the other words, if they need any such starting-point. When a need for this particular kind of formation arose, however, the ordinary adverbial ending was used, its original use apparently being forgotten. Another adverb possibly formed on a noun is *fachamen*, found in the phrase: *com fachamen*, just as. Possibly formed on *fach*, deed?

[2] *Esmamen*, likewise, may also be mentioned here. The word is obscure, but appears to be a deformation of *eisamen*<*ipsa mente*, perhaps owing to a confusion with *eisemsmen*. Still another word of this kind is *maimamen*, especially. This appears to represent a borrowing of the O. Fr. *mêmement*, probably influenced in its forms by the Prov. *mai*.

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on them by means of the suffix -MEN. Formations on irregular past participles are seen in:

derotamen, bitterly	*derot*, past participle of *derompre*, tear, tear away
encluzamen, inclusive	*enclus*, included (*enclure*)
escostamen, secretly	*escòst*, concealed (*escondre*)
obertamen, clearly	*obert*, clear, open

The above forms clearly show adverbs formed on past participles. In the words to follow, the formation is the same, but the participial endings+the adverbial suffix give the longer apparent forms. The first conjugation is represented, therefore, by the ending -ADAMEN. It is found in:

abreujadamen, in shortened form	*abreujar*, shorten
abrivadamen, quickly	*abrivar*, hasten
acordadamen, in harmony	*acordar*, be in accord
acoselhadamen, attentively	*acoselhar*, counsel
ajostadamen, conjointly	*ajostar*, bring together, reunite
amadamen, with love	*amar*, love
amagadamen, secretly	*amagar*, hide
amenradamen, sparingly	(Only the forms *amermar* and *amenudar*, diminish)
amezuradamen, reasonably	*amezurar*, measure
aparelhadamen, in order	*aparelhar*, pair, fit
apensadamen, intentionally	*apensar*, think
aplatadamen, secretly	*aplatar*, flatten, hide
apoderadamen, mightily	*apoderar*, force, strain
apropriadamen, suitably	*apropriar*, adapt, suit
asembladamen, together	*asemblar*, assemble
asenadamen, comprehendingly	*asenar*, make intelligible
asermadamen, properly	*asermar*, prepare, arrange
asinhadamen, punctually	*asinhar*, assign
asomadamen, summarily	*asomar*, sum up
ateiradamen, successively	*ateirar*, put in rows
aviadamen, quickly	*aviar*, lead, journey
azordenadamen, with order	*azordenar*, order, put in order
continuadamen, continuously	*continuar*, continue
curadamen, carefully	*curar*, take pains
deliberadamen, deliberately	*deliberar*, deliberate
deputadamen, in fixed order	*deputar*, determine

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desplegadamen, explicitly	*desplegar*, display
desvergonhadamen, shamelessly	*desvergonhar*, become dissolute
determenadamen, with determination	*determenar*, determine
detriadamen, preferably	*detriar*, distinguish, choose
dezesperadamen, hopelessly	*dezesperar*, despair
dezordenadamen, in disorderly way	*dezordenar*, behave improperly
envezadamen, gaily	*envezar*, rejoice
esforsadamen, with effort	*esforsar*, strive
espresadamen, distinctly	*espresar*, express
esproadamen, in tried manner	*esproar*, try, test
esenhadamen, knowingly	*esenhar*, teach
fisadamen, fixedly	*fisar*, fix
fondadamen, thoroughly	*fondar*, found
forsadamen, under compulsion	*forsar*, force
iradamen, angrily	*irar*,[1] become angry
membradamen, wittingly	*membrar*, remember
mescladamen, pell-mell	*mesclar*, mix, confuse
mezuradamen, with moderation	*mezurar*, measure
moderadamen, moderately	*moderar*, moderate
nom(e)nativadamen, mentioning the name	*nomenativar*, name
nomeradamen, for cash	*nomerar*, enumerate, count
nomnadamen, by name	*nomnar*, name
onradamen, honorably	*onrar*, honor
ordenadamen, regularly	*ordenar*, order
pasadamen, past	*pasar*, pass
pauzadamen, sedately	*pauzar*, place
pobladamen, publicly	*poblar*, populate
ponchadamen, punctuated	*ponchar*, punctuate
regladamen, regularly	*reglar*, regular
sebradamen, separately	*sebrar*, separate
tempradamen, moderately	*temprar*, moderate
uzadamen, † usually	*uzar*, use

[1] The existence of *irar* is uncertain, but a participial form *irat* certainly existed, and of course *iradamen* would be formed directly on that.

† A few words in which -ADAMEN is added to words other than verbs of the first conjugation are worthy of note. In *atrasajadamen*, certainly, the suffix is added to the adverb *atrasag*, surely, and brings no change in meaning. In *fastadamen*, hastily, and *particuladamen*, by particles, the suffix is added to the nouns *fasta* and *particul*, and in *unadamen*, by ones or singly, to an adjective. This is certainly because -ADAMEN was taken to be a simple adverbial suffix. Another interesting word is *dezegadamen*, powerfully, apparently formed on *egar*, to equal. This would be a rather peculiar parasynthetic formation.

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-IDAMEN is the ending found in adverbs built on verbs of the second conjugation:

afortidamen, courageously	*afortir*, strengthen
complidamen, completely	*complir*, complete
departidamen, separately	*departir*, divide, separate
devezidamen, divisibly	*devezir*, divide
esclarzidamen, clearly	*esclarzir*, clear up
estanquidamen,[1] in full, to completion	
falhidamen, faultily	*falhir*, fail
grazidamen, willingly	*grazir*, thank
marridamen, sadly	*marrir*, sadden
partidamen, separately	*partir*, divide
polidamen,† politely	*polir*, polish

-UDAMEN is found in a few adverbs formed on the past participles of verbs in *-re* and *-er*:

atendudamen, attentively	*atendre*, wait for
corrompudamen, corruptly	*corrompre*, corrupt
entendudamen, intently	*entendre*, hear, understand
escondudamen, secretly	*escondre*, hide
vencudamen, as a conquered man	*vencer*, conquer

-AS

Besides the common suffixes -AMEN and -ADAMEN, there is one more adverbial ending that should be mentioned with the other suffixes. This is the ending -AS, used apparently as an ordinary Provençal suffix in such

[1] *Estanquir*, though not found, may have existed, Cf. *estanqui* in Mistral.

† A word in -IDAMEN not formed on a verb is *escautridamen*, slyly, built on *escautrit*, sly—a normal formation on an adjective, -IT being found as a suffix in cases other than the past participle of the verb of the second conjugation. Formations in -ADAMEN, -IDAMEN, and -UDAMEN in which the verb at the base is not to be distinguished are very rare, however, although there is no reason why they should not have existed. The large number of forms in which -AT, -IT, and -UT represented the past participle endings may have caused the long adverbial suffixes to be associated almost exclusively with verbs. Yet such forms as *fastadamen* (see p. 376, n. †), are quite clearly formations on nouns, *fastat* not being found.

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words as *longas* from *lonc*, *certas* beside *cert*, *(a)envidas* beside *envit*, and *primas* beside *prim*. This suffix is somewhat difficult to explain, but its origin seems to be as follows: Many adverbs in their regular developments from their Latin source happened to end in *s*, as *mens* < *minus*, *alhors* < *aliorsum*, *ints* < *intus*, and the comparative forms *mais* and *plus*. By analogy, therefore, *s* was added to other words not having it etymologically, as in *ensemps* < *in simul*, and it is even found added to the ending -AMEN described above. Some of the words to which *s* was thus added must have ended in *a*, as **poisa*, the regular development of *postea*, and *aora*, probably from *ad horam*. Now, as shortened forms of these words probably existed also, as **pois*[1] (from **postium ?*), the -AS may have been taken for the ending. It is found, at any rate, with the force of an adverbial suffix in the words mentioned above. The complete list of the adverbs ending in -AS follows:

aoras, now = *aora* (from *ad horam*) +S
certas,[2] certainly — *cert*, certain
daveras,[3] in truth — *ver*, true
(a)envidas, in spite of oneself; from **envit*[4] (< *invite*) +AS

[1] Cf. the Fr. *puis* and the Sp. *pues*. *Or* for *ora* probably also existed. Cf. the Fr. *or*.

[2] The *Dic. Gen.* gives a popular Lat. **certas* as the etymon for *certes* in Fr., but this is perhaps unnecessary.

[3] The form of *daveras* is very puzzling. There seems to be no phonetic reason for the *a* in the first syllable, which seems to show the influence of the It. *davvero*. *Veras* might have been formed on *ver* by the analogy of *poisas*, etc., and it was probably strengthened by the prefixing of the preposition *de* (cf. the Sp. *de veras*, *á solas*, etc.). Later on, *daveras* was further strengthened by the additional use of *a* and *per*, as seen in the phrases *a daveras* and *per daveras*. See Levy, II, 16.

[4] *Envit*, a noun, of different origin, is found in Prov.

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foras, outside. The ending is here etymological; from the Latin *foras*

longas, a long time — *lonc*, long

loras, at that time; from **lora* (<*ad illam horam*)+S

nemias, exceedingly. The *s* is etymological, but the development has been influenced by the analogy of the other words in -AS

oncas, ever; from **onca* (<*unquam*)+S

poisas, then; from **poisa* (<*postea*)+S

primas, at first — *prim*, first

propdas, near; from **propitanus* (?)

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CHAPTER V

DOUBLE SUFFIXES

DOUBLE SUFFIXES IN GENERAL

In dealing with the different kinds of words formed by the addition of suffixes, reference has often been made to a list of double suffixes. Words of this kind were given without explanation under the suffix in which they ended, since the use of double suffixes in Provençal is important enough and of great enough interest to deserve a chapter by itself.

In the first place, it will be necessary to explain what is meant by double suffixes. This term is used in a broad sense to include both words that have had (1) two suffixes added to them separately at different times, and (2) an ending originally composed of two distinct suffixes but probably added later as one indivisible suffix to the simple word. Thus the broad term, double suffixes, may be divided into two classes, the first of which will be called "real double suffixes," and the second, "compound suffixes." Although it is not always easy to tell in just which way the suffixes were added, there are several principles to aid us. One of these is the numbers in which certain combinations of suffixes are found. Take, for example, the combinations whose first part is -AIR-, and we find numerous examples of each of the following: -AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRET, -AIRIA, -AIRIER, -AIROL, and -AIRON. It appears, then, from this list, that -AIR- from -ARIUS is a form that was particularly used in connection with other suffixes. As early as the Latin inscriptions, we find examples of -ARIOLUS, and even

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-ARIARIUS,[1] in which -ARIUS is reduplicated. Besides -ARIUS, the suffixes to which others were most commonly joined are -EL, -AT, and -ADA, -ANDA, -ANSA, and -AS.

Mere number is not, however, the only test as to the existence of compound suffixes. Often the meaning makes it clear that it is to the simple word that the combination is added, and often the word with the single suffix has disappeared altogether.

A. REAL DOUBLE SUFFIXES

The "real double suffixes" will be studied first. Two of the words from the list below may be given as examples. *Jornadasa*, long day's journey, and *frairesquier*, sharer of a brother's portion, illustrate the type well. In both of these words, each individual suffix has a well-defined force of its own. The words containing real double suffixes, therefore, are those in which the force of each of the two suffixes is perceptible, and in which this is made clear by the simultaneous existence of the simple word, the word with the single suffix, and the word with both.[2]

The lists of words containing real double suffixes[3] will

[1] Olcott, 139–40.

[2] In some of the examples in which an adjective was formed on a simple word which was also an adjective, the first suffix gave little change of meaning. This is usual, however, in this kind of a formation, and no compound suffix can be seen in these isolated examples. On the other hand, sometimes all three forms are found in examples given under compound suffixes: but when two suffixes are frequently combined, the first being one that changed the simple word but little, the inference is, that though originally added separately, they became finally a single suffix. Whether the word with the simple suffix exists or not, in most cases of these compound suffixes the formation is seen to be made on the simple word.

[3] All words ending in -ELET and all words ending in -AIR + another suffix have been excluded from this list and treated under compound suffixes. In the case of -ELET, it is doubtful whether it was ever added as a single suffix, but the words ending in it are so numerous that

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be given together, first the nouns, then the adjectives, and then the verbs, after which the compound suffixes will be studied in detail.

I. Nouns.—First come the nouns: Here the last of the two suffixes may be attached either (1) to a noun or (2) to an adjective.

1. *The word to which the last suffix is attached being a noun.*—When the base to which the second of two suffixes forming a noun is attached, is a noun, this noun may itself be derived either from (*a*) a noun or (*b*) a verb.

(*a*) First come the cases in which it is a noun:

albaran, scrap of paper	*albar*, sapwood	(*alba*, white poplar)
astelats, log	*astela*, splinter	*asta*, pike
barralier, cooper	*barral*, cask	*barra*, bar
bocinada, mouthful	*bocina*, mouth	*boca*, mouth
bordelairia, libertinage	*bordel*, brothel	*borda*, rustic house
bresolet, small cradle	*bresol*, cradle	*bres*, cradle
caironet, small hewn stone	*cairon*, hewn stone	*caire*, corner
canabasier, weaver	*canabas*, hempen cloth	*canebe*, hemp
capelier, hatter	*capel*, hat	*cap*, hat
carretada, cartload	*carreta*, small cart	*car*, cart

for convenience of treatment they have all been grouped together under compound suffixes and explained there. As for the suffixes beginning with -AIR-, representing -ARIUS, it may be said that Olcott (139–40) gives examples of -ARIARIUS and -ARIOLUS in the inscriptions, thus showing the early tendency of -ARIUS to attach another suffix to itself. Such forms as these, which regularly developed into -AIRIER and -AIROL, finally becoming attached as one suffix (see compound suffixes), formed a model for a new Prov. compound suffix. Generally the Prov. word shows in its meaning that the two suffixes were added as one to the simple word, and the form proves that the last suffix cannot have been added to a Prov. word ending in -IER. Such words as *carrairier* and *carraireta*, though their meaning seems to indicate a separate addition of the two suffixes, thus real double suffixes, are, therefore, though difficult to explain, listed, under the proper heading, among the words beginning with -AIR-, or compound suffixes. In other cases, as in that of *bandiera*, which persists beside *banda* and *bandairier* (although *bandairier* appears to have been formed directly on *banda*), the persistence of the word in -IER is perhaps due to the influence of such words as *culhier* and *denier*. In these cases, the simple word, i.e., without -ARIUS, had disappeared very early, so that we have in *culhairada* and *denairada*, etc., really only one suffix added.

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caslania, defense of castles	*caslan*, lord of a castle	*castel*, castle
cazalet, small country-house	*cazal*, country-house	*casa*, house
celararia, office of cellarer	*celar*, cellar	*cela*, cell
colhonet, testicle	*colhon*, testicle	*colh*, scrotum
cridoria, uproar	*cridor*, cry	*crit*, cry
cubelot, small vat	*cubel*, small vat	*cuba*, vat
dentelhet, small battlement	*dentelh*, battlement	*den(t)*, tooth
drechuria, right, title	*drechura*, right	*drech*, right
enfantonet, small child	*enfanton*, child	*enfan(t)*, child
escobilhier, sweepings	*escobilha*, sweeping	*escoba*, broom
escudelier,[1] stand for bowls *escudelon*,[1] small bowl	*escudel*, bowl	*escut*, shield
esponderatge, execution of a will	*espondier*, executor	*esponda*, bedside
fachilhier, sorcerer *fachurier*, sorcerer	*fachilha*, charms *fachura*, charm	*fach*, face
ferralhier, ironmonger	*ferralha*, old iron	
ferratalha, old iron *ferrataria*, ironware *ferratier*, ironmonger	*ferrat*, iron pail	*fer*, iron
filadalha, spun yarn	*filada*, layer	*fil*, thread
filholatge, adoption *filholet*, small godson	*filhol*, godson	*filh*, son
fogaseta, small roll *fogasol*, small roll	*fogasa*, roll	
fogatgier, collector of hearth tax	*fogatge*, hearth tax	*foc*, fire
fornatjaria, stove tax	*fornatja*, stove tax	
fornilhier, vendor of kindling-wood	*fornilha*, kindling-wood	*forn*, oven
frairesquier, sharer of brother's portion	*frairesca*, brother's portion	*fraire*, brother
gonelon,[1] coat	*gonela*, gown	*gona*, gown
jornadasa, long day's journey	*jornada*, day's journey	*jorn*, day
juponier, petticoat maker	*jupon*, petticoat	*jup*, skirt
juratairia, college of "jurats"	*jurat*, "jurat"	*jur*, oath
lebratina, rabbit skin	*lebrat*, young rabbit	*lebre*, rabbit
mercadairet, little merchant	*mercadier*, merchant	
mercadanier, merchant	*mercadana*, utensil of commerce	*mercat*, market
mesatgier, messenger *mesatjaria*, mission	*mesatge*, message	*mes*, messenger
ortalet, little garden	*ortal*, garden	*ort*, garden
ostalet, small house *ostalier*, hotel keeper *ostalot*, small house	*ostal*, house	*ost*, host
pasairil, toll	*pasiera*, passage	*pas*, passage
peatgier, toll-collector *peatgil*, place where toll is paid *peatjaria*, toll	*peatge*, toll	*pe*, foot
peisonet, small fish *peisonier*, fisherman	*peison*, fish	*peis*, fish

[1] Treated also under compound suffixes, p. 392, n. †.

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peletier, dealer in skins	*peleta*, pellicle	*pel*, skin
peliseta, small fur coat	*pelisa*, fur coat	
pelisier, dealer in fur coats		
pesquirier, fisherman (p. 399, n. †)	*pesquier*, fishpond	*pesca*, fishing
pezonalha, infantry	*pezon*, foot-soldier	*pe*, foot
pezonier, pedestrian		
pigaseta, small axe	*pigasa*, axe	*pic*, pickaxe
pinholat, candy made of pine-seeds	*pinhol*, pine-seed	*pinha*, pine-cone
polalhier, poultry dealer	*polalha*, poultry	*pol*, chicken
polasier, poultry dealer	*polatz*, chicken	
ponselet, small bridge (p. 392, n. †)	*ponsel*, small bridge	*pon(t)*, bridge
popelon, nipple	*popel*, nipple	*popa*, breast
porcelet, sucking pig (p. 392, n. †)	*porcel*, pig	*porc*, pig
portalet, small door	*portal*, portal	*porta*, door
putanier, libertine	*putana*, prostitute	*puta*, prostitute
solaret, story, tier	*solar*, story (?), ground	*sol*, soil, ground

(*b*) In other cases, in which the word with a single suffix, when found, is a noun, the base-word is a verb. Examples of such words are:

amagatalh, hiding-place		*amagar*, hide
ambladureta, little amble	*ambladura*, amble	*amblar*, to amble
avocadel, little lawyer	*avocat*, lawyer	*avocar*, call
crezensairia, security	*crezensa*, guaranty	*crezer*, believe
esquivadansa, lie, evasion		*esquivar*, shun
estatgiera, frame, trestle	*estatge*, dwelling; sojourn; condition	*estar*, stand, stay
estatgil, a feudal obligation		
estatjamen, delay, sojourn		
fermalhier, maker of buckles	*fermalh*, buckle	*fermar*, close, clasp
fermansaria, *fizansaria*, security	*fermansa*, *fizansa*, security	*fizar*, trust
liuradon, a measure of capacity	*liurada*, pound	*liurar*, deliver
pilhardaria, plunder	*pilhart*, trooper	*pilhar*, plunder

2. *The word to which the last suffix is attached being an adjective.*—There are also some words ending in double suffixes in which the base to which the second of the two suffixes is attached is an adjective. This adjective may itself be derived from (*a*) a noun, (*b*) another adjective, or (*c*) a verb.

(*a*) In the following cases it is derived from a noun:

aurania, folly	*auran*, light, frivolous	*aura*, air
fumosetat, smokiness	*fumos*, smoky	*fum*, smoke
janglozia, chatter	*janglos*, chattering	*jangla*, chatter, mockery

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proensales, Provençal language	*proensal*, Provençal	*Proensa*, Provence
questalitat, condition of being subject to the "questa"	*questal*, subject to the "questa"	*questa*, a tax
vilanet, villager *vilania*, coarse act	*vilan*, coarse, rustic	*vila*, farm

(*b*) Next come the cases in which the word at the base is an adjective. The adjective derived from this simple word shows little or no change of meaning, as is usually the case in such formations. The second suffix regularly changes these adjectives into abstract nouns.

certanetat, certainty	*certan*, certain	*cert*, certain
cominaleza, community	*cominal*, common	*comun*, common
egalieretat, equality	*egalier*, equal	*egal*, equal
francaleza,[1] freehold property(1)?	*francal*, free	*franc*, free
gentileza, gentleness	*gentil*, gentle, noble	*gen(t)*, gentle
moisardia, deception *moisonia*, ruse	*moisart*, *moison* false	*mois*, false
ricaudia, pride *ricoxia*,† haughtiness	*ricaut*, proud *ricos*, haughty	*ric*, powerful

(*c*) In the following cases, the base-word appears to be a verb. On this was formed an adjective, and upon this adjective an abstract noun by means of the abstract suffixes -TAT and -IA. Thus we find:

agradabletat, suitability, propriety	*agradable*, agreeable, suitable	*agradar*, please, suit
aprofechabletat, improvement	*aprofechable*, profitable	*aprofechar*, profit
avinenteza, pleasing conduct	*avinen(t)*, pleasing[2]	*avenir*, happen
manentia, wealth	*manen(t)*, rich[2]	*maner*, live
membradia, prudence	*membrat*, prudent	*membrar*, remember
muzardia, folly	*muzart*, loitering	*muzar*, loiter

[1] See also -ALEZA under compound suffixes, p. 396.

[2] Rather peculiar developments of meaning. *Avenir*, however, probably had some such meaning as "to please," which idea is found in O. Fr. The development in meaning seen in *manen* and *manentia* is also common to other languages.

† There are also some other words of this kind apparently having double suffixes. Such are *felonia*, treachery, and *glotonia* and *leconia*, gluttony. Both *fel* and *felon*, *glot* and *gloton* exist beside the derived nouns, but the two forms represent simply remains of the nominative and accusative cases. In the other example, however, only *lec* and not *lecon* is found, but *leconia* may have been an imitation of *glotonia*, which has the same meaning. On the other hand, it is even possible that *lecon* may have existed. Cf. the It. *leccone*.

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II. Adjectives.—The formation of adjectives by the addition of double suffixes does not differ greatly from that of nouns. Here again, the distinction between the real double suffixes and the compound ones may be made. In the case of the real double suffixes, the final suffix, when added to a noun, simply changes the noun with a single suffix into an adjective, as, for example, *sobransa*, pride, into *sobransier*, proud, the adjectival suffix having its usual force. It makes little difference, however, whether the noun to which the adjectival suffix is added was originally derived from a noun or a verb: the case, in the addition of the last suffix is simply that of changing a noun into an adjective. When the word to which this suffix is added is an adjective, the suffix, if -ET, as it practically always is, has diminutive force; if any other suffix, it is without force. -ET, here, as when used singly, is thus the only adjectival suffix that kept its original force when added to adjectives.

1. *The word to which the last suffix is added being a* noun.—

artilhos, clever, skilful	*artilha*, fortification	*art*, art
beltados, beautiful	*beltat*, beauty	*bel*, beautiful
cartaironal,[1] of a quadroon	*cairtairon*, quadroon	*cart*, quarter
cavalairos, chivalrous *cavaleiral*,[2] of a knight	*cavalier*, knight	*caval*, horse
coratjan *coratjat* *coratjos* } courageous	*coratge*, courage	*cor*, heart
ferezos, cruel	*fereza*, fear, horror	*fer*, savage
fizanzos,[3] assured	*fizanza*, trust	*fizar*, trust
frachuros, miserable, needy	*frachura*, lack	*fracha*, loss

[1] Really a triple suffix—compound suffix + suffix.

[2] -EIRAL for -AIRAL, the former apparently being due to a backward influence of *cavalier*, on which the word was formed, probably late. There is a form *primeiran* as well as *primairan* given below (p. 402), and due to *primier*.

[3] Here the noun on which the adjective is finally formed is based on a verb.

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frejuros, cold (adj.)	*frejura*, cold (noun)	*freg*, cold
guinhonut,[1] bewhiskered	*guinhon*, whiskers	(*guinhar*, wink?)
linhatjal, inherited from one's ancestors	*linhatge*, lineage	*linha*, line
mortales, *mortalier* } mortal, deadly	*mortal*, mortal	*mort*, death
mulatin, of a mule	*mulat*, mule	*mul*, mule
pezansos,[1] sad	*pezansa*, care	*pezar*, weigh, think
pigasat, spotted	*pigasa*, axe	*pic*, pickaxe
porcelier, pig-breeding	*porcel*, pig	*porc*, pig
sobransier,[1] proud	*sobransa*, pride	*sobrar*, conquer, overcome

2. *The word to which the last suffix is added being an adjective.*—Next come the suffixes added to adjectives. Here we probably have to deal again with real double suffixes rather than with compound ones, but it is hard to say with any certainty that such endings as -ELET, -ELOS, and -ONET were never added as one suffix. It is possible, much more so, indeed, than was the case with the nouns of the same kind, that they are compound suffixes, but there are few examples of any one of them, and the word with the single suffix persists; whereas if -ELET, in particular, had been understood as a single suffix, the word in -EL would have been likely to disappear.[2] The adjectives formed on adjectives will therefore be given here under the real double suffixes:

amorozet, (somewhat) loving	*amoros*, loving	*amor*, love
cortezet, courtly	*cortes*, courtly	*cort*, court
falbelet, slightly pale	} *falbel*, pale, fallow	*falb*, pale, fallow
falbelos, pale		
fortalet,[3] somewhat strong		*fort*, strong

[1] Here the noun on which the adjective is finally formed is based on a verb.

[2] Especially true, however, of the cases in which -EL was added to nouns. In most of the cases given, the base-word as well as the one with a single suffix is an adjective.

[3] A peculiar form. *Fortalet* appears to be made up of -ET added to **fortal*, which may have been supposed to exist in *fortaleza*, i.e., *fortal* + -EZA instead of *fort* + *aleza*. *Fresquenet* (p. 388) may possibly be a corruption of *frescalet*, *frescal* being found.

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fresquenet,[1] (beside *fresquet*), fresh		*fresc*, fresh
ginhozet, fine, slender (?)	*ginhos*, fine (?)	*ginh*, artifice
grisonet (beside *grizet*), somewhat gray	*grison*, gray	*gris*, gray
novelet, rather new	*novel*, new	*nou*, new
primairal,[2]† principal	*primier*, first	*prim*, first

III. Verbs.—The verbal double suffixes give little difficulty. The second or verbal suffix simply changes the noun or adjective already having a single suffix into a verb. The verbal suffix itself, however, may be simple or compound. The only simple ones are -AR and -IR, the conjugation endings; the compound ones—-ALHAR, -ASAR, -EJAR, -EZIR, etc.—have already been fully treated in the chapter on ordinary verbal suffixes. So important a part of the formation of verbs have they become that it would have been impossible to reserve their treatment to the chapter on double suffixes. All that remains to be given, therefore, is the list of words ending in a suffix, which add -AR and -IR in order to become verbs. -AR is found added to nouns and -IR to adjectives.

-AR is found in: *aposturar*, *damnatjar*, *drechurar*, *flautelar*, *fornatjar*, *fornilhar*, *frachurar*, *frontadar*, *furetar*, *furonar*, *laidenjar*, *lauzenjar*, *medalhonar*, *ostalar*, *ostatjar*, *peatjar*, *pedasar*, *personatjar*, *pomelar*, *pontelar*, *porcelar*, *romansar*, *sobransar*, *soldadar*, and *valadar*.

-IR is found in *orgolhozir*.

B. COMPOUND SUFFIXES

We now reach the second class into which the double suffixes have been divided—the compound suffixes. The origin and development of suffixes of this kind have been explained by Thomas in his article on the suffix

[1] See note 3, p. 387.

[2] Found also as *primairan* under compound suffixes, p. 402.

† *Fatonier*, crazy, is similar in formation to *glotonia* and *leconia* treated above.

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-ARICIUS.[1] As an illustration of the birth of suffixes of this class, Thomas takes the word *natalicius*. First, derived from the past participle *natus*, we find the adjective *natalis*, natal, and from this word, used substantively in the sense of "birthday," is derived the adjective *natalicius*, pertaining to one's birthday. Then the connection of this word with *natus* and its resemblance to it brings about the supposition that it was formed on it by means of the suffix -ALICIUS rather than on the less usual *natalis*. This, then, is an example of the growth of compound suffixes in Latin: the whole development is complete. Yet also in Latin, we may find the compound suffix in full bloom, without any intermediate stage in view, as in *gentilicius* for example, formed—as its meaning proves—on *gens* and not on *gentilis*, and in *sigillaricium*, clearly formed, in one example, on *sigillum*. -ARICIUS, or -ALICIUS, was, therefore, added as a simple suffix, just as -ICIUS, for example, to the simple word.

Now, there are several types of compound suffixes in Provençal. -AREZA, found in a few words, is from -ARICIUS, -A, mentioned above. -ARÍA (-ARIUS+ -IA) is, of course, likwise really a compound suffix, but as it was formed so very early as to be practically a simple suffix in Latin, it has been treated as a simple suffix and given with these. Yet -ARIUS, the first part of this suffix, seems to have been peculiarly suited to the superposition of other suffixes.[2] It sometimes merely changed a noun into an adjective, and often was added to both nouns and adjectives without changing their meaning. This may account for the list of compound suffixes formed on -ARIUS—-AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRET, -AIRIA, -AIROL, -AIRON, and, strangest of all, -AIRIER, in

[1] *Nouv. Ess.*, 62.

[2] See p. 381, note, above.

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which -ARIUS, -UM is twice represented. It will at once be observed, of course, that in all these words, -ARIUS has the form -AIR, its phonetic development, instead of -IER, the form it has when used alone. The difference seems to be one of accent. When used alone, -ARIUS bore the accent and seems to have undergone foreign influences by which it became -IER,[1] but with other suffixes attached, it did not bear the accent, and simply developed phonetically. These suffix-combinations were probably first formed, therefore, after the *y* element of -ARIUS had begun to influence the preceding vowel, but before the foreign influences were exerted. In some cases, the word in -IER exists beside the word ending in -AIR+suffix, but the connection between the two was probably forgotten. *Sestier* exists beside *sestairada* and *sestairal*, and these two last words may have been formed on it, but the existence of *sest* probably caused that more usual word to be taken as their base. Thus may have come about such words as *capairon* and *golairon*. The case is the same as that of *natalicius*.

The same thing is true of the double suffixes beginning with -ADA or -AT attached to verb-stems. In these cases, -ADA and -AT often had no very clear force, and as -IER was often added to them, possibly because of an earlier use with the words formed on nouns by these suffixes, there arose the compound suffix -ADIER or -ATIER, of very frequent occurrence. The verbal suffix -ANDA also combined with -IER in the same way.

A nominal suffix that combined with -IER very frequently is -AS, which sometimes had no very clear force, though generally augmentative. The combination is perhaps common enough to be treated as a compound suffix (-ASIER), particularly as the intermediate word in

[1] See p. 208, above.

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-AS is often not to be found. -AS sometimes combines with other final suffixes also.

-EL is another suffix which was very frequently combined with other suffixes, particularly -ET, the ending -ELET being of common occurrence in Provençal. Yet in spite of its frequency, it is doubtful whether this was a real compound suffix added at once to the simple word. -EL has already been treated as a single suffix,[1] and it has been shown that when added in Latin, it gave very little force of any kind to words to which it was attached, which simple words, being so nearly like the derived ones, tended to disappear in favor of the word with the suffix. We find, therefore, few groups of words containing the simple word as well as the one ending in -EL and the one in -ELET. If, therefore, the simple word disappeared very early, so shortly after a word ending in -EL had been formed on it, there was nothing left to which a compound suffix -ELET could be added. The words ending in -EL were thought of as simple words, and a new suffix -ET was added. The persistence of the simple word, in a number of cases, rather than that of the word with the single suffix, would seem to be a necessary requirement to bring about the addition of compound suffixes. As illustrative of this point, a word containing -ARIUS may be compared and contrasted with the words in -EL. Beside *cartairada*, for example, *cart*, as well as *cartier* (*quartarius*) still persists, and gives a good starting-point for words having the compound suffix -AIRADA. It is only in a few cases that the simple word to which -ARIUS was added has disappeared.[2]

[1] See p. 171, above.

[2] One of these words is *denier* (<*denarius*), which exists beside *denairada*, *denairal*, and *denairet*. Here, as mentioned above (p. 382, note), we have to all intents and purposes a single suffix.

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For these reasons, therefore, -ELET and the other apparent compound suffixes beginning with -EL, such as -ELON, can hardly be considered as such, but for convenience, the words in -ELET will be given here. The only words in -ELET beside which a simple word is found are: *capelet, crespelet, gantelet,* and *tropelet,* and in the case of *gantelet,* it is the simple word *instead of* the word in -EL that is found, whereas in the other cases, *both* persist. The persistence of both *cap* and *capel* may be due to the fact that there was a real difference in meaning between the two words. *Crespel* is an adjective formed on an adjective, and in such cases the simple word generally persists, in spite of the fact that it does not differ in meaning from the derived one. *Tropel* is formed on a word of Germanic origin, and is therefore a later formation than most of the words in -EL. This is likewise true of **gantel.* Both *gantelet* and *tropelet* are probably borrowed from French, but *gantelet* was probably borrowed direct, whereas the suffix -ET may have been added in Provençal to the French loan-word *tropel.*†

The lists of words ending in compound suffixes will now be given. The suffixes will be dealt with in alphabetical order, complete lists of words being given under each heading. As with the real double suffixes, the nouns will be given first, then the adjectives, and finally the verbs.

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† The other words in -ELET are formed on words in -EL existing in Lat.; therefore it is natural to find no simple word in Prov., -ET alone being added here. Such words are *anelet, anhelet, auzelet, cairelet, castelet, donselet, martelet* (*ponselet, porcelet,* p. 384), and *vaiselet.* In the same way, *anhelon, auzelit,* etc., have only single suffixes added to words which in Lat. had -ELLUS. *Escudelier, escudelon,* and *gonelon* are either to be treated in the same way, or else contain real double suffixes, under which head they have already been listed. See p. 383, above.

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I. Nouns

-ADIER (-IDIER), -ATIER; -ADARIA, -ATARIA

The first compound suffix to be treated is -ADIER (-IDIER), found also as -ATIER. However this combination of single suffixes may have originated,[1] there can be little doubt that the two finally were added as a single suffix to the simple word. Their very number, as well as many other reasons, tends to prove this. Most of the words given in Raynouard end in -ADIER, whereas the list given by Thomas[2] has -ATIER. The words in -ADIER will be given first:

coladier, porter (also an adjective)	*col*, neck
dauradier, goldsmith	*daurar*, gild
filadier,[3] spinner	*filar*, spin
frontadier, neighbor	*fron(t)*, front
fumadiera, puff of smoke	*fum* or *fumar*, smoke
logadier, hired workman; lodger	*logar*, let, hire
ponhadiera, kind of a measure	*ponh*, fist
portadiera, litter	*portar*, carry
soldadier,† soldier	*soldar*, pay

[1] For a full treatment of this suffix, see -ADIER under the simple suffix -IER, p. 218, above.

[2] *Nouv. Ess.*, 233.

[3] See also *filatier*, p. 395, below.

† Words of this kind have been studied under *clamatier*, on p. 218, above, where their formation was fully treated. Forms in -ADA exist beside those in -ADIER in all of the above cases except *dauradier* and *portadiera* (thus *colada*, *filada*, *frontada*, *fumada*, *logada*, *ponhada*, and *soldada*), so that -IER may have been added separately in each individual case. But the number of cases, together with the fact that in most of them the meaning seems to indicate a formation on the simple word, causes them to be treated as compound suffixes. A word in -ADIER in which the -IER was added separately is *mainadier*, head of a family, from *mainada*, family, probably formed in Lat. No simple word is found in Prov. Another word having -ADIER not added as a single suffix is *bugadier*, wash-basin (which is also an adjective meaning "for washing"). This word is formed on *bugada*, wash, which in turn possibly is derived from **bugar*, wash (cf. the Fr. *buer*). A word in which -ARIA is substituted for -IER, giving the compound suffix -ADARIA is *logadaria*, letting, hiring.

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One word in -IDIER instead of -ADIER is found—*poiridier*, rottenness.[1]

Thomas' list of words in -ATIER, which is nearly complete, has already been given.[2] These words, with the exceptions of *filatier* and *granatier*,[3] are not in Raynouard or Levy. With the exception of *corratier*, broker (given by Thomas, *Nouv. Ess.*, 233, as *coratier*, and not found elsewhere) which appears to be formed on *corre*, to run (compare the French *courtier*), and beside which should be mentioned the further formations *corratairia* and *corratatge*, they all appear to be formed on nouns, as will be seen from the list. Beside a few of the words, such as *causatier* and *filatier*, are found verbs from which they might have been derived, but all the other words could have been derived only from nouns. This fact distinguishes them from the words ending in -ADIER, which could have been formed on either noun or verb. The words in -ATIER, or those in which the suffix was clearly added to nouns, may have been influenced in their form by the number of words denoting the young of animals that ended in -AT. There were a good many of these, although in the list given below there are only two words of this kind, namely *lobat*, young wolf, derived from *loba*, wolf, and *mulat*, mule, derived from *mul*. By analogy with these words, in which -ATIER may have been supposed to have been added to *loba* and *mul* (instead of -IER to *lobat* and *mulat*), other words in which -ATIER is joined to names of animals may have been formed, as, for

[1] For formation, see p. 229, n. 3, above.

[2] P. 219, above. The list ran as follows: *boscatier, bovatier, causatier, coratier, degatier, egatier, filatier, granatier, lobatier, mulatier, orsatier, panatier, pelatier, porcatier, telatier.*

[3] Beside which the formation *granataria*, similar to *logadaria* mentioned above (p. 393, n. †).

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example, *orsatier* (*ors*+-ATIER instead of **orsat*+-IER). The complete list of words in which the compound suffix -ATIER is found is as follows:

boscatier, woodsman (?)	*bosc*, woods
bovatier, oxherd	*bou*, ox
causatier, shoemaker	*causa*, shoe
clamatier,[1] complainant	*clam* or *clamar*, complain
coiratier, tanner	*cor*, leather
corratier,[1] broker	*corre*, run
degatier, country constable	*dec*, boundary
egatier, one who tends mares	*ega*, mare
filatier, weaver	*fil*, thread, or *filar*, spin
granatier, grain dealer	*gran*, grain
lobatier, one in charge of young wolves (?)	(*lobat*, young wolf) *loba*, wolf
mulatier, muleteer	(*mulat*, mule) *mul*, mule
orsatier, one in charge of young bears (?)	*ors*, bear
panatier, baker	*pan*, bread
pelatier, furrier	*pel*, skin
pescatier,[1] fisherman	*pesca*, fishing
porcatier, pork butcher	*porc*, pig
telatier, cloth merchant	*tela*, cloth
vacatier,[1]† cowherd	*vaca*, cow

-ATARIA is also found as a compound suffix, and joined to the same base-words that added -ATIER. Thus we find:

corrataria, brokerage		*corre*, to run
ferrataria,[2] iron business	(*ferrat*, iron pail)	*fer*, iron
granataria, grain business		*gran*, grain
panataria, bakery, bread-room		*pan*, bread

-ALES (-ALEZA), -ARES (-AREZA)

We now come to the compound suffixes -ALES and -ARES, from the Latin -ALICIUS and -ARICIUS, the

[1] Not in the list given by Thomas in *Nouv. Ess.*, 233.

[2] See also the list of real double suffixes, p. 383.

† Another word ending in -ATIER (*ferratier*) is given under the real double suffixes, p. 383. Fr. words corresponding to words in this list are *chaussetier*, *courtier*, *muletier*, *panetier*, and *pelletier*.

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formation of which has been described above as an example of the compound suffix. -ALICIUS does not appear to have been in very common use in Provençal. It seems to be found only in its feminine form, -ALEZA. Probably the only examples are:

francaleza (or -ESA ?), (1) freehold property (?), or (2) freedom from taxes (?)	(*francal*, free)	*franc*, free
fortaleza (or -ESA ?), stronghold (*fortareza* also exists)		*fort*, strong
moltaleza, abundance		*molt*, much
ortaleza† (or -ESA ?), a vegetable	(*ortal*, garden)	*ort*, garden

The meanings of these words, except *moltaleza*, are such as would come from -ALICIA and not -ALITIA, yet the forms are such as would come from the latter suffix. There seems to be a good deal of confusion in the spelling of the words, however. Thus Thomas, in his list of words coming from -ARICIA, in his article on -ARICIUS,[1] spells all the Provençal ones with the ending -AREZA, although *cy* regularly gives *s* and not *z* in Provençal. Thomas mentions a confusion of -ARICIUS with -ISSA in some words denoting occupations of women, but he says nothing of a confusion with -ITIA, which has already been shown to have existed, and which alone can explain the forms in -AREZA. This form, with -AREZ for the masculine words, appears, however, to be a kind of heading under which to place the Provençal words. For example, he gives the name *Chaumaresse* under the heading *calmareza*, and cites from Raynouard the phrase *arbalestas crocaressas*, which he puts under *crocarez*.[2]

[1] *Nouv. Ess.*, 62.

[2] Also many other cases, as *vinhares*, spelled this way in Thomas' example, but placed by him under the heading *vinharez*.

† A word of different form in Prov., but representing -ALICIUS, is *mortalici*, funeral service (?).

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Practically all of the words in Thomas' lists indicate place, and none of them are abstract. -ITIA cannot, therefore, be their source, but confusion with it may account for the *z* in such words as have it. Most of the words, doubtless, are only adjectives used substantively, and all but a very few are proper names. The few common nouns ending in -ARES, -AREZA, but spelled as Thomas gives them, are:

(1) *Masculine Nouns:*

bocarez, a variety of black grape	*boc*, buck (source according to Thomas)
cabrarez, a bird that sucks milk from goats	*cabra*, goat
vinharez, vineyard	*vinha*, vine

and on a verb-stem we find:

partarez, † an instrument for cutting	*partir*, divide

(2) *Feminine Nouns:*

bovareza, ox path	*bou*, ox
fortareza (as well as *fortaleza*) fortress	*fort*, strong
porcareza, piggery	*porc*, pig
secareza,[1] dry place	*sec*, dry

and also, spelled with *e* instead of *a*, we find:

frontereza, †† boundary (*frontiera*, boundary, is also found)	*front*, front

[1] Cf. the Mod. Fr. *sècheresse*, which has come to have abstract force.

† In all of these cases, the original adjectival force is clear. The proper names are as follows: *bezarez*, place where there are birches (?) *figarez*, place where there are fig trees; *lobarez*, place where there are wolves (?) *vacarez*, place for cows.

†† *Nouv. Ess.*, 69. The proper names ending in -AREZA are as follows: *bezareza*, place having birches (cf. *bezarez*); *boscareza*, place covered with bushes; *cabrareza*, place where goats are; *calmareza*, place with untilled land; *ivernareza*, place having hard winters; *lobareza*, place where wolves are; *rodareza*, place where wheels are made; and *vacareza*, place for cows. (These words, and also the ones given in the note on the preceding list, being given with their original meanings as common nouns, are not spelled with capitals.)

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The *e* may be accounted for by the hypothesis that this was formed on *frontera* and not on *front* by the addition of -AREZA, making really a triplex suffix. The -AR might have disappeared by a syllabic superposition.

-AIRADA, -AIRAL, -AIRATGE, -AIRET, -AIRIA, -AIRIER, -AIROL, -AIRON

The next group of words, in alphabetic order, is that in which the first suffix, from the Latin -ARIUS, is represented in Provençal by -AIR-. Here we find that

-AIRADA is found in:

cartairada, a grain measure	(*cartier*, quarter)	*cart*, quarter
denairada, pennyworth	*denier*, penny	
figairada, fig tree	(*figuier*, fig tree)	*figa*, fig
porcairada, herd of swine	(*porquier*, swineherd)	*porc*, pig
sestairada, a measure of length	(*sestier*, a measure)	*sest*, sixth

-AIRAL[1] is found in:

denairal, pennyworth	*denier*, penny	
menestairal, workman	(*menestier*, service)	*menistre*, servant
sestairal, a measure of capacity	(*sestier*, a measure)	*sest*, sixth

-AIRATGE is found in:

bandairatge,[2] right of pasturing	(*bandier*, country constable)	*banda*, ban

-AIRET is found in:

carrairela, alley	(*carriera*, way)	*car*, cart
culhairet, small spoonful	*culhier*, spoon	
denairet, small penny	*denier*, penny	
gorgairela, gorget	(*gorgiera*, gorget)	*gorga*, throat
mercadairet, small merchant	(*mercadier*, merchant)	*mercat*, market

The words ending in -AIRIA have been given under -ARIA, which, on account of its very early formation,

[1] For two nouns in -ARAL (*agraral* and *fumaral*) see the simple nominal suffix -AL (pp. 64–66), and for three adjectives with this ending (*agraral*, *boaral*, and *diaral*), see the simple adjectival suffix -AL (pp. 287–88) and the compound adjectival suffix -ARAL (p. 402).

[2] Also found as *bandeiratge*.

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has been treated as a single suffix. -AIRIA, as has been remarked, is only a variation of -ARIA, and the words with this ending have, therefore, no place here.

-AIRIER is found in:

bandairier, standard bearer	(*bandiera*, banner)	*banda*, flag
carrairier, city officer in charge of the streets	(*carriera*, road)	*car*, cart
ensenhairier, standard bearer	(*ensenhiera*, banner)	*ensenha*, ensign
fumeriera,† dunghill		*fem*, manure

-AIROL is found in:

blavairol, bruise		*blau*, blue
carnairol, gamebag	(*carnier*, charnel-house)	*carn*, flesh
carrairola, little street, alley	(*carriera*, street)	*car*, cart
milhairola, measure for liquids	(*milhier*, thousand)	*mil*, thousand
postairol, hinder part		*post*, behind
ratairol,†† small falcon	(*ratier*, rat-trap)	*rat*, rat

-AIRON is found in:

capairon, little hat		*cap*, head
cartairon, quadroon	(*cartier*, quarter)	*cart*, quarter
fogairon, hearth; small fire	(*foguier*, hearth)	*foc*, fire
garbairon, heap of sheaves	(*garbier*, cart for sheaves)	*garba*, sheaf
golairon, throat		*gola*, throat
gravairon, sandy place	(*gravier*, beach)	*grava*, sand
lebrairon, small greyhound	(*lebrier*, greyhound)	*lebra*, hare
mercadairon, small merchant	(*mercadier*, merchant)	*mercat*, market
molnairon, miller's boy	(*molinier*, miller)	*molin*, mill
salsairon,††† sauce-dish		*salsa*, sauce

-ALIER, -ALATGE

The suffix -AL is found sometimes with -IER and with -ATGE attached to it, forming finally the probable

† A word obscure in formation is *pechairier*, tinsmith. *Pechairier* may be from **pechier*, pitcher (of metal) < *picarium*. Cf. the Fr. *picher*.

A word having -IRIER instead of -AIRIER is *pesquirier* (see p. 384).

†† A word obscure in formation is *mercairol*, translated by Raynouard as "shop," but the word is obscure in meaning as well as in form.

††† A word having the spelling -ERON instead of -AIRON is *paiseron*, small dam, formed on *paisiera*, dike.

In some of the words in -AIROL and -AIRON, -OL and -ON simply give diminutive force to previously existing words ending in -IER. An example of this is *mercadairon;* but in such words as *ratairol* and *capairon*, and also *fogairon* in one of its meanings, the whole compounds -AIROL and -AIRON have this force.

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compound suffixes -ALIER and -ALATGE. *Barralier*, formed on *barral*, but existing beside *barra*, and *cazalatge* formed on *cazal*, but existing beside *caza*, may be taken as possible starting-points for the compound suffixes.

-ALIER is found in:

cordalier, ropemaker	*corda*, rope
peiralier, mason	*peira*, stone

-ALATGE is found in:

carnalatge, charnel-house	(*carnal*, carnal)	*carn*, flesh
fornalatge, oven-tax		*forn*, oven
mortalatge, legacy	(*mortal*, deadly)	*mort*, death

-ALHON

The suffixes -ALH and -ILH are often found with other suffixes attached to them, -ALHIER and -ILHIER being frequently found. These combinations do not, however, ever appear to have been added as a single suffix. The combination -ALHON, on the other hand, may have had this use. It is found in:

moralhon, clasp	*moralha*, clasp	
moscalhon, gnat, small fly		*mosca*, fly

-ANDIER, -ENDIER

The suffix -IER is often found attached to the verbal endings -ANDA and -ENDA, thus forming the compound suffixes -ANDIER and -ENDIER. The words in -ANDIER are:

estivandier, harvester	*estivar*, harvest
lavandiera, laundress	*lavar*, wash
logandier, lodger (see also *logadier*)	*logar*, lodge
pozandier, drawer (of water)	*pozar*, draw
talhandier, tailor	*talhar*, cut
teisandier,[1] weaver	*teiser*, weave

[1] -ANDIER where we might expect -ENDIER. This may be due to the analogy of the other forms, in which -ANDIER probably came to be regarded as the suffix denoting the agent of an action, to be attached to verb-stems.

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-ENDIER is found in:

fazendier, rural workman	*fazer* (*faire*), do, work
legendier, lectionary	*legir*, read

-ARENC

-AR (whether from -ARIS or -ARIUS) is found several times combined with -ENC, forming the compound suffix -ARENC. This seems to have been an adjectival suffix originally. The example given here was undoubtedly an adjective originally, and examples in which it forms an adjective will be given later on (p. 403). It is found forming a noun in:

mostarenca, wine measure	*most*, must (unfermented wine)

-ASIER, -ASARIA, -ASIL

Finally, the suffix -AS is found frequently with -IER and with -ARIA attached to it, and, more remarkably, with -IL also. Such a word as *canabasier* formed on *canabas*, but existing beside *canebe*, could well have been the starting-point for the words in which -ASIER was used as a single suffix.

-ASIER is found in:

codrasier, hoopbinder	*codra*, hoop
dardasier, archer	*dart*, dart

-ASARIA is found in:

lanasaria, woolen mill	*lana*, wool

-ASIL is found in:

fenasil, haystack	*fen*, hay

-EL, which occurs so frequently in the combinations -ELET, -ELIER, and -ELON, has already been treated, and can hardly be regarded as forming compound suffixes.[1]

[1] In *daurelier* there does seem to be an example of a compound suffix -ELIER added to the stem of *daurar*, but this is probably the only case. Other apparent combinations of suffixes hard to explain are seen

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II. Adjectives

There are not many compound suffixes that are added to adjectives, and most of the ones that are found have been given above as forming nouns also. The suffixes will be given in alphabetical order.

-ADIER is found in:

coladier,[1] portable	*col*, neck
lechadier, greedy	*lechar*, lick
logadier, for hire	*logar*, to hire

and the other form of the suffix—-ATIER—is found in:

clamatier,[1] complaining	*clamar*, complain

-AIRAN is found in:

estremairan, last (*estremier*, last)	*estrem*, end, side
primairan (also *-eiran*[2]), first (*primier*, first, is also found)	*prim*, first

-ANDIER is found in:

pastandier, for kneading	*pastar*, knead

-ARAL is found in:

agraral, cultivated	*agre*, field
boaral,[3] of oxen, rough	*bou*, ox
diaral,[3] daily	*dia*, day

-AREL

This suffix is found only in adjectives and not in nouns. It may have been added to nouns or to verb-stems. Probably, the suffix -AR (<-ARIS) was added originally to nouns,[4] making adjectives, and these were

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in *causinada*, *femoras*, and *corsegatz*, which have been treated above. *Panetier*, baker, existing beside *pan* and not *panet* is probably a misspelling of *panatier*, given above, and the form may be due to the influence of the Fr. *panetier*.

[1] See also under nouns, pp. 218 and 393, above.

[2] See note 2, p. 386, above; *primairal*, of first rank, is also found.

[3] See n. 2, p. 64; n. 1, p. 398.

[4] To an adjective in *coindarel* in the list.

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made diminutive by the addition of -EL. Then the word ending in -AR disappeared and -AREL was added as a single suffix. The case is, therefore, exactly that of -ARICIUS. The examples follow:

bufarel, empty (full of wind)	*buf*, blowing
cantarel, always singing	*can(t)*, song
coindarel, gallant, vain	*coinde*, cultivated

-ARENC (or -ERENC) is found in:

causerenc,[1] of lime	*caus*, lime
cazarenc,[1] of or pertaining to a cheese-basket	

-AREZ is added to nouns in:[2]

bastarez, fit for sewing pack-saddles	*bast*, pack-saddle
cesarez, paid in virtue of the "cens"	*ces*, "cens," a tax
crocarez, provided with a hook	*croc*, hook
draparez, fit for fulling cloth	*drap*, cloth
vacarez, where cows pass	*vaca*, cow

It is added to verb-stems in:

malharez, serving to full cloth	*malhar*, hammer
petarez, bursting	*petar*, burst, snap

III. Verbs

As has been stated, the compound verbal suffixes -ALHAR, -ASAR, -EJAR, -EZIR, etc., have already been fully treated under the simple verbal suffixes.[3]

A compound suffix is seen in parasyntheta in:

aprimairar,[4] go to the front	*prim*, first
enlimairar,[5] cover with mud	*lim*, mud
escartairar,[6] quarter	*cart(ier)*, quarter

[1] For a discussion of these words, see the adjectival suffix -ENC, p. 306, n. 3.

[2] All of the words given are found in Thomas, *Nouv. Ess.*, 73–81.

[3] These suffixes are seen added to words already ending in suffixes in: *coladejar*, *fatonejar*, *foralejar*, *frachurejar*, *girbaudonejar*, *putanejar*, *valadejar*, and *inventarizar*.

[4] See parasyntheta, p. 515.

[5] See parasyntheta, p. 511, n. 2, below.

[6] See parasyntheta, p. 513.

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PART II

PREFIX-FORMATION

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INTRODUCTORY

PREFIX-FORMATION IN GENERAL

Since prefix-formation, as it will be treated here, is so very much like suffix-formation, very few remarks on the general subject will now be found necessary. By prefix-formation is meant the addition of prefixes to Provençal words, just as by suffix-formation was meant the addition of suffixes to Provençal words. The essential point to determine, in either case, is not the origin of suffix or prefix or of base-word, but whether the joining of the two took place in Provençal times. In order to be treated here, this must always be the case. But as the methods for determining the time of the formation of Provençal words, whether formed by means of suffix or prefix, have been described above,[1] they need not be repeated here.

In some ways, however, the matter of prefixes is not quite so difficult to treat as that of suffixes. In the first place, the total number of prefixes is much smaller than the number of suffixes, and, with one or two possible exceptions, the number of examples to be given under each particular prefix is also considerably less than those to be given under each individual suffix. There is also another difference between the two kinds of particles which makes comparatively simple the treatment of prefixes. This is that a prefix never made of a word formed by it a different part of speech than the simple word to which it was joined had been, whereas a suffix almost always modified the simple word in such a way. Thus in prefix-formation, in treating newly formed verbs, for example, it is unnecessary to consider whether the base is

[1] Part I, general introduction, p. 4.

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a noun or adjective, as is essential in dealing with suffixes. The prefixes which we find in Provençal were almost always simply the Latin prepositions, and their relation to the words to which they were joined was a syntactical one; whereas in the case of suffixes, the suffix seems to have more of the value of an independent word (as it was originally), and could therefore modify the word to which it was joined.

Chapters on the different parts of speech formed by prefixes will now follow in the order of their importance: first the verb, then the noun, and finally the adjective. Under each of these larger divisions, each individual prefix will be studied in alphabetic order. In the chapter on verbs, the formations ending in *-ar* will be given first in treating each prefix, then will follow the verbs with each of the other conjugation-endings. After the three chapters dealing with the different parts of speech formed by the addition of single prefixes, all the words formed by using two or more prefixes will be studied in a separate chapter.

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CHAPTER I

FORMATION OF VERBS

The verb, being the largest and most important part of the whole matter of prefix-formation, will be treated first, and will be followed by the shorter chapters on nouns and adjectives. Even in the case of the verb, however, comparatively little comment is necessary, as prefixes almost always retained the force which they had in Latin as prepositions. When there was any change at all in meaning, this was simply a weakening of the force of the prefix, leaving the new word formed by it practically the same in meaning as the simple word.

It may be well, nevertheless, to examine a little more closely this loss of force seen in verbal prefixes, and, incidentally, the relations of the various prefixes with each other. In the less common prefixes, this loss of force is unusual: ENTRE-, FOR-, MES-, OLTRA-, PER-, PRO-, SOBRE-, SOTZ-, and TRAS- have almost always the same force as the Latin prepositions from which they are descended. Other prefixes, however, as CONTRA-, DE-, DES-, and RE-, are frequently seen to be without force; and for still others, as A-, EN-, and ES-, the forceless use is the commonest one. In the case of A- and EN-, however, there seems to be no real loss of force in Provençal, since the Latin AD- and IN- as prefixes were vague in meaning, and contributed little to the words to which they were attached. The lack of meaning seen in ES-, on the other hand, represents a loss of force, which is, moreover, seen in most of the other prefixes, although not so frequently. In some cases, this loss of force may be explained by the vague meaning which the

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prefix originally had,[1] or its fine distinctions, as in the case of RE-, which would be imperceptible to the popular mind; in other cases, it may have been due to the use of the prefix with a word which had already the force of that particular prefix. An example of this is the use of DES-, meaning "out of," "from," with the verb *sebrar*, meaning "to separate." In such an example, it is impossible for the prefix to have any real force, and the word serves as a starting-point for the use of DES- in other words without force.

Here it may be well to compare the uses of some of the more important prefixes. Thus DES- and ES-, already mentioned, both meant, originally "out of," "away from," and consequently "away from" the action of the verb to which they were attached. Both of them thus acquired negative force, which is, however, more usual in DES-, the regular negative prefix, than in ES-. The latter, possibly from the idea of movement away from, gained the idea of completion, or intensive force. This is seen in *escocer*, cook to pieces, that is, cook out, or cook thoroughly. ES- may, therefore, be compared also with DE-, which had both intensive and privative or negative force. Being, as has been seen, so much alike both in meaning and in lack of meaning, it is natural to find these prefixes often substituted for each other, as well as for the forceless EN-. The two forceless prefixes A- and EN- are also nearly interchangeable.

This use without force has already been described in treating the suffixes. There are various other resemblances, as well, in the Provençal treatment of suffixes and of prefixes. Most of the peculiarities of suffix-formation were especially conspicuous in the formation of nouns, and

[1] Often slightly intensive in force.

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were treated in the chapter on that subject. In the same way, the corresponding peculiarities of prefix-formation are most prominent in the formation of verbs, and may, consequently, be treated here.

The first of these resemblances between suffix- and prefix-formation may be seen in the disappearance of certain Latin prefixes from use, as OB- and RETRO-, just as certain suffixes disappeared and the scope of others was enlarged. Another resemblance to the suffixes is in the substitution of one Latin prefix for another,[1] as CON- for IN- in *convidar*[2] (Latin *invitare*), just as among the suffixes we find -ICIA substituted for -ITIA. There seem to be also Provençal examples of this substitution of prefixes, just as there were Provençal examples of the substitution of suffixes.[3] This phenomenon may be seen in *deslenquir* for *relenquir* with the meaning of *relenquir*, and therefore not connected with the Latin *delinquere*.[4]

There is, however, one other point peculiar to the formation of words by prefixes and totally unlike any process found under suffixes or elsewhere, namely the process of decomposition or recomposition. This is the changing of the vowel of the word formed by the prefix back to the form which it had in the simple word. In Latin, when a word was formed by use of a prefix, the vowel of the verb (or other word) to which it was attached underwent a weakening, which may be seen, for example, in *refringere*

[1] Exclusive of the interchange of forceless prefixes mentioned above.

[2] This change is assumed to have taken place already in Lat. because of the number of the Romance languages in which the prefix CON- is found with this verb.

[3] See Part I, chap. i, p. 12, on the substitution of -ADOR for -AL.

[4] Found in Prov. as *delinquir*, meaning "to lack."

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and *conficere* beside the simple verbs *frangere* and *facere*. There are some exceptions to this, but it is the usual process. The weakening of the vowel of the verb was caused by shifting the stress to the vowel of the prefix in early formations.[1] After the vowel had become weakened, however, the accent returned to the base-word.[2] Now, much later on, in Romance times, the composition of the word being clear, perhaps owing to the presence of the simple verbs, as *frangere* and *facere*, the prefix received the same amount of stress as the verb.[3] The two elements being thus thoroughly distinct, each one returned to its original form.[4] Thus *refringere* became in Provençal *refranher* instead of *refrenher*. This shows only the verb changing its form; but the prefix changed as well, EX- being preferred to E- and SUBTUS- to SUB-.

The individual prefixes will now be studied in alphabetic order.

A-

The force of the prefix A-[5] from the Latin AD- may be seen much more clearly in the examples of parasyn-

[1] For this law of accentuation, see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 158.

[2] I.e., the Penultima law came into operation.

[3] See *Mots Composés*, 92; also Meyer-Lübke, II, 669.

[4] There are, however, examples of words that did not become decomposed, which are especially common when the prefix was CON-. Thus we see the Lat. *concludere* and *conficere* becoming *conclure* and *confire*, whereas *deficere* and *excludere* became *defaire* and *esclaure*. The absence of decomposition in words formed with CON- is probably due to the fact that the prefix CUM- was fast disappearing from the Lat. of Gaul except as an inseparable particle. It forms few if any *certain* new words in Prov., and in Lat., even, in certain cases, it early became fused with the rest of the word, as may be seen from the Prov. *comtar* representing the Lat. *computare*.

[5] This is the form into which AD- has developed except when added to verbs beginning with a vowel, for which see p. 417, below. Elsewhere

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theta than in the cases in which it is added to an already existing verb. In cases of the latter kind, or prefix-formations, the two verbs existing side by side generally have no perceptible difference of meaning. This meaningless use of the prefix, however, was true of AD- when added to verbs in Latin, and the lack of force in the Provençal A- is but a continuance of the Latin usage. Indeed most of the Provençal verbs beginning with A- are simply the descendants of Latin words in AD-, or else parasyntheta; yet there surely were some new formations on verbs by means of this prefix in Provençal, and these will be given in the following list.

Besides the verbs in A- showing no difference of meaning from the simple verb, there are other classes of verbs in which a slight difference in meaning between the two forms may be distinguished. In some of these cases the prefix appears to change the simple verb from intransitive to transitive. These formations are probably parasyntheta with a simple noun or adjective as the base-word.[1] Other words beginning with a prefix, and beside which a simple verb persists, are, nevertheless, even more clearly parasyntheta, as their meaning proves.[2] There are also some pairs of words having miscellaneous differences of meaning.[3]

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the *d* of AD- was assimilated to the following consonant, even in Lat. These words are found spelled both with the single and the double consonant in Prov., but listed here only with the single one. This gives us therefore A- as the development of AD- in these words.

[1] Such verbs are *acostumar*, *anualhar*, *atruandar*, and *avergonhar*.

[2] As in *afilar*, *afondar*, *apilar*, *aplombar*, *aprimar*, *arenhar*, and in *asolar* and *atalentar* in one of the meanings of each. Thus, for example, *afilar* is probably formed on *fil*, thread, and not on *filar*. In this and in other lists, however, such words will be given, whenever a simple verb exists beside them, with a reference to the parasyntheta. See Part III (pp. 501–3) for a discussion of the reasons for this classification.

[3] As in *agreujar*, *aquilar*, etc., although in these cases the difference in meaning is very slight.

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The list of the verbs in *-ar* formed by the use of the prefix A- will now be given. It is to be noted that in this list and also in those containing the prefixes DE-, EN-, and ES-, the simple verb is omitted when the compound differs in no way from it in meaning.

abaisar, lower	
abastar, suffice	
abatalhar, battle	
ablasmar (*se*), faint	*blesmar*, *blasmar*, cause to faint (*blesmar* [*se*]), faint
abotonar,[1] button	
acolar, embrace	*colar*[2]
acolpar,[1] accuse of	
acomensar, begin	
acompanhar, accompany	
acomparar, compare	
acomtar, relate	
aconortar, encourage, console	*conortar*, comfort, exhort
acorbar, bend, curve	
acostumar,[1] accustom	*costumar*, be accustomed.
adelechar,[1] delight	
ademandar, ask	
adepravar, spoil, corrupt	
adoctrinar, teach, instruct	
adomesgar, tame	
adonar, entrust	
adrechurar, straighten, rectify	
adreisar, set up	
adurar,[3] endure	*durar*, last; but also endure
aesmar,[4] value, estimate	
afaisonar, fashion	
afazendar[5]	

[1] Possible parasyntheta.

[2] There are four distinct verbs with this form, but the verb *acolar* appears to be formed on the noun *col*, neck. See parasyntheta, p. 505.

[3] *Adurar* has just the same meaning to be seen in *endurar*<*indurare*. It may simply represent a prefix-change in *endurar*.

[4] See also under AD- and AZ-, pp. 417–18, below.

[5] Found only in the past participle *afazendat* which seems to mean "in need." The simple verb is likewise found only in the past participle *fazendat*, which may have the same meaning.

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afiansar, guarantee	
aficar (*se*), be attached	
afigurar, depict, portray	
afilar, sharpen	*filar*[1]
afinar, end, settle; *afinar* (*se*), come to an end	*finar*, end, die; finish
afizar, assure, guarantee	
aflatar, flatter	
afondar (*se*), sink	*fondar*[1]
aforestar, have right of forestry	
aformar, form, shape	*formar*, form, create
afrenar, bridle, subdue	
afrevolar, weaken	
afruchar, profit, fructify	
afumar, blacken, stain with smoke	
agachar, watch	
agafar, catch, hook, grasp	
agarar, wait, await, observe	*garar*, look at, watch over
agardar, look at	
agensar, beautify, adorn; please	
agotar, drip, drain	
agreujar, annoy, molest	*greujar*, load, burden; torture
airar,[2] irritate, anger	
ajostar, bring together, couple; (*ajostar* [*se*], come together)	*jostar*, joust
alaschar, slacken, relax	
aliamar, bind, attach	
aliurar, deliver	
alogar, lease, rent	
aloirar, lure	
amaridar, marry	
ameitadar, divide in half	
amenasar, threaten	
amermar, diminish	
amezurar, moderate, regulate	*mezurar*, measure
amolherar, marry	
amonedar, coin	
amonestar, warn, admonish	

[1] *Filar* and *fondar* exist, but are not connected with *afilar* and *afondar*. For these words, see parasyntheta, p. 505.

[2] See also under AZ-, p. 418, below.

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amostrar, teach, show	
anualhar (*se*), become lazy	*nualhar*, be lazy
apagar, appease, calm	*pagar*, pay, satisfy
aparelhar, associate; prepare, arrange	
aparlar, address, apostrophize	*parlar*, speak
apastencar, *apasturar* } give pasture to	
apauzar, affix, apply	*pauzar*, place
apejorar, become worse	
apenar (*se*), take pains	*penar*, torture
apensar (*se*), reflect consider	*pensar*, think
apilar, pile up	*pilar*[1]
apimpar, dress up, adorn	
aplombar, upset, knock down	*plombar*, lead or load; plunge
apoblar, colonize, populate	
aprimar, make thin or fine	*primar*[1]
aprofechar, profit	
apropchar (*se*), approach	
aquitar, deliver, acquit	*quitar*, leave
arapar, snatch away	
araubar, steal, pillage	
arazonar, demand, claim, apostrophize	*razonar*, explain, address, talk
arengar, arrange	
arenhar, attach by the bridle	*renhar*[1]
aromansar, translate into Romance	
asadolar, cram, stuff	
asalvar, save	
asaziar, satiate	
asazonar, be in season	
asenar, make intelligible	
aserrar, confine	
asolar,[2] consolidate	
asolasar, divert, amuse	
asoltar, give up, deliver	
asotilar, make fine or subtle	

[1] *Pilar*, *primar* and *renhar* exist, but are not connected with *apilar*, *aprimar*, and *arenhar*, the resemblance being only accidental. For these verbs, see parasyntheta, pp. 506 and 515.

[2] *Asolar* is also found with the meaning of "throw to the ground," which meaning may be seen in the Lat. *assolare*, formed on *solum*, ground.

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atalentar, please; *atalentar se*, find pleasure in	*talentar*, desire
ataular (*se*), sit down at table	*taular*, arrange, begin (a game)
atensar, tender, protect	*tensar*, quarrel, dispute
atirar, attract	
atornar (*se*), return	*tornar*, turn; *tornar se*, return
atraversar, cross	
atrobar, find; observe; compose	*trobar*, find; make verse
atrosar, load, pack up	
atruandar, attract, allure	*truandar*, wander about like a *truan*
avergonhar, shame; *avergonhar se*, be ashamed	
avironar,† go around, surround	

Before a vowel at the beginning of the verb, the *d* of the prefix AD- regularly remains or becomes *z* according to dialect, but also disappears sometimes, just like any medial *d*.[1] Thus from the Latin *audire* are found the forms *audir*, *auzir*, and also *auir;* and in the case of the prefix AD-, all three developments are found in the words *adesmar*, *azesmar*, and *aesmar*. The words with *d* or *z* are, however, the usual development; *d* is the most frequent of all. Thus are found the words:

adamplar, amplify, augment	*amplar*, augment
adantar, dishonor	
adastrar,[2] favor, endow	*astrar*,[3] determine by fate (?)
adestimar, *adesmar* (also *azesmar*, *aesmar*), value at	
aderetar,[4] make heir to	*eretar*, inherit

[1] See Grandgent, sec. 65.

[2] Placed here because *astrar* may exist. Very probably a parasyntheton formed on *astre*, star.

[3] May not exist. *Astrat*, which is found, may be a past participle or a noun. See Levy, I, 93.

[4] Probably a parasyntheton.

† Verbs of Lat. origin are *ajurar*, adjure<*adjurare;* *anulhar*, annul< *annullare;* *apregar*, pray, entreat<*apprecari;* *asonar*, make assonance <*assonare;* and *atemprar*, temper<*attemprare.*

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adobrar, work, fashion	*obrar*, work
adonorar, honor	*onorar*, honor
adordenar† (also *aordenar*), regulate	*ordenar*, order

AZ- is found in *azesmar* beside *adesmar* (see list above), in *azirar* beside *airar* (see p. 415), and in many of the parasyntheta formed by using this prefix in connection with *-ar* (*azonglar*, etc.).

Besides being found in the verbs ending in *-ar*, there are many examples in which the prefix A- was joined to verbs of other conjugations; and although most of these words were formed in Latin, there seem to be a few cases in which the prefix was added later.

The new formations in verbs in *-re* are as follows:

aconduire,[1] bring up	*conduire*, lead
aconsegre,[1] pursue (also *aconseguir*)	
aderdre,[1] raise	
afendre, split, cleave	
arendre,†† return	

There appears to be only one possible Provençal formation in *-er:*

asaber,[2]††† know

The words in *-aiser*, *-eiser*, and *-oiser* are all of Latin origin.[3]

[1] See double prefixes, p. 491.

[2] This is the same kind of formation seen in *acreire* and *acreiser* (Fr. *accroire* and *accroître*) of Lat. origin, and may be compared also with the Fr. *assavoir*. *Asaber*, likewise, probably dates back to Vulgar Lat. All of these words generally depended on *faire*.

[3] Thus *aconoiser*, recognize, *acreiser*, increase, *apaiser*, feed, and *apareiser*, appear, probably going back to a Vulgar Lat.* *apparescere*.

† Of Lat. origin is *adamar*, love<*adamare*.

†† Descendants of words already formed in Lat. are: *acorre*, run up, *acreire*, believe, *ametre*, put, place, *apendre*, belong, *aprendre*, learn and *atraire*, draw, come near, resemble.

††† The other words in *-er* of Lat. origin are: *afranher*, break, bend, *ajazer*, be delivered of a child, *asezer*, seat (Fr. *asseoir*), and *atener*, hold.

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Provençal formations in *-ir* are somewhat more usual. Thus we find:

aconseguir[1], pursue
a(d)emplir, azemplir, fill
afenir, approach the end — *fenir*, finish
afugir, flee
amarvir, give at once, be ready — *marvir*, hasten
azaunir,† disgrace, dishonor

AB-

Next in alphabetic order are two prefixes of learned origin, AB- and BIS-. AB- appears to exist as a verbal prefix only in:

abauzir,[2] suit, please — *auzir*, hear

BIS-

BIS-[3] is found only in:

bistensar, delay, disturb — *tensar*, dispute, disturb

COM-, CON-

There are many words in Provençal showing the prefix COM- or CON-, but exceedingly few of them show any signs of having been formed in Provençal times. Taking the whole list into consideration, few of the compounds have any difference at all from the simple words, thereby

[1] See also *aconsegre* on p. 418, and double prefixes on p. 491.

[2] The AB- here represents the Lat. OB-, the verb coming from *obaudire*. In *abivernar*, we have an example of AB- in a parasyntheton. A very obscure word is *abauzar*, prostrate, upset. Kŏrting (No. 5144) connects the word with *boza*, belly, which is not in Raynouard or Levy. As far as the meaning is concerned, the formation might be AB-+*ausar*, raise, or A-+*baus* (abyss)+AR, but either combination would give *abausar* instead of *abauzar*.

[3] Or BES-, under which heading the prefix is given in the formation of nouns.

† Of Lat. origin are *acolhir*, receive, welcome, *adormir*, put to sleep, and *anoirir*, nourish.

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tending to show that these words were of early formation, and had time to lose the force which the prefix originally contributed.[1] Such, indeed, is known to be the case.[2] Nevertheless, in spite of the extreme weakening in force of the prefix, it continued to form new words in some of the Romance languages, notably in Spanish and Italian, in which cases the prefix regularly has its original meaning of "in company with,"[3] as in the Spanish words *concenar* and *concomer*. Yet in Provençal, there are few words with COM- or CON- as prefix whose formation may not with certainty be ascribed to Latin, since these words are either actually found there, or else similar forms are found in so many of the Romance languages as to indicate a common origin in Latin.

The only words having the prefix COM- or CON- that appear to have been formed in Provençal are as follows:

Verbs ending in *-ar:*

compauzar,[4] compose	*pauzar*, put
conforsar, compel	*forsar*, force
contocar, fall upon, surprise	*tocar*, touch
convizitar,† scrutinize carefully	*vizitar*, visit

Verbs ending in *-re:*

conderdre,†† pile up, raise	*derdre*, raise

[1] The other prefixes, often used without force, A-, DE-, and EN-, gave no decided force to the simple verb, even in Lat.

[2] See Cooper, 262–71. [3] See Meyer-Lübke, II, 673.

[4] Borrowed from the Lat. *componere*, but formed under the influence of the simple verb *pauzar*.

† Words of Lat. origin ending in *-ar* are: *concagar*, soil<*concacare;* *concasar*, crush<*conquassare;* *configurar*, make similar<*configurare;* *congitar*, summon<*conjectare;* *conortar*, encourage<*confortare;* and *contribular*, torture<*contribulare*. Other words in -A probably having sources in Lat. are: *comensar*, begin and *compasar*, compass.

†† Words of Lat. origin ending in *-re* are *comordre*, seize<*commordere;* and *concreire*, trust<*concredere*. A word in *-er* is *complazer*, please< *complacere*. *-eiser* is seen in *compareiser*, appear<*comparescere*.

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Verbs ending in *-ir:*

concolhir,[1]† gather together *colhir*, gather

Thus there are no new words formed in which the prefix preserves the meaning of "in company with." The only change of meaning that it is possible to see in the above words is a strengthening of the original verb and this is not always clear. Even these words may have been formed in Latin, though not found in the other languages, or they may show an imitation in Provençal of the usual Latin development of the prefix.[2] Such words as the Spanish *concenar*, *concomer*, etc., seem to be formed in the modern language with the Spanish preposition *con*, with. The other languages—Italian and Portuguese—that have words of this kind also have *con* and *com* as the word for "with."

CONTRA-

The Provençal prefix CONTRA- (Latin *contra*), when joined to verbs, has several different meanings, but only one of very frequent occurrence. For the French prefix CONTRE-, likewise from the Latin CONTRA-, Darmesteter[3] distinguishes four kinds of meanings—"in opposition to," "in contradiction with," "in return for," and "opposite to" (position)—but it is difficult to find examples of anything but the first two meanings in Provençal, with the idea of opposition being by far the most important. This idea is seen in such words as *contradentejar*,[4] *contrastar*, *contraferir*, and, with a slight

[1] This word really has CON- expressed twice.

[2] I.e., it was found to be practically forceless in words formed in Lat., and the Prov. formations may have imitated this instead of the original use of the prefix.

[3] *Mots Composés*, 107. [4] See parasyntheta, p. 507.

† A word of Lat. origin in *-ir* is *conjauzir*, welcome<*congaudere*.

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extension of the idea, in *contrapezar* and *contravaler*. The second meaning is seen in *contramandar*, *contraminar*, and *contrapelar*. Real reciprocal force, such as is seen in the French *contr'aimer*, is not found in Provençal, but *contravaler* might perhaps be placed under the heading of "in return for." The various Romance meanings of CONTRA- may be found, for the most part, in the Latin preposition or adverb, but only when used singly. CONTRA- is rare in Latin compounds, where it had the force of opposition, as in *contradicere*.

It is necessary, however, to point out one more use of the Provençal prefix CONTRA-, i.e., that of giving no force at all to the word to which it was attached, leaving it with its original meaning. This is common, of course, in other Romance languages for such prefixes as A-, DE-, EN-, and ES-, but Provençal goes farther in weakening a prefix with as much meaning and individuality as CONTRA-. Yet it is difficult to see any meaning in it in such words as *contranaiser*, and even also in *contragardar* and *contresperonar*, although some one of the meanings of CONTRA- may have been originally felt.

CONTRA- is prefixed to verbs ending in *-ar* in the following examples:

contragardar, keep, preserve	*gardar*, keep, take care of
contralasar, meddle with, engage in	*lasar*, bind, tie
contramandar, countermand	*mandar*, order
contraminar, countermine	*minar*, mine
contramontar, mount (?)	*montar*, mount
contrapauzar, oppose, put against	*pauzar*, put
contrapelar, reclaim	*apelar*, call
contrapezar, weigh, balance	*pezar*, be heavy
contrastar, resist	*estar*, stand
contresperonar,[1] strike with spur	*esperonar*, spur

[1] Possibly a parasyntheton on *esperon*, spur, but no words of this kind with CONTRA- as prefix seem certain. The formation seems instead to be on the verb *esperonar* with the practically forceless use of CONTRA-.

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Prefixed to verbs in *-re*, CONTRA- is found in:

contracorre, run in opposite directions; run toward	*corre*, run
contrafaire, counterfeit	*faire*, make

Joined to verbs in *-er*, it is found in:

contranaiser, begin, originate, arise	*naiser*, be born
contratemer, beware, mistrust	*temer*, fear
contravaler, be equivalent to	*valer*, be worth

Joined to verbs in *-ir*, it is found in:

contraferir, strike against	*ferir*, strike

Joined to verbs in *-ejar*, it is found in:

contrapairejar, be like a father	*pairejar*, be like a father

DE-

The Provençal prefix DE-[1] is an interesting one chiefly on account of the two entirely contrary ideas that it expresses: one intensive, and the other privative.[2] Examples, to be sure, may be found in Latin, with both of these meanings, as: *deamare* for the first, and *deesse* for the second. Indeed, the prefix, when used in composition, seems to have originally given to the verb the force of movement from or removal, and thus privation. From the idea of completion, which it may have gained from the idea of leaving, or moving away from, it perhaps derived the intensive force. At any rate, both of these meanings existed in Latin, as well as a third usage, i.e., that of having no force at all. What difference is there, for example, between *fraudare* and *defraudare*, or between *nominare* and *denominare*? These cases seem to illustrate a loss of force in the prefix from the intensive force which it had in such words as *deamare*, and perhaps

[1] From a Lat. DE- unchanged. [2] See *Mots Composés*, 109.

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dealbare, exactly equivalent to the loss of force undergone by diminutive suffixes when attached to words in common use, except that in the case of the prefix, the weakening of meaning extended to Classic Latin[1], whereas the use of a diminutive suffix with no force at all belonged rather to the vulgar language.

The meaning of privation, or force exactly opposite to that of the simple verb, is seen in *dearestar*, *decolpar se*, *degranar*, *demarcar*, and *degarentir*. In the other words, simple verb and compound have exactly the same meaning. The lists follow. The prefix DE- is used with verbs in *-ar* in the following examples:

dearestar, set free	*arestar*, arrest
debaisar, go down in price	*baisar*, lower
debrizar, break	
decolpar (*se*), excuse oneself	*colpar*, accuse
definar, end, cease	
degastar, ruin	
degotar, drop	
degranar, take grain from hopper	*granar*, produce or turn into grain
dejunar, fast	
delaisar, abandon, leave	
demalhar, destroy, demolish	*malhar*, hammer
demarcar, unmark	*marcar*, mark
demenar, lead, direct	
depintar, paint, depict	
deplumar, strip of feathers	
deraubar, strip, steal	
desagelar, seal	
devedar,† forbid	

[1] For this loss of force in prefixes in general, see Cooper, 247; for a discussion of diminutive suffixes, see above, p. 14.

† Verbs in *-ar* of Lat. origin are *decantar*, administer<*decantare; defraudar*, cheat<*defraudare; denomnar*(*se*), be called<*denominare; depregar* entreat<*deprecari* and *devogar*<**devocitare*(?). See *Romania*, XXXIV, 196, for this last word.

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Joined to verbs in *-er*, DE- is found only in:

derezemer,† ransom — *rezemer*, ransom

Joined to verbs in *-ir*, we find:

debastir, demolish
defalhir, fail
degarentir, free a person of the responsibility of pledging his property as a guaranty — *garentir*, guarantee
departir,†† separate, divide

DES-

The prefix DES-,[1] although very much commoner in Provençal than DE-, has much the same meaning. This similarity, however, may be traced back to Latin, where it brought about a confusion between the two suffixes. DIS-, the source of the Provençal DES-, indicates in Latin separation and also negation, but there are some words in which the prefix conveys no such force. *Disjectare*, for example, beside *jactare*, to throw, seems to mean only to throw around, whereas *disseparare* has precisely the meaning of the simple verb *separare*, separate. This lack of force may have been due to the very meaning of the simple verb, which made impossible for the prefix

[1] Sometimes the form DEIS-, which also seems to represent DIS-, is found. Thus *deisarrezar*, disarrange, and *deisazegar*, dislocate, from *arrezar*, and *azegar*. DE-+-EX has also been suggested as a source for DES-, but is not certain in any case, whereas in most cases DIS- is the certain source of the prefix.

† Verbs in *-er* of Lat. origin are *decazer*<*decidere* and *defranher* <*defringere*, showing the breaking-up of the compound; also *depenher*< *depingere* and *destrenher*<*destringere*. In *-aiser*, of Lat. origin, there is *depaiser*<*depascere*, and in *-re*, there are *decorre*<*decurrere*, *derire*< *deridere*, and *derompre*<*derumpere*.

†† Of Lat. origin there are found the following verbs in -IR: *deglotir* <*degluttire*, *demedir*<*demetiri*, *demenir*<*deminuere*, *dementir*<*dementire*, *demerir*<*demerere*.

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any force other than intensive,[1] for although DIS- finally acquired negative value, changing completely whatever meaning the simple verb had so that we should expect *disseparare* to mean to bring together, this change came about only gradually from the original idea of separation. The idea of negation is the one contained in the great majority of Provençal verbs, but there are some verbs beginning with a meaningless DES-, perhaps formed under the influence of such words as *disseparare*. Thus the meanings of DE- and DES- were almost identical, and as far as meaning was concerned, the prefixes could be substituted for each other. Now, in the recomposition of compound words which took place in Vulgar Latin and in Romance times,[2] whenever the compound nature of the word was recognized, prefixes might be interchanged or substituted for one another, the longer or more sonorous form having the preference. Hence DES- is found in many words which in Latin had DE-,[3] just as SUBTUS- was substituted for SUB-.[4]

Descaminar and *descenturar*, as well as *desvazer* and *destolre*, and possibly a few other words which may be parasyntheta, show the original meaning of separation when compared with the simple word; *desgaimentar*, *deslongar*, *dezoblidar*, *despesar*, *destardar*, *destrencar*, *destriar*, *destrigar*, *desvariar*, *desvelhar*, *descrupir*, *dezeisir*, *desgiquir*,

[1] This intensive force, however, was not strong enough to show any decided difference in meaning between the simple and the compound verbs. Cooper, 275, suggests as a starting-point for the intensive forms such verbs as *discoquere*, cook to pieces, and *dispulverare*, make powder of, both having originally the idea of separation. Thus the two ideas, the intensive and the idea of separation, merge, and it is impossible to divide them sharply.

[2] *Mots Composés*, 90–95. [3] *Ibid.*, 93.

[4] Pp. 458–59, below. Some verbs are found with either DE- or DES- as a prefix.

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and *dessalhir* show no change of meaning. In the other words, the force of the prefix is that of negation, the compound word being directly opposite in meaning to the simple one.

DES- is found prefixed to verbs ending in *-ar* in the following cases:

dezabricar, uncover	*abricar*, cover, protect
dezadornar, rob of ornament	*adornar*, adorn
dezaizinar,[1] make uneasy	*aizinar*, approach, put near
dezalbergar, dislodge	*albergar*, lodge
dezamarrar, unmoor, unfasten	*amarrar*, fasten
dezarmar, disarm	*armar*, arm
dezautorgar, disapprove	*autorgar*, authorize
dezavoar, disavow, repudiate	*avoar*, avow
dezazautar,[2] be disagreeable to; displease	*azautar*, charm
desbalansar, upset, unbalance	*balansar*, balance
desbaratar, put to rout; sell cheap; destroy	*baratar*, traffic
desbendar, unbind, loosen	*bendar*, bind
desblocar, take off lumps	*blocar*, bruise, indent
desbrancar,[2] tear free	*brancar*, put forth branches
desbruelhar, strip of leaves	*bruelhar*, put forth leaves
descaminar,[2] turn aside	*caminar*, journey
descantar, make fun of; make a song ridiculing a person	*cantar*, sing
descapdelar,[3] deprive (of a leader), displace	*capdelar*, govern
descapdolhar, be wanting, fail	*capdolhar*, stand out, project
descausar,[4] take off shoes	*causar*, to shoe
descavalcar, dismount	*cavalcar*, ride
descelar,[4] disclose, reveal	*celar*, conceal
descenturar,[5] take off girdle	*centurar*, gird on

[1] Probably a parasyntheton formed on *aizin*, comfortable.

[2] *Dezazautar*, *desbrancar* and *dezcaminar* might be parasyntheta formed on *azaut*, gracious, *branc*, branch, and *camin*, road.

[3] See also parasyntheta, p. 507.

[4] The past participle *discalceatus* is found in Lat. but not the infinitive. For *descausar*, however, cf. the Fr. *déchausser*, and for *descelar* the Fr. *décéler*.

[5] A possible parasyntheton.

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desclavar, unnail; unhinge	*clavar*, nail
desclavelar, unnail; get out of joint	*clavelar*, nail
descologar, displace, tear out	*cologar*, place
descolrar, discolor	*colrar*, color
descombrar, disencumber	*combrar*, encumber
descompanhar, abandon	*companhar*, put in company with
desconortar, discourage	*conortar*, encourage
descoselhar, not to counsel	*coselhar*, counsel
descoser, rip open	*coser*, sew
descovidar, not to invite	*covidar*, invite
descuidar, disbelieve	*cuidar*, think, believe
desdamnatjar, indemnify	*damnatjar*, damage
dezegalar,[1] make unequal	*egalar*, equal
dezenflar, deflate	*enflar*, inflate
dezeretar, disinherit	*eretar*, inherit
desfaisonar, deform	*faisonar*, form
desfermar, open	*fermar*, close
desferrar, take off iron; unshoe	*ferrar*, bind with iron
desfiblar,[1] unclasp	*fiblar*, clasp
desficar, tear off	*ficar*, fix
desfigurar,[1] disfigure	*figurar*, figure
desfilar, unravel	*filar*, spin, sew
desfre(n)ar,[1] unchain, free	*frenar*, rein in
desfrezar, rip open	*frezar*, embroider
desgaimentar,[2] groan, lament	*gaimentar*, lament
desgelar, thaw	*gelar*, freeze
desguidar, lead astray	*guidar*, guide
deslasar, untie, unbind	*lasar*, bind
deslauzar, disapprove, despise	*lauzar*, praise
desliar, unbind	*liar*, bind
desliamar, unbind	*liamar*, bind
deslongar,[2] remove	*longar*, remove
deslotjar, dislodge	*lotjar*, lodge
desmandar, countermand	*mandar*, command
desmarchar, march away	*marchar*, march
desmembrar, forget	*membrar*, remember
desmesclar, destroy	*mesclar*, mix
desmezurar,[3] disorder, debauch	*mezurar*, measure

[1] Possible parasyntheta.

[2] Here we find the forceless prefix.

[3] The meaning shows *desmezurar* to be, in all probability, a parasyntheton.

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desmondar, soil	*mondar*, clean
desmontar, dismount	*montar*, mount
desmurar, break open a wall	*murar*, wall up
dezoblidar,[1] lose the memory, forget	*oblidar*, forget
dezordenar,[2] act in disorderly way	*ordenar*, order
despagar, dissatisfy, disappoint	*pagar*, pay
desparelhar, separate	*parelhar*, couple
despasar,[1] dominate, surmount	*pasar*, pass
despauzar, put down	*pauzar*, place
despesar,[1, 2] divide, put in pieces	*pesar*, break
despoblar, depopulate	*poblar*, populate
despopar, deprive of suck	*popar*, give suck to
desramar,[3] strip of leaves	*ramar*, put forth leaves
desreglar[3] (*se*), act immoderately	*reglar* rule
desrengar, disturb	*rengar*, arrange
dessaborar,[3] disgust	*saborar*, taste
dessagelar, unseal	*sagelar*, seal
dessalvar, damn	*salvar*, save
dessazonar,[3] disturb, disconcert	*sazonar*, come in season
dessenar,[3] lose senses	*senar*, be sensible
desserrar, unfasten	*serrar*, lock up
destardar,[1] delay	*tardar*, delay
destemprar, disturb, disorder	*temprar*, moderate
destrencar,[1] cut to bits	*trencar*, cut
destriar,[1] distinguish, choose	*triar*, choose
destrigar,[1] prevent, delay	*trigar*, delay, defer
destrosar, unload	*trosar*, pack up
desvariar,[1] diversify	*variar*, vary
desvelhar, awaken	*velhar*, be awake
desvergonhar[3], be or make shameless	*vergonhar*, be ashamed
desvojar,[1] empty	*vojar*, empty
desvolopar,† take away, disclose	*volopar*, envelop

[1] Examples of the forceless prefix. In *despesar* the idea of separation is perceptible, as in *dessebrar*.

[2] Possible parasyntheta.

[3] May have been formed on the corresponding noun as parasyntheta in spite of the existence of the verb.

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† Words with DES- ending in *-ar* of Lat. origin are: *descordar*, disunite<*discordare; desgitar*, throw away<*disjectare; dessebrar*, separate<*disseparare; destorbar*, disturb<*disturbare;* and *destermenar*, put an end to<*disterminare*. Probably also of Lat. origin is *deslegar*, dilute <**disliquare* (?). A word obscure both in meaning and origin is *deslugar*.

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DES- is found as a prefix joined to verbs in *-er* in the following cases:

dezaver, leave, quit	*aver*, have
descaptener, deprive of support	*captener*, retain
descoser, rip open	*coser*, sew
desdoler (se), console oneself	*doler*, grieve
dezerzer,[1] humiliate, lower	
desmantener, abandon	*mantener*, maintain
desparer, disappear	*parer*, appear
destenher,[2] lose color	*tenher*, dye, color
desvaler, despise	*valer*, be worth, value
desvazer, withdraw, escape	*vazer*, go
desvoler, be unwilling	*voler*, be willing, will
desvolver,† untwist, unwind	*volver*, turn

And joined to verbs in *-aiser*, *-eiser*, in:

despereiser,[3] wake up

Joined to verbs in *-re*, it is found in:

desbatre, dispute, debate	*batre*, beat
desdire, contradict	*dire*, say, speak
desduire, amuse	*duire*, lead
desfaire, undo, destroy	*faire*, do
destolre,[4]†† take away, turn aside	*tolre*, take away

Joined to verbs in *-ir*, it is found in:

desbandir, recall from exile	*bandir*, sequester, confiscate
descantir,[5] extinguish	

[1] The verb *erzer* is not found except with the prefix DE- in *derzer*.

[2] A Lat. *distinguere* exists, but with a different meaning. *Destenher* appears to be a Prov. formation.

[3] This is probably a Lat. formation, however. No simple word is found in Prov., and the form and the meaning of the word are such as would come from a Lat. **dispigrescere*.

[4] Forceless prefix.

[5] *Descantir* seems to be only *escantir* with a change of prefix. See *escantir* under ES-, p. 446, n.†

† Words of Lat. origin having the prefix DES- and ending in *-er* are: *descenher*, ungird<*discingere*; *desplazer*, displease<*displicere*; *destorser*, unroll<*distorquere*; and *destrenher*, press<*distringere*.

†† Words of Lat. origin having the prefix DES- and the ending *-re* are: *desclaure*, open<*discludere*; *descreire*, disbelieve<*discredere*; *despendre*, unhang<*dispendere*; and *destendre*, unbend, relax<*distendere*.

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descauzir,[1] insult, outrage	*cauzir*, see, choose
descrupir,[2] squat, cower	*crupir*, squat
dezeisir,[2] go out, retire	*eisir*, go out
dezestablir, disestablish	*establir*, establish
desgarnir, disarm, deprive of	*garnir*, equip
desgiquir,[2] depart, leave	*giquir*, leave
desgrazir, be ungrateful for	*grazir*, be thankful
deslenquir,[3] let pass, relinquish	
desmentir, give the lie to	*mentir*, lie
dezobedir, disobey	*obedir*, obey
desposezir, dispossess	*posezir*, possess
desprovezir, deprive	*provezir*, provide
dessalhir,[2] go out, leave out	*salhir*, go out
dessazir, abandon, let go of	*sazir*, seize
desservir, do ill turn; clear table	*servir*, serve
dessovenir,† forget	*sovenir*, remember

And joined to verbs in *-ejar*, DES- is found in:

dezautrejar, refuse	*autrejar*, grant
desmercejar, refuse mercy	*mercejar*, ask mercy
desplaidejar, repair, indemnify	*plaidejar*, dispute, go to law, conciliate

EM-, EN-

The prefixes EM- and EN- representing the Latin IM- and IN- are very common in forming verbs in Provençal, as in the other Romance languages. The prefix was also very usual in Latin;[4] but it is difficult to define the precise meaning that it had there. Meyer-Lübke explains its functions rather vaguely, but perhaps

[1] The change of meaning in the compound is to be observed.

[2] Forceless prefix.

[3] DES- in *deslenquir* seems to be a change of prefix for RE- in *relenquir*<*relinquere*.

[4] It is common in Classic Lat., but Cooper strangely omits it altogether in his list of prefixes forming verbs in Vulgar Lat.

† Of probable Lat. origin is *descobrir*, discover<**discooperire*.

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as definitely as is possible.[1] From the idea of place contained in IN-, some Latin verbs are formed, as *includere*, shut in, from *claudere*, shut, *incingere*, gird on, from *cingere*, gird, surround. Yet there is no great difference in meaning between the simple verb and the compound. It is the same with the verbs formed in Provençal: there is hardly any tangible distinction between simple word and compound. Other verbal prefixes have tended, as has been seen, to lose their original force, as for example DE-, and also EX-, but it seems as though IN- never had any very well-defined force to give to a verb, and that the Provençal examples of this prefix show about as much force as those found in Latin.

What has been said of the lack of force of the prefix IN- does not apply, however, to the formation of parasyntheta, in which, as will be seen, the prefix is of common occurrence, used with both nouns and adjectives. With nouns, it generally has its original meaning of position. Thus *engorjar*, swallow up, and *enterrar*, bury, formed on *gorja* and *terra*. In words formed on adjectives, it means to endow with the quality expressed by the adjective.

In the following list, EM- is used before verbs beginning with the labials *b* and *p*, and EN- everywhere else.[2] As was the case with A-, the simple word is given only when the derived word shows some difference from it in meaning:

embaizar, kiss	
embaratar, negotiate, cheat	*baratar*, traffic
embarrar,[3] inclose, fence in	*barrar*, bar

[1] II, 678: "Il marque le lieu, exprime l'idée d'introduire, de se rendre dans quelque chose, puis d'entrer dans quelque état; de là découle directement celle d'être dépourvu d'une qualité."

[2] In texts there is some confusion, so that sometimes EM- and sometimes EN- is used before labials, and Raynouard often gives two forms. When not before labials, however, EN- is always found.

[3] A possible parasyntheton formed on *barra*.

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emblasmar, accuse	*blasmar*, blame
emborrar, stuff, pad	
embriar,[1] hasten	*brivar*, hasten
embruiar,[2] stumble (?)	*brucar*, stumble
empalhar,[3] cover with straw	
empasar, make pass, swallow	*pasar*, pass
empastar,[3] cover with paste	*pastar*, make paste
empauzar, impose	*pauzar*, put
empensar,[4] invent, devise	*pensar*, think
emplumar,[5] provide with feathers	*plumar*, pluck off feathers
empoizonar,[5] poison	
empujar,† rise	

With the prefix EN- are found:

enagrandar, enlarge	
enantar, dishonor	
enastrar,[6] endow with happy star	*astrar*, influence by stars
enausar, raise	
enauzelar, hunt birds	
enavansar, release, acquit; draw near (?)	*avansar*, advance
enazirar, detest	
encadenar,[5] enchain	*cadenar*, chain
encambiar, deceive	*cambiar*, change
encaptivar,[5] take captive	
encastrar,[7] castrate	
encausar, drive away	
enclavar, injure (horse in shoeing)	*clavar*, nail

[1] For the disappearance of the *v*, see the remark under *bria*, in Levy, I, 165.

[2] See Stichel, 39.

[3] Possible parasyntheta formed on *palha* and *pasta*.

[4] A Lat. *impensare* is found, but with a different meaning. *Empensar* seems to have been formed on the Prov. *pensar*, to think.

[5] Possible parasyntheta.

[6] Both *enastrar* and *astrar* are found only in the past participle.

[7] The noun *incastratura* is found in Lat., but no verb. *Encastrar*, inclose, enshrine, is a suffix-formation on *encastre*, pyx.

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† Verbs beginning with EM-, beside which a simple verb is found, but whose meaning clearly proves them to be parasyntheta, are *embotar* (beside *botar*), *embregar* (beside *bregar*), and *embrocar* (beside *brocar*). See the parasyntheta (p. 509) for these words.

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encolpar,[1] accuse	
encompanhar,[2] accompany	
encorbar,[2] bend, curve	
encordar,[3] provide with cords, bind with cords	*cordar*, cord, measure
encoronar,[1] crown	
endisciplinar, discipline	
endomesgar, tame	
endresar,[2] set up	
enfelenar, stir up, incite	*felenar*, be angry (?)[4]
enferrar, provide with iron or bind	
enfiar,[2] trust	
enfixar, sew in, fix in	*fixar*, fix
enfumar,[5] fill with smoke	*fumar*, smoke
enfustar,[6] cover with planks	
engardar, protect	
engatjar, engage, pledge	*gatjar*, attach, fine
engavanhar (*se*), be corrupted	*gavanhar*, destroy
englozar, reveal, disclose	*glozar*, gloss
engranar,[6] put corn in mill-hopper	*granar*, produce corn
engrezar, foul, soil	*grezar* (?) (*greza*, tartar?)
engroisar,[6] become stout	*grosar*, engross
enguiar, guide	
enirar,[6] get angry at	
enjoncar, scatter, strew	
enlaizar (*se*), become dirty	*laizar*, soil
enlardar,[6] stuff with lard	*lardar*, to lard
enlauzar, cover with stones	

[1] The past participles *inculpatus* and *incoronatus* are found in Lat., but the *in* is here merely the negative particle prefixed to the past participle of *culpare* and *coronare*.

[2] The similarity of the prefixes A- and EN- is shown by the existence of *encompanhar*, *encorbar*, *endre(i)sar*, and *enfiar* beside *acompanhar*, *acorbar*, *adreisar*, and *afiar*, with exactly the same meanings. In the case of $\overset{\text{A-}}{\text{EN-}}$ *companhar*, the form with A- is found in the other languages, and the one with EN- seems limited to Prov. In that of $\overset{\text{A-}}{\text{EN-}}$ *fiar*, the other languages show, instead of either of these prefixes, forms with CON-.

[3] *Encordar* is a probable parasyntheton.

[4] In the example, *felenar* is used as a noun, but it is probably the infinitive used as a noun. See p. 129, above, Levy, II, 488 and III, 428.

[5] The past participle *infumatus* is found in Lat. but not the infinitive.

[6] Possible parasyntheta.

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enlevar,[1] take away	*levar*, raise
enliamar, bind, entwine	
enmalholar,[2] wrap up, envelop	
enmesclar, mingle	
enmolhar, soak, soften	*molhar*, wet
enmontar, mount	
enmurar,[3] immure	*murar*, wall up
enoliar, give extreme unction to	*oliar*, oil, anoint
enozar, bind, tie	
enraigar, enroot	**raigar*, enroot (only *radigar*[3] found)
enramar,[3] plant with leaves	*ramar*, grow green
enrazonar, reason	
enrigotar, curl (hair)	
enrolar, enroll	*rolar*, roll
ensanglentar, make bloody	
ensangnar, redden with blood[3]	*sangnar*, bleed
ensegurar,[4] assure	
ensermonar, advise, warn	
enserrar, lock up	*serrar*, press, confine
ensolasar,[5] give comfort	*solasar*, cheer
entacar,[5] soil, spot	
entalentar,[5] desire	
entalhar, notch, cut	
entaular,[5] put on (or sit at) table	*taular*, put at table
entravar, shackle, fetter	
entraversar (*se*), place oneself across (?)	*traversar*, cross
entrelhar, spread like vines	
entrencar, break, cut	
entresar, intertwine	*tresar*, weave
entristar,[5] sadden	
envernisar,[5] varnish	

[1] The difference in meaning between the simple and the derived verb is due to the fact that EN- here represents not IN- but INDE-.

[2] Variants are *enmalhorar* and *enmalhotar* (cf. Fr. *emmailloter*).

[3] Possible parasyntheta.

[4] Another example of the similarity and confusion between A- and EN-, as described above in *encompanhar*, *encorbar*, etc. Here, as there, the form with A-, instead of EN-, is the one that is found in the other languages.

[5] Possible parasyntheta. *Entalentar* is found only in the past participle *entalentat*.

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enversar, overturn	*versar*, turn, spread
environar, go around	
envolopar, envelop	
envoludar[1] (*se*),† wallow, welter	*voludar*, roll

New formations are rare among the other conjugations except that ending in *-ir*.

Of the verbs ending in *-er*, there is apparently only one formed by the prefix EN-:

enfenher,†† feign

EM- and EN- form new verbs in *-re* in the following cases:

embatre (*se*), plunge, rush	*batre*, beat
emprendre, undertake	*prendre*, take

[1] The past participle *involutum* exists in Lat., but *envoludar* seems simply to be formed on *voludar*<*volutare* by means of EN-, an ordinary prefix-formation.

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† Words of Lat. origin having the prefix EM- or EN- and the ending *-ar* are: *empachar* (or *empedegar*) prevent<*impedicare; empegar*, starch <*impicare; emplorar*, implore<*implorare; enamorar*, enamor<*inamorare; encantar*, enchant<*incantare; encriminar*, incriminate<*incriminare; endurar*, harden<*indurare; enebriar*, inebriate<*inebriare; enescar*, entice<*inescare; enficiar* (apparently an alteration of *enfecir*, infect) <*inficere; enformar*, inform<*informare; enlasar*, entwine<*illaqueare; enlumenar*, illuminate<*illuminare; enombrar*, darken<*inumbrare; enortar*, exhort<*inhortari; ensertar*, graft<*insertare;* and *envocar*, invoke< *invocare*. Words probably of Lat. origin are *empeltar*, graft<**impellitare*(?) and *emprumtar*, borrow<**imprumutare*. Obscure words are *emploirar*, excite(?), *endoscar*, make soft(?) or polish(?), and *envoiar* (obscure in meaning). Stichel, 43, derives *endoscar* from **indulcicare*, but this seems improbable. *Envoiar* is possibly only a gallicism for *enviar*. See Levy, III, 113. A word in which EM- has been substituted for something else is *emblidar*. The usual form is *oblidar*, coming regularly from *oblitare*. Levy lists also a form *omblidar*. This last form probably represents a confusion between the other two, the confusion being furthered by the common interchange of *e* and *o* in an initial syllable, particularly before *m*. See Grandgent, art. 44, sec. 1.

†† For the other Prov. words in *-er*, Lat. etymons are found, as *empenher*<*impingere, enfranher*<*infringere, entenher*<*intingere*. It is worthy of note that *empenher* did not split up into its elements and become *empanher*, like the others. This is possibly due to confusion with another verb *penher*<*pingere*. *Enfenher* is probably of Lat. origin also.

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encreire, believe	*creire*, believe
enderdre,† set up, raise	

Used with verbs in *-ir*, EM- and EN- are found in:

embair[1] (*se*), be full of care	
embastir, bring about	*bastir*, build
embrugir, divulge, rumor	*brugir*, make noise
empentir, repent	
enaigrir, become sour	
enardir, embolden	
enavantir,[2] celebrate	*avantir*, advance
encobir,[3] covet	
encomburir, burn	
enfoletir,[4] make fun of	*folatir*, sport
enfrevolir, weaken	
enlenir,[5] soften	
enorgolhozir,[5] make proud	
enribaudir,[5] lead a ribald life	*ribaudir*, make shameless
enriquir,[5]†† become or make rich	

Used with verbs in *-ezir*, EM- and EN- are frequently used. Other prefixes are scarcely ever found in combination with this suffix.

emaigrezir,[6] make thin	*maigrezir*, grow thin
enfeblezir, weaken	

[1] *Bair* is not found except in the past participle *bait*, in one example where it seems to mean "crushed."

[2] This word may possibly be formed of the phrase *en avant* + IR (thus a hybrid), or, of course, it may be a parasyntheton formed on *avant*.

[3] *Encobir* is a hard form to account for. *Encobeir* is the form quoted by Thomas (*Essais*, 285) from Foerster's edition of *Girart de Rossillon*, and this could come regularly from **incupidire*.

[4] More probably a parasyntheton formed on *folet*.

[5] These words are all possible parasyntheta formed on the simple adjective, as is true of the words in -EZIR also.

[6] *Emacrescere* and *intepescere* exist in Lat. with the meanings of the Prov. verbs, but these words will not do phonetically as sources. See p. 363, above.

† Of Lat. origin are *embeure*<*imbibere*, *endire*<*indicere*, *empendre* <*impendere*, and *enmetre*<*immittere*.

†† Words of Lat. origin having the prefix EN- and the ending *-ir* are: *endormir*, put to sleep<*indormire*; *enfecir*, infect<*inficere*; *enferir*, utter, proclaim<*inferre* (with change of conjugation); *engenoir*, engender <*ingenuere*; and *engerir*, intrude<*ingerere*.

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enmalezir, become bad
ennoblezir, ennoble
entebezir,[1] become warm
envergonhezir, be ashamed — *vergonhezir*, shame

Used with verbs ending in *-alhar*, *-elhar*, etc., the only sure case of the use of EN- as a prefix is seen in:

engrondelhar (*se*),† scold, grumble

Used with a verb ending in *-ejar*, EN-forms:

ensenhorejar, become mighty — *senhorejar*, master, rule

ENTRE-

The prefix ENTRE- from the Latin INTER- has three well-defined uses in French, which have been explained by Darmesteter,[2] who has pointed out that from the original meaning of "between"—a contact between one thing and the middle of another—could come the idea of reciprocity when the verb was used with the reflexive pronoun, and also, as ENTRE- means "between," "in the middle of," the idea of half-doing a thing—uncompleted action. A few examples, also, show the original meaning of "between." Provençal has all of the meanings found in French. Reciprocal verbs are formed by the prefix ENTRE- in connection with *-se*, the origin of which usage Meyer-Lübke finds in the Latin construction, *inter se*, with a verb.[3] The use of ENTRE- as "half" is also found in a few verbs in

[1] See n. 6, p. 437.

[2] *Mots Composés*, 112.

[3] II, 680. Meyer-Lübke is wrong, however, in stating that the phenomenon is almost entirely limited to northern Fr., whereas it is not unusual in Prov.

† For *endentelhar*, see parasyntheta, p. 510. Another word, *entorrolhar*, however, is a puzzle. Levy corrects it to *entortolhar*, which brings it near in form to the Fr. *entortiller*, whose meaning it has. This was probably formed on the adjective *tortilis*, as was the Sp. *entortijar*. *Entortolhar*, if such a word exists, was probably formed on *tortulus*, instead of *tortilis*, from *tortus*.

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-ir, as *entrauzir*, *entredormir*, and the original force of "between," "among" in *entrelasar* and *entremesclar*. Provençal seems also to have added the prefix to words which it changes in no way, perhaps being originally added to verbs which by themselves had something of the force of ENTRE-, as *forcar*. *Entregachar* and *entremuzar* do not differ in meaning from *gachar* and *muzar*. The lists follow.

ENTRE- is prefixed to verbs in *-ar* in:

entramar (*se*), love one another	*amar*, love
entrebalhar, leap around	*balhar*, dance
entrecelar, warn, protect	*celar*, conceal
entreforcar, fork, branch off	*forcar*, fork
entregachar, watch, guard	*gachar*, watch
entregelar, half-freeze	*gelar*, freeze
entrelaisar, interrupt	*laisar*, leave, let
entrelasar, interlace	*lasar*, wind, bind
entremesclar, intermingle	*mesclar*, mix
entremuzar, be idle	*muzar*, trifle, loiter
entr(*e*)*oblidar*,[1] forget	*oblidar*, forget
entreparaular, converse	*paraular*, talk
entrepauzar, interpose	*pauzar*, put, place
entrequitar[2] (*se*), converse freely with one another	*quitar*, quit, abandon
entretalhar, carve out	*talhar*, cut
entretriar, unload, relieve, gather	*triar*, gather, harvest
entrevironar,† encompass, surround	*vironar*, go around

ENTRE- is used also with verbs ending in *-re* and *-ir*.

[1] *Entroblidar* is translated by Raynouard as "inwardly forget," and the O. Fr. *entr'oublier* by Godefroy as "forget for some time," i.e., "half-forget." The only meaning that can be gleaned from the Prov. examples, however, is simply "to forget."

[2] In spite of the form of the word, its base is undoubtedly *aquitar* and not *quitar*. We should expect *entraquitar* as the derived word, but there must have been some confusion with *quitar*, leave. The Fr. *s'entrequitter*, formed on *quitter*, means only "leave one another."

† An obscurely formed word is *entrebescar*, which seems to mean "to intertwine."

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Prefixed to verbs in *-re*, it is found mostly in verbs formed in Latin. A probable new formation is:

entreprendre,† seize, grasp[1]	*prendre*, take

It is prefixed to verbs in *-ir* in:

entrauzir, half-hear	*auzir*, hear
entredormir, doze	*dormir*, sleep
entreferir (*se*), strike one another	*ferir*, strike
entregarnir, adorn, ornament	*garnir*, furnish
entr(*e*)*obrir*, half-open	*obrir*, open

-ES

The Provençal ES-[2] from the Latin EX- may be classed with the prefixes A-, DE-, DES-, and EN- as a form that frequently became so weakened as to bring no change to the verb to which it was added. Of these, it is closest in meaning to DES-, and there are many pairs of words beginning with DES- and ES- that have exactly the same meaning. The development of meaning of the two is also very similar. EX- had at first just the force which belonged to it as a preposition—that is, it meant "from" or "out of," and is found in such words

[1] The same meaning as in O. Fr. Meyer-Lübke, II, 680, explains the meaning of the Mod. Fr. word as being influenced by the Germ. *unternehmen*.

[2] ES- is regularly found as the Prov. prefix in words of Lat. origin having in Lat. both EX- and E-, the latter having changed back at the time of the word's recomposition to EX-, for which it stood. Thus Meyer-Lübke points out in Lat. times examples of *exlegere* and *exmulgere* for *elegere* and *emulgere*. ES- is not, however, the only form of EX- found in Prov. Grandgent (art. 55) states that EX- became ES- before any consonant but *s*, but that EX-+*s* apparently became EX- or ESS- (Prov. EIS- or ES-). Grandgent says nothing about the development of EX- when preceding vowels, but Levy seems to follow the rule of writing EIS- before a vowel or *s* and ES- before all other consonants. This is the rule that will be followed here.

† *Entrecluire*, shut in<*intercludere*; *entredire*, interdict<*interdicere*; *entremetre* (*se*), interpose<*intermittere*; *entrerompre*, interrupt<*interrumpere*; and *entretraire*, derive<*intertrahere* are of Lat. origin.

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as *excludere*, *excurre*, etc. From this, it might easily pass to the meaning of negation, as did DIS-, and this meaning is found, but in other languages rather than in Provençal, as for example in Italian, in which S- from EX- came to be the principal prefix of negative force. In Provençal there are several words, such as *escargar*, *escelar*, *esfilar*, and *esliar*, which are the direct opposites of the verb without the prefix, but in most of them the original separative force may clearly be seen. Thus *esfilar*, unravel, as opposed to *filar*, spin, or *esfolhar*, strip off leaves, as opposed to *folhar*, put forth leaves. DES- from the Latin DIS- remains the important negative prefix.

Thus the original force of the prefix is more persistent in the Provençal representative of the Latin EX- than of DIS-. It is preserved in full vigor in such words as *esbrancar*, *esclapar*, *esgotar*, *eslargar*, *estirar*, *estrencar*, *esdire* and *esmetre*, besides, of course, in many parasynthetа. Yet ES-, like the other prefixes mentioned, has undergone a weakening in many cases so that there are words in which it adds nothing at all to the original verb, and this loss of force, if not as usual as in A- and DE-, is much more common than in DES-. Even intensive force may be found in some words, such as *espesar*, break to bits, and could come about in the same way that it originated in the other prefixes, from the nature of the word to which the prefix was added. To give an example of a word already existing in Latin, *excoquere* (Provençal *escocer*) means "to cook to pieces," in which case both meanings of the prefix may be seen.[1] It is thus clear that there can be no exact dividing line between the various meanings of any of these prefixes, but that

[1] That is, separative and intensive.

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they merge into one another.[1] All of the words in the list will come under one head or another, although there are some words which appear to have rather special meanings.[2]

Since so many prefixes had lost their force and gave no new meaning to the verb with which they were used, the substitution of one for another was natural. Thus, besides the interchange of ES- and DES-, ES- with its loss of force is sometimes substituted for EN-. Thus beside *enmurar* (Latin **immurare*) is found *esmurar*, beside *envelopar*, *esvelopar*, and beside *emblesmar*, *esblesmar*. Other kinds of substitution will be noticed in the lists.

EIS- (or EX-+vowel or *s*) is found in the following verbs in *-ar*:

eisalegrar, cheer, rejoice	
eisampliar, increase (?)	*ampliar*, make ample
eisarrar,[3] confuse	
eisausar, raise, exalt	
eisivernar,[4] support during winter	*ivernar*, to winter
eisoblidar, forget	
eisorbar,† blind	

ES- is found in the rest of the verbs in *-ar:*

esbadar, yawn	*badar*, open
esblasmar, become weak	*blasmar*, turn pale
esborrar,[4] take away the floss or flock	*borrar*, provide with floss, stuff, pad
esbrancar,[4] strip of branches, take away	*brancar*, put forth branches

[1] Cooper, 275.

[2] Thus *escambiar*, *esfalsar*, *esforsar*, *esviolar*, *esbatre*, *esprendre*, and *esbrugir*.

[3] The past participle *eisarrat* is the only form found, and seems to mean "confused," "irresolute," and to be formed on a verb *arrar*, meaning "to arrange."

[4] Probable parasyntheta formed on *ivern*, *borra*, and *branc*. *Esbastar* will be found listed only under parasyntheta (p. 512), although *bastar* exists, but with a totally different meaning from that of the compound.

† Of Lat. origin there is *eissugar*, wipe<*exsucare*.

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esbrivar, become violent, quarrel	*brivar*, press
escabosar, plunge under	
escairar, square	
escaitivar, conquer	*caitivar* (only *captivar* found), captivate
escalhar,[1] break apart	*calhar*, unite
escambiar, exchange	*cambiar*, change
escancelar, destroy	*cancelar*, cancel
escargar, discharge	*cargar*, charge, load
escavalcar, ride	
escelar, clear up, enlighten	*celar*, conceal
esclapar, hew, cut down	
escolpar, accuse	
escomensar, begin	
esconfortar (*se*), refresh oneself	
esconsirar, view, consider	*consirar*, think
escrear, nominate, appoint	*crear*, create
escrevantar, overturn	
escridar, call	*cridar*, cry out
esdreisar, make straight	
esfalsar, fail, perish (?)	*falsar*, falsify
esfelenar, irritate; (*se*), strive	*felenar* (*se*), be angry
esfilar, unravel	*filar*, spin
esfolhar,[2] strip of leaves	*folhar*, bloom
esfondrar, overturn, precipitate	*fondrar*, destroy
esformar, form, portray	
esforsar, strengthen; with *se* = strive	*forsar*, force
esgachar, look at, notice	
esgaimentar, lament	
esgarar, look at	
esgardar, look at, consider	
esgotar, drain	*gotar*, drop
esgrafinar, scratch	
eslaisar (*se*), let oneself go, hurry	*laisar*, let, allow
eslansar, throw, dart	
eslargar, spread out	*largar*, let run
eslevar, raise, exalt	
esliar, detach, unbind	*liar*, bind
eslongar, remove, delay	

[1] See Stichel, 24 and 49.

[2] A possible parasyntheton.

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esmurar, wall up	
espasar, pass, finish, go away	
espauzar,[1] expose	*pauzar*, put
espelar, strip of hair	
espesar, break to pieces	*pesar*, break
esplanar, polish	
espresar,[2] specify, say expressly	
esproar, test, verify	
espudar,[2] spit out	
estalentar,[3] take away inclination	*talentar*, desire
estersar,[4] clean (?) or divide into three (?)	*tersar*, divide into three
estirar, stretch	*tirar*, pull
estornar, turn aside	*tornar*, turn
estrencar, cut off, separate	*trencar*, cut
estrepar, crush, trample on	
estrobar,[5] resist (?)	*trobar*, find; compose
estudar,[6] put out	
esventar, be windy, blow	
esvergonhar, humiliate, dishonor	
esviolar (*una maizon*), break into (a house)	*violar*, violate
esvironar, encompass, surround	
esvolopar, envelop	
esvojar,† annul, declare null	*vojar*, empty

[1] *Espauzar* like *pauzar* was influenced in meaning by the past participle of *ponere*.

[2] *Espresar* and *espudar* are formed on the past participle of the Lat. verbs *exprimere* and *exspuere*.

[3] A possible parasyntheton.

[4] Levy gives the meaning of "clean," and suggests the correction to *esterser* (<Lat. *extergere*). But the formation on *tersar* from *ters*, a third, seems more probable, and the meaning of "divide into three" fits the passage well. (See Levy, III, 321.)

[5] Levy gives the word with a question-mark.

[6] Given by Raynouard as *estuzar*, but corrected by Levy. The formation is clear.

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† There are also many words having the prefix ES- and ending in *-ar* that are not of Prov. formation.

The words clearly of Lat. origin are: *escalfar*, heat<*excalfacere*; *escomenjar* and *escumergar*, excommunicate<*excommuniare* and *excommunicare*; *escorjar*, flay<*excoriare*; *espachar*, expedite<*expactiare*;

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Aside from the verbs in *-ar*, ES- is hardly found as a Provençal prefix, except when used with the verbs in *-ir*.

Thus, joined to the verbs in *-er*, it is found only in:

escazer, devolve on, befall	*cazer*, fall
estener† (*se*), hold oneself back	*tener*, hold

and joined to verbs in *-re*, only in:

esbatre (*se*), gambol, frolic	*batre*, beat
esperdre, discourage	*perdre*, lose
esprendre,†† inflame, set afire	*prendre*, take

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espectar, await<*exspectare; espensar*, spend<*expensare*. Here should be included certain words of Lat. origin recomposed in Prov., as: *esmendar*, emend<*emendare; esraigar*, uproot<*eradicare;* and *esvigorar*, strengthen<*evigorare*. In certain other words, a new prefix is found to have been *substituted* in Prov. for the Lat. one, as ES- for DE- in *escapitar*, behead, and for IN- in *escorporar*, incorporate. In *esmaginar*, the ES- is due to a confusion of the *e* of *emaginar* (Lat. *imaginare*) with the *e* representing EX-.

Words probably of Lat. origin are as follows: *escarchar*, tear< **exquarticare; escorchar*, shorten<**excurticare*(*?*); *escorchar*, flay (see also *escorjar*, above)<**excorticare; espanchar*, pour out<**expandicare;* and *estonar*, stun (only past participle found)<**extonare*.

Words in which only a stem can be seen are *eslugar*, light up, formed on *luc* (seen in *lucere*, etc.) and *esmagar*, disturb, formed on the Germ. stem *mag*.

A word in which the prefix -ES is only apparent is *estreisar*, tighten <*strictiare*.

A word obscure in formation is *estalvar*, happen. *Esbaudanar* is obscure in meaning as well.

For *estalbiar* and *estanhar* see the verbal suffix -AR, p. 336.

† Other words in *-er* of Lat. origin are *esfranher*, *estenher*, *esterzer*, and *estrenher*. *Esfranher* is *effringere* recomposed. *Estenher* is from *stinguere*, *esterzer* from *extergere*, and *estrenher* from *stringere*. The ES- of *estenher* and *estrenher* is therefore not a prefix at all.

†† All of the above words, and *escazer* in *-er* have corresponding forms in Fr. There are a good many words in *-re* of Lat. origin.: *esbeure*< *ebibere*, *esclaure*<*excludere*, *escodre*<*excutere*, *escoire*<*excoquere*, *escorre* <*excurrere*, *esdire*<*edicere*, *esmetre*<*emittere*, *esmolre*<*emolere*, end *espendre* <*expendere*. *Esbeure*, *esclaure*, *esdire*, *esmetre*, and *esmolre* are recomposed. *Estruire* is from *instruere*, with the *n* assimilated to the *s*. *Estuire*, shut in, is obscure.

A word with the prefix ES- and ending in *-eiser* is also found— *espereiser*, apparently derived from *expigrescere*.

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It is used with verbs in *-ir* in:

esbolhir (se), become heated	*bolhir*, boil
esbrugir, become known	*brugir* (*bruzir*), make noise
esbrunir, become dark	*brunir*, darken
escauzir, remark	*cauzir*, see
escobrir, disclose, make free	*cobrir*, cover
escolhir, prepare	*colhir*, collect
escolorir, discolor	*colorir*, become colored
escroisir, break, crush	
esfrezir, cool	
esgrazir, receive with pleasure	*grazir*, accept
esjauzir, rejoice	
esmarrir, sadden	
espartir, divide, separate	
estremir,† make tremble	*tremir*, tremble

Used with verbs in *-ezir*, ES- is found in:

esbrunezir, become dark	*brunezir*, darken
esclarzir, brighten	
esferezir, anger, frighten	

It is found prefixed to a verb in *-ejar* in:

espesejar, unroll, release	*pesejar*, break

FOR-

The Provençal prefix FOR- from the Latin FORIS- gives little trouble as to meaning. FORIS-, which was not used in composition in Latin, meant "out of," "out," and these meanings are seen in the Provençal and also the French forms. The only development of meaning is seen in the fact that from the meaning "out of," "out of reason," it has come to mean "wrongly." In *foreisir*, the

† Of Lat. origin (recomposed) is *esluzir*, shine forth < *elucere*.

An obscure word is *escantir*, extinguish. Körting (No. 3,336) derives it from *excandere*, which, of course, does not account for the *t*.

Words of Germ. origin in which the prefix ES- is only apparent are *escarir*, accord, destine; *escarnir*, ridicule; *escremir*, protect; *esmeutir*, defecate; and *esparnir*, split.

Esmair, *esquivir*, (see p. 347, n. †), *estornir*, and *estrangir*, are probably formed by means of the suffix -IR.

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prefix, from the nature of the simple verb, can have no force. The examples are:

forgitar, throw out	*gitar*, throw
forjurar,[1] abjure, renounce	*jurar*, swear
forjutjar, judge wrongly	*jutjar*, judge
forostar, put out; excite	*ostar*, take away
forsenar,† rave, be crazy	*senar*, be sensible

FOR- is also prefixed to verbs of other conjugations. It is prefixed to verbs in *-re* in:

forclaure, shut out	*claure*, close
fordure, show out, refuse	*duire*, lead
forfaire, forfeit, fail	*faire*, do
fortraire, take away (secretly?)	*traire*, draw

and to verbs in *-ir* in:

forbandir, banish	*bandir*, proclaim
foreisir, go out	*eisir*, go out
forvenir, put out, overturn	*venir*, come

MES-

The Provençal prefix MES- is clearly derived from the Latin MINUS-, and has depreciative force—that is, it frequently denotes a decline or retrogression from some better position, thus retaining to some extent the original force of the adverb *minus*. Sometimes only negative force is perceptible, as in *mesconoiser*, but more often the other force also may be seen, as in *mescomtar*, *mesparlar*, etc. The examples of verbs ending in *-ar* are as follows:

mescabar, lack	*cabar*,[2] finish, achieve
mescomtar, miscount	*comtar*, count
mesparlar, speak badly, slander	*parlar*, speak
mesprezar, scorn, disdain	*prezar*, prize

[1] Compare with *perjurar* in meaning. FOR- still has here its meaning of "out of," "away from," whereas PER- has the idea of "wrongly" or "falsely."

[2] For examples of *cabar*, see Stichel, 23. *Mescabar* was probably formed on *cabar*, though it may have been a parasyntheton formed on *cap*, head. It is probably not, however, formed on *mescap* as Körting (No. 6194) gives it. The latter is either a postverbal or an independent formation.

† An obscure word is *forescapiar*.

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MES- is prefixed to verbs in *-re* in:

mescreire, disbelieve	*creire*, believe
mesfaire, do wrong, offend	*faire*, do
mesprendre, deceive; be mistaken	*prendre*, take

and to verbs in *-eiser*, *-oiser* in:

mesconoiser, not to know	*conoiser*, know

and to verbs in *-ir* in:

mesfalhir,[1] fail	*falhir*, fail

OLTRA- (OUTRA-)

The Provençal prefix OLTRA-, OUTRA-, from the Latin *ultra* is used in forming a few popular verbs. Its meaning is that of "beyond," "beyond reason," as is seen in *oltracujar*, rave. It is found in the following formations:

oltracujar, rave	*cujar*, think
oltrapasar, pass limits	*pasar*, pass
oltrasalhir, pass beyond	*salhir*, go out

PER-

The Provençal prefix PER- comes from the Latin prefix PER-, which seems to have had several different meanings. Ordinarily, in composition it had the force of "thoroughly," "through and through," or "to the end," "completely,"[2] and also, as Darmesteter points out,[3] it seems in some verbs to have had the force of "here and there," "around." Most of these meanings are found in the Provençal words which have come down from Latin.[4]

[1] The prefix has no perceptible force here, owing to the nature of the verb to which it was added. For *non*, often given as a prefix, see compound words.

[2] But this purely intensive force was often lost, so that frequently the compound hardly differs from the simple verb. This is also true of the Prov. formations. In *perjurar*, the prefix had the meaning of "falsely" in Lat.

[3] *Mots Composés*, 114.

[4] As *persegre*, *perpensar*, etc.

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In the Provençal formations, of which there are but few examples, as in the other languages, the prefix again shows the idea of "thoroughly" or carrying to an end. The meaning of "here and there" seems to be lacking.

PER- was sometimes substituted for other prefixes, as for PRO- in *perlongar*. All cases like this will be indicated in the following lists.

PER- is found prefixed to verbs of the first conjugation in the following examples:

percantar,[1] manage, administer	*cantar*, sing
percasar, seek, seek to obtain	*casar*, drive away
percolar,[2] embrace	(*colar*)
perdonar, pardon	*donar*, give
perfilar,[2] give a border to	*filar*, spin
perfondar,[2] plunge, precipitate	(*fondar*)
perforsar (*se*), make an effort	*forsar*, force
perfumar, perfume	*fumar*, smoke
pergardar, look at, inspect	*gardar*, look at
pergitar(?)	*gitar*, throw
pergostar, taste carefully	*gostar*, taste
perlongar,[3] prolong	
peroliar, give extreme unction to	*oliar*, oil
perpauzar, propose, resolve	*pauzar*, put, place
perportar, report, declare	*portar*, carry
perquitar, give satisfaction	*quitar*, free, acquit
pertocar,† touch, concern	*tocar*, touch

[1] Cf. *decantar* with the same meaning. This word was formed in Lat. on *cantar*, and meant originally "to stop singing." The development in meaning is not thoroughly clear, but as PER- and DE- both often had the idea of thoroughness, PER- may have been substituted for the original prefix.

[2] *Percolar* and *perfondar* are almost certainly formed on the nouns *col*, neck, and *fon*, bottom. See parasyntheta (p. 514), therefore. The verbs *colar* and *fondar* exist, but are not directly connected with the derived verbs. *Perfilar* may also be a parasyntheton formed on *fil*, thread.

[3] Here we have a substitution of PER- for PRO- (Lat. *prolongare*).

† Verbs ending in *-ar* of Lat. origin are: *perdurar*, last forever< *perdurare; perscrutar*, investigate thoroughly<*perscrutare; perjurar*, swear falsely<*perjurare; permudar*, exchange<*permutare; pernochar*, spend the night<*pernoctare;* and *perpensar*, reflect<*perpensare*.

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PER- is found prefixed to verbs in *-er* apparently only in verbs of Latin origin.† It is prefixed to Provençal formations in *-re*, however, in the following examples:

perestendre, stretch out	*estendre*, extend
perfendre, cleave completely	*fendre*, cleave
perprendre,†† grasp; understand; undertake	*prendre*, take

and to verbs in *-ir* in the following examples:

perbolhir, parboil	*bolhir*, boil
percomplir, fulfil	*complir*, fulfil
perofrir, offer	*ofrir*, offer
perregir (*se*), pass one's life, live	*regir*, rule
perservir,††† deserve	*servir*, serve

and to verbs in *-eiser* in:

percreiser, increase	*creiser*, grow

POR-

The Provençal prefix POR- seems to be found in but one word, in which it means "out of," "away." In this case, it is also written PORRE-, and seems clearly to come from the Latin PORRO-. The example is:

porgitar,[1] throw away, dissipate	*gitar*, throw

PRO-

The prefix PRO- from the Latin PRO- is almost as rare as POR- in Provençal. It is found in a number of words

[1] This is also written as two words, as *gitar por*. It is clearly a Prov. formation.

† The verbs of Lat. origin in *-er* are: *perplazer*, please<*perplacere*; *pertener*, belong<*pertinere*; *pervenser*, overcome<*pervincere*; and *pervezer*, foresee, apparently from *providere* with change of prefix.

†† Verbs of Lat. origin in *-re* are: *percorre*, run through<*percurre*; *permoure*, promote<*promovere* (with PER- substituted for PRO-); and *pertraire*, drag, draw<*pertrahere*.

††† Verbs of Lat. origin ending in *-ir* are: *perfecir*, finish<*perficere*; *perlegir*, read<*perlegere*; and *perquerir*, seek out<*perquirere*.

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derived from Latin,[1] but apparently in only one new formation. Consequently it is difficult to determine its precise force. It is found in:

prodenhar, aid, defend *denhar*, deign, approve

RE-

The Romance prefix RE-, coming from the Latin RE-, has been studied with particular care by Darmesteter in his *Mots Composés*,[2] where the uses of the Latin prefix have been classified under six headings in order to compare them with the uses of the French prefix. For the various meanings of the prefix in Latin, which Darmesteter classifies as (1) repetition, (2) re-establishment in a former condition or position, (3) augmentation, (4) retrogression (retirement or deterioration), (5) reaction or opposition, and (6) reciprocity or exchange, he finds examples in both Old and Modern French, showing how clearly most Romance processes of word-formation are but continuations of processes originating in Latin.[3] To be sure, Darmesteter does give one usage in French not existing in Latin, according to which the prefix has the force of "on my part," "on your part," etc., according to the subject of the verb, but this usage seems to be peculiar to Old French; at least it is difficult to find any positive examples of it in Provençal. The various

[1] Thus *procurar*<*procurare*, *prolongar*<*prolongare*, *prometre*<*promittere*, *promover*<*promovere*, and *prohibir*<*prohibere*.

[2] Pp. 115–20; another treatment going into much greater detail is *Das Präfix RE im Französischen* (Weimar, 1904) by Max Meinicke. The headings are substantially those of Darmesteter, whose simpler classification will be followed here.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, II, 681, says that the idea of repetition, or doing a thing again, has disappeared completely in Romance, and that the idea in words apparently of this kind is always one of change. Surely this is a rather broad statement, however. Observe, for example, the list of Prov. words under Group I, and compare also the new words formed in Fr.

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meanings of the prefix are closely allied, however, and it is often difficult to decide under which heading to place individual verbs. Darmesteter has traced back all the meanings, except the one just mentioned, to the original idea of repetition, the clearest and most usual employment of RE-,[1] and his study of the question, although purely theoretical, seems clear and plausible. It shows how the various meanings were derived from a single idea in Latin, and the words formed in Romance show, for the most part, some one of the Latin meanings. The new meaning given for Old French appears to be exceptional, but it also can easily be derived from the original ones.

The prefix RE-, with its great diversity of meanings, did not escape the fate of some of the simpler prefixes—that of losing all force whatever. In the Provençal of our period, which was probably not very different from the spoken language, RE- still has most of the Latin meanings in its new formations, besides existing in several words in which it shows no force at all. This loss of force, however, took place naturally enough in a suffix with such varied and delicate distinctions of meaning as to be not always intelligible to the common people, who saw in some of these words no force in the prefix. Consequently, we find in Provençal of this period cases where the simple word and the meaningless compound exist side by side, just as was the case with diminutive suffixes. In Modern French, on the other hand, there is more of a distinction to be made between the literary and the popular language. The latter has continued to form meaningless compounds by means of RE-, to be used instead of the simple verb. The literary language has attempted to keep out compounds of this kind, and to use

[1] *Mots Composés*, 117.

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RE- with iterative force only. Yet in a few cases the compound word has crept into the language, and in these cases, the simple word tends to disappear, as, for example, *emplir* is giving way to *remplir*, and *encontrer* to *rencontrer*.

The uses of the prefix RE- might profitably be studied separately for each of the Romance languages. Provençal is distinct from French, Italian, and Spanish in not using RE- before other prefixes,[1] although double prefixes are common in the language. RE-EM- is very frequent in the other three, as REM-, REN- in French, RIM- in Italian, and RE-EM- in Spanish.[2] Another difference from French is that there are scarcely any clear cases of words in Provençal with the ideas of opposition or reaction, or of re-establishment.

To illustrate the different uses of the prefix in Provençal, the words will be given under the different headings according to meaning, although shades of meaning are often so delicate that classification is sometimes difficult.

1. *Repetition* (*Verbs in -ar*)

rebaizar, kiss again	*baizar*, kiss
recalar, calm again	*calar*, calm, silence
reclavar, close again, close up	*clavar*, close
recomtar, tell again, recount	*comtar*, count, relate
reemprenhar,[3] reimpregnate	*emprenhar*, impregnate
referrar, re-iron	*ferrar*, bind with iron
refilar, spin again	*filar*, spin
remanjar, eat again	*manjar*, eat
remaridar, remarry	*maridar*, marry
renomnar, rename	*nomnar*, name

[1] Cf. also the modern language.

[2] Instead, the reverse order is found, however, as A-+RE-, DE-+RE-, etc. See double prefixes, p. 491, below.

[3] Apparently there are two prefixes here, but *emprenhar* (*impregnare*) was formed in Lat., and there is no simple verb *prenhar* in Prov.

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Of the verbs ending in *-re*, there is only *refaire*, not formed in Latin, and this is a recomposition of *reficere*.

Under *-ir* there is:

recobrir, recover — *cobrir*, cover

2. *Re-establishment*

Verbs of this class seem to be entirely lacking, with the possible exception of:

rebailar, give back, or give again (?) — *bailar*, deliver, give

3. *Augmentation*

reconfortar, strengthen, revive — *confortar*, comfort
redoptar, fear, dread — *doptar*, doubt
remolhar, wet through — *molhar*, wet
retroncar(?), cut short, cut off — *troncar*, cut

4. *Retrogression (removal, retirement)*

rebotar, push back — *botar*, push
remenar, lead back — *menar*, lead
repropchar, reproach — *propchar*, approach
retirar, draw back, take away — *tirar*, draw
retornar, return — *tornar*, turn
revirar, return, turn — *virar*, turn

Under verbs in *-er*, there is only *refranher*, a recomposition of the Latin *refringere*.

5. *Reaction, Opposition*

Verbs of this kind seem entirely lacking in Provençal.

6. *Reciprocity, Exchange*

resemblar(?), resemble — *semblar*, seem

Thus it is doubtful whether there are any Provençal formations of either of the last two classes.

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7. *Prefix with no force at all*

Words of this kind are much more numerous in Provençal than those belonging to any of the classes given by Darmesteter. Those in *-ar* are as follows:

refinar, end, cease	*finar*, end
refizar, trust	*fizar*, trust
regardar, look at	*gardar*, look at
regazardonar, reward	*gazardonar*, reward
rejostar, bring together	*jostar*, assemble
relargar, relax, free	*largar*, let run
remirar, look at	*mirar*, look at
repauzar, place, put, rest[1]	*pauzar*, put
resautar, bound, stamp (*resautelhar*),[2] leap, bound	*sautar*, leap
resaziar, satiate	*saziar*, satiate
restancar, staunch, stop up	*estancar*, staunch
retombar, fall	*tombar*, fall
revironar, surround	*vironar*, go around

Under *-re* are found:

repenedre, repent	*penedre*, repent
rescondre, hide	*escondre*, hide

Under *-ir* are found:

reblandir, flatter	*blandir*, flatter
refrezir, cool	*frezir*, cool
repentir, repent	*pentir*, repent
resentir, feel, experience	*sentir*, feel
retentir,[3] resound	*tentir*, resound

Under *-ejar* are found:

reflamejar, shine	*flamejar*, shine
remercejar, thank	*mercejar*, thank

[1] Sometimes with the meaning of "rest oneself."

[2] No simple verb *sautelhar* is found, though *sautiller* exists in Fr. A Prov. *sautelhar* may have existed, or, as seems probable, *resautelhar* may be a suffix-formation on *resautar*. For verbs in -ELHAR, see p. 350.

[3] Cf. *repentir*, *ressentir* and *retentir* in Fr., from which the simple verbs *pentir* and *tentir* have disappeared.

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SO-

The Provençal prefix SO- from the Latin SUB- is very rare in new formations, just as the representatives of SUB- are in the other Romance languages. French does not appear to use SUB- at all to form new verbs, and Italian and Spanish have it in very few forms, as, for example, in Spanish in *socalzar* and *sofreir*, and in Italian in *succhiudere*, etc. The only new formation that Provençal appears to possess is *sopartir*, divide, distribute, with little difference in meaning from the simple verb *partir*, perhaps, however, having a trace of the idea of subdivision. Another word formed in Provençal, with no Latin word as source actually found, is *sojornar*, but **subdiurnare* must have existed.[1] The real Latin formations, on the other hand, tend to disappear in Provençal, though many of them have persisted in French and elsewhere. Of the Provençal words with SO-, then, *sojornar* and *sopartir* have been treated, the latter probably having been formed on the analogy of *subdividere*, which later disappeared. *Sofranher* is a recomposition of the Latin *suffringere;* and *sobrendre*, which apparently shows SOB- instead of SO- from SUB-, probably represents SOBRE- from SUPER- with a dropping of the RE- before the *re* of *rendre*. SUB- tended greatly to disappear on account of the gradual substitution of the longer form, SUBTUS-.[2]

SOBRE-

The Provençal prefix SOBRE-, in forming new verbs, gives little difficulty as to meaning. It merely retains the meaning of the Latin preposition *super*, from which it

[1] Cf. the forms in the other Romance languages.

[2] See SOST- and SOTZ-, pp. 458–59, below.

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is derived, in all of the new formations, whether SUPER- means "over" with the idea of place, as in *sobredaurar*, or, as is much more frequent, with the idea of excess, or at least large quantity, as in *sobrelauzar*, *sobretarzar*, etc.

SOBRE- is prefixed to verbs in *-ar-* in:

sobramar, love too much	*amar*, love
sobravansar, surpass, go ahead of	*avansar*, advance
sobrecochar, hasten (greatly)	*cochar*, hasten
sobrecujar,[1] be presumptuous (?)	*cujar*, think
sobredaurar, gild over	*daurar*, gild
sobreforsar, make great effort	*forsar*, force, strive
sobrelauzar,[2] overpraise	*lauzar*, praise
sobremontar, surmount	*montar*, mount
sobr(e)onrar, honor highly	*onrar*, honor
sobreparlar, talk too much	*parlar*, talk
sobreportar, surmount	*portar*, carry
sobretarzar, delay greatly	*tarzar*, delay
sobretemprar, moderate greatly	*temprar*, moderate
sobreversar,† overflow, superabound	*versar*, spread

SOBRE- is prefixed to verbs in *-er* in:

sobreluzer, shine much	*luzer*, shine
sobresaber,[3] know much	*saber*, know
sobretemer, fear much	*temer*, fear
sobrevaler, be superior to	*valer*, be worth

[1] Only the past participle is found.

[2] The adjective *superlaudabilis* is given in Georges' dictionary, as being found in the Vulgate.

[3] *Supersapere*, from which *sobresaber* could come, is found, but has the meaning of "have an excellent taste," "to taste" being the original meaning of *sapere*. *Sobresaber* with the meaning here given appears to be a Prov. formation.

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† Words with the prefix SOBRE- and the ending *-ar* of Lat. origin are, *sobrenadar*, float<*supernatare*, and *sobre(e)ondar*, superabound< *superabundare*.

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and to verbs in *-eiser* in:

sobrepareiser,† appear over — *pareiser*, appear

to verbs in *-re* in:

sobreprendre,†† surprise, surround — *prendre*, take

SOST-, SOTZ-, SOZ-, SOS-

The Latin prefix SUB-, as stated above,[1] was generally replaced by the longer form SUBTUS-. Even this form, however, was rarely used in Provençal, and is found in very few words. SUBTUS- took several developments in Provençal, as SOTZ-, the phonetic development, and another form SOST-, which occurs in very few words and was probably only a dialect difference from SOTZ-, showing a metathesized form. The only real examples of the form appear to be *sostmonir*, found in the Burgundian *Girart de Rossillon*, and *sostcavar* in Peire Cardenal. *Sostmonir* is, of course, only the Latin *submonere* with a change of prefix from SUB- to SUBTUS- in the metathesized form, and *sostcavar*, to mine, also exists in Latin under the form of *subcavare*. *Cavar*, to pierce, exists in Provençal, and *sostcavar* might have been formed from it, but the change of prefix in the Latin verb is more probable, as other examples of the change of SUB- to SUBTUS- are so common. Another frequent form of the prefix is SOS-, also found in one word as SOZ-,[2] both of which forms indicate SUBTUS- as their source. The form

[1] P. 456.

[2] *Sozmover*<*submovere*.

† Of Lat. origin is *sobrecreiser*, increase<*supercrescere*.

†† Of Lat. origin are *sobrescriure*, superscribe<*superscribere*, and *sobrestendre*, extend over<*superextendere*, showing a Lat. double prefix.

A word with the prefix SOBRE- and the ending *-ir* of Lat. origin is *sobrevenir*, come up<*supervenire*.

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SOS- is found in *sosfoire, sosjazer, sosplantar, sosrire, sostraire*, which words exist in Latin with SUB- as prefix, as *subfoedere, subjacere, supplantare, subridere, subtrahere.*[1] How common this change of prefix was is seen in some Old French words, which in their more recent developments have lost all outward sign of the prefix SUBTUS-. Such words are *sosmettre, soslever, soslegier.*[2] The analogy of *sospirar* and *sostener* from the Latin *suspirare* and *sustinere* has been suggested for the Provençal words *sosrire, sosterrar*, and *sostraire.*[3] It would be equally possible for the French words, as *suspirare* became in Old French *sospirer*. This analogy with *sus = sursum* may perhaps have influenced some words, more particularly the French *soslever, soslegier*, since the SUB- of *sublevare* and *subleviare* seems to have been equal in force to SUS- = up; nevertheless in most of the words SOS- still means "under," and must go back to SUBTUS-, substituted for SUB- of like meaning, on account of its length and sonority. When SUBTUS- had become SOTZ-, SOS-, other new words may have been formed by analogy with them, but such cases are very rare. With the form SOTZ-, a few words are found—*sotzescriure, sotzintrar*, and *sotzportar*, but these again are but the Latin words *subscribere, subintrare*, and *supportare* with a substitution of SUBTUS- for SUB-. *Sotzpauzar*, put under, seems to be the only example of SUBTUS- in a word in which it is not merely a substitution for SUB- found in words existing in Latin.

[1] Is there also a form *substrahere*? This is the etymon which the *Dic. Gen.* gives for the Fr. *soustraire*. The *subs-*, however, appears to be a contraction of SUBTUS-.

[2] *Soumettre, soulever*, and *soulager* in Mod. Fr. See *Mots Composés*, 120.

[3] Grandgent, art. 66, sec. 1.

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TRAS-, (TRANS-), TRES-

The Latin prefix TRANS- is found under several forms in Provençal: (1) as TRANS-, in words coming from learned words formed in Latin, as *transfigurare;*[1] (2) as TRAS- in developments of a few words formed in Latin, mostly of a more popular formation, as *trasvazer* from *transvadere*[2]—although some of the learned words are found with TRAS- as well as TRANS-—and in popular words formed in Provençal; (3) as TRE(S)- in one or two words showing the influence of the French TRES-, as *tresanar* as well as *trasanar;* (4) as TRA- in a very few words,[3] most of them having TRA- in Latin, and becoming so closely welded together as not to allow the prefix to be recognized as such and so turned back to TRAS-.

Thus the only form of the prefix used in making new words is TRAS-, but there are several examples of this kind of formation in Provençal.

TRAS- is joined to verbs in *-ar* in:

trascujar, be full of arrogance	*cujar*, think
**trasmeliar*,[4]	
traspasar, go beyond; die	*pasar*, pass

[1] A list of the words of this kind would contain *transfigar*, *transfigurar*, *transforar* (found also with TRAS-), *transformar*, *transglotir*, *translatar* (formed on *translatum*), *transmudar* (also with TRAS-), *transnomnar*, *transplantar* (also with TRAS-), and *transportar*.

[2] Also *trascolar* and *trasluzer* and the words having TRAS- as well as TRANS- given in note 1.

[3] As *tragitar*<*trajectare* (also found as *trasgitar*); *traversar*<**transversare*, formed on *transversus;* and *trapenar*, faint(?)<**trapenare*(?) = TRANS-+*penare* (?).

[4] This word is listed by Raynouard, but only the past participle *trasmeliat* is found. Raynouard translates *trasmeliar* by "to trouble." The word is also found in Appel's *Chrestomathy* (No. 100, line 20), but no translation of it is given in the vocabulary. It seems probable that the word should be corrected to *trassomelhat*, which would give the right number of syllables to the line. *Trassomelhat*, would be a parasyntheton formed on *somelhar*, be sleepy, and the meaning which such a formation would have fits the passage exactly.

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trassautar, leap beyond	*sautar*, leap
trassuzar, sweat through	*suzar*, sweat
trastombar, overturn, upset	*tombar*, fall
trastornar, upset, overturn	*tornar*, turn

It is prefixed to verbs in *-er* in:

trascenher, gird on	*cenher*, gird on

to verbs in *-re* in:

trastolre, transport	*tolre*, take

and to verbs in *-ir* in:

trassalhir, transgress	*salhir*, go out

The meaning of TRAS- in the various formations gives little difficulty. It is regularly that of "through" or "beyond," with an occasional figurative use.

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CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF NOUNS

In the formation of nouns, almost exactly the same prefixes are employed as in the formation of verbs, but nouns formed by means of prefixes are much less numerous than the verbs have been seen to be. The general principles applied to the formation of both seem to be the same, with the one exception that loss of force in the prefix is much less usual in the noun-formations than among the verbs. Here it was seen that most of the really common prefixes were sometimes, at least, used without force, whereas in the case of nouns, such prefixes as CON-, CONTRA-, and DES- are never forceless. The only nominal prefixes that seem to be used in this way are EN-, ENTRE-, and ES-. Of these, EN- is only occasionally used without force, ENTRE- is so used in all but two words, and ES- seems always to have that use. The two words with ENTRE- referred to are *entrecilh* and *entreuelh*. *Entrecilh* seems to have been formed in Latin,[1] and *entreuelh* was probably formed by analogy with it. The other words in ENTRE- may have had *entreforc* as a starting-point. This is probably a postverbal noun formed on *entreforcar*, and from the nature of the verb, the prefix could have little force. This postverbal formation seems to be the explanation for most of the examples of the forceless prefix, with ES- as well as with ENTRE-, although often no verb is found. The force of EN-, as seen in the verbs, was at best very vague; it is, therefore, not surprising to find among the nouns examples in which it has no force. All of these may, indeed, be

[1] See p. 473, n. 1, below.

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postverbals. There are, however, also other examples in which EN- has its prepositional force, in which cases adverbial phrases gradually became used as simple nouns. This same kind of formation is also true of the prefix A-.[1]

The nominal prefixes will now be studied in alphabetical order.

A-

Although there are many nouns in Provençal beginning with the prefix A-, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the prefix was used to form the noun, or whether it was made in some other way. There seem to be very few examples of nouns formed by using the prefix A- with any part of speech. *Afar* comes probably from a word formed in Latin,[2] in which language there are some examples of this kind of formation, although most of them appear to be from the classical speech. Most of the nouns with the prefix A- that are found are, however, beyond doubt, merely nouns formed by the use of the stem of the corresponding verb. This was one of the commonest ways of forming abstracts, and will be described fully farther on.[3] Abstract nouns exactly like the infinitive of a verb, except for the absence of the termination, nearly always belong to this class. Thus such words as *adop*, *afan*, *ajost*, and *asensa* hardly belong here. Even *arrenc* appears to come from *arrengar*, formed on *rengar* from *renc*, and not directly from *renc*. *Arrega*, line, furrow, appears to be formed on *rega*, but the A- may be nothing more than a case of agglutination

[1] See the lists of words under A- and EN-, pp. 464 and 471.

[2] *Mots Composés*, 146.

[3] Part IV, chap. i, below.

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of the article.[1] The word exists in the simple form in the other languages. This leaves only the following possibilities of cases of the formation of a noun by prefixing A-, and not all of these are certain:

abandon, freedom, "abandon"	*bandon*, permission
apoestat, potentate	*poestat*, power
arancura, affliction	*rancura*, bitterness
asenhal, banner	*senhal*, signal
aviron, tiller	*viron*, around

ANTI-

The prefix ANTI- is found in very few new formations in Provençal. Of purely learned origin, coming from the Greek *αντι* and passing through the Latin ANTI-, it is found in some learned Provençal words descended from the original Greek words,[2] or in imitation of them; but Provençal formations are rare. Two at most are found:

antipapa,[3] antipope	*papa*, pope
antitrobador, bad troubadour	*trobador*, troubadour

It is to be observed that words formed by use of ANTI- refer only to persons, CONTRA- being used elsewhere. *Antipapa* means (the man) against or opposed to the pope. *Antitrobador*, the one opposed to or opposite to a (good) troubadour. From such words as *anticrist* and *antipapa*, ANTI- seems to have contracted contemptuous force.

[1] The same is possibly true of some of the words listed as having the prefix A-, but the changed meaning of the derived word makes it appear less probable. *Asenhal* and *aviron* (masculine words in which this would be impossible) may be post-verbal nouns formed on *asenhalar* and *avironar*, although the former is not found. The latter exists, however, as does *avironer*, in O. Fr., and these verbs may be the sources of the Fr. and Prov. noun *aviron*, although Diez and the *Dic. Gen.* give the Fr. noun as formed by the prefix.

[2] Such words as *antifrasis*, *antithesis*, *antitheton*, etc., are of course, Gr.; *anticrist* is Lat.

[3] Even this is found in Late Lat., and in the text in which the Prov. word is found, it is probably a translation of a Fr. word and very late. This would leave *antitrobador* as the only probable Prov. formation.

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BES-

The prefix BES- from the Latin BIS- is found in only a few words in Provençal, but most of them are interesting on account of their meaning. BIS- originally meant "twice," and this meaning is found in some of the Provençal examples, as in *bescalon* and *bescueg*. But the depreciative force which it contracts in Provençal as elsewhere is equally common, as in *beslei*. In other examples, as *bescalme* and *bestor*, the precise force of BES- is not clear. In *bescambi*, it changes the simple word very little. Yet the most interesting change of meaning is the one from doubleness to depreciation. Darmesteter[1] in treating this suffix considers this change as a general process of language, arising from the cases where the diversity was a fault, and not due to any one particular word. From his examples, this seems likely enough. The process is one found in nearly every language.[2]

The Provençal nouns found with the prefix BES- are as follows:

bescaire, irregularity, strange form	*caire*, square
bescalme, open hole or garret (?)[3]	*calm*, heath, bare land
bescalon,[4] double step	*escalon*, step, round
bescambi,[5] change, exchange	*cambi*, change

[1] *Mots Composés*, 127–29.

[2] Even examples in which no prefix at all is involved tend to show this. In Engl., for instance, the word "duplicity" often has a bad sense.

[3] The precise meaning is doubtful, but *calm* from the Lat. *calmis* (in Du Cange) is clearly at the base.

[4] We should expect *besescalon*. There is apparently a contraction here, a kind of syllabic superposition, as BES- is clearly part of the word.

[5] *Bescambi* probably represents *escambi*, a verbal substantive from *escambiar*, with a change of prefix.

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bescueg,[1] biscuit	*cueg*, cooked
beslei, injustice	*lei*, law
bestor,[2]† bastion, turret	*tor*, tower

CON-

The prefix CON- is used to form a few nouns in Provençal, mostly on nouns, although *conviron* appears to be otherwise formed. The total list of nouns in Provençal with this prefix is not large, and aside from the words clearly coming from words formed in Latin, several others of our Provençal words seem to have been formed there. Such are *coheiritz*, *comaire*, *confraire*. The masculine *coheres* is found in Latin, and Du Cange gives examples of *commater* and *confratres*—the latter, it is to be observed, only in the plural. He also gives one example of *concuba*, and other words on this stem, *concubina*, *concubare*, *concubatio* are common. *Concoa* can hardly be a Provençal formation.

In Provençal noun-formations with CON-, the prefix may keep its prepositional force. Thus we have:

concosol, co-consul	*cosol*, consul
conserv,†† companion in service	*serv*, slave

All of the examples thus far have therefore denoted persons. A formation denoting a thing is seen in *contensa*, dispute. It appears to be formed on *tensa*, but the word is of peculiar formation. The Latin *contentionem* gave *contenson*, and, by dropping the prefix, it may have

[1] A past participle (meaning "twice-cooked") used as a noun.

[2] The change of meaning here is not very clear.

† Another word apparently having BES- is *besonh* or *bezonh*. Körting (No. 8,878) gives *bis sonium* as source, but this would not account for the voicing of the "s" in Fr. and Ital. as well as in Prov.

†† The words of Lat. origin, as mentioned above, are *coheiritz*, *comaire*, *concoa*, and *confraire*.

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given both *tenson* and *tensa*, the two forms representing the two cases. *Contensa*,[1] may be an addition of the prefix in imitation of *contenson* beside *tenson*, or, like *tensa*, it may simply have indicated another case.

On a preposition (*viron*) is formed:

conviron, direction, vicinity — *viron*, around

CONTRA-

The prefix CONTRA- is used to form several new nouns in Provençal by being joined to simple nouns. As to meaning, CONTRA- is not difficult to describe. Its most important meaning, as was the case when joined to verbs, is that of opposition. Thus *contraclau* and *contrajogador* have this force. From this meaning of "against" or "counter," comes, as in the verbs, the idea of a balance between the things opposed. Thus we have *contrapas* and *contrapes*. *Contraporta* means the outer door as opposed to the inner one. *Contraterras* seems to mean owners of lands opposite each other.[2] This meaning of "opposite to" (in position) is more clearly seen in *contrasagel*, counter-seal. The meanings are all closely related, however, and arise from the idea of duality. The list of formations of this kind is as follows:[3]

contraclau, counter-keystone — *clau*, key, keystone

contradich,[4] opposite, reverse, contradiction — *dich*, speech, decision

[1] Du Cange gives *contentia*, but he merely infers its existence from an O. Fr. word found in Joinville. See Körting, No. 2,462.

[2] See examples in Levy, I, 350. *Contraterras* probably meant originally "lands opposite or adjoining each other," but in both examples given in Levy, the word appears to be personified to mean the owner of the land.

[3] Almost all of the examples here given seem to be of the type in which the prefix is used as an adverb and not as a preposition, as *contrapes*, *contrajogador*, etc.

[4] Perhaps simply the past participle of *contradire* used as a noun.

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contrafort,[1] resistance(?), unpleasantness(?), disgust(?)	
contrajogador, opponent in play	*jogador*, player
contrapas, counter-movement(?)[2]	*pas*, step
contrapes, counterweight; retribution (see also postverbals)	*pes*, weight
contraponchamen, counterpoint	*ponchamen*, pointing
contraporta, outer door	*porta*, door
contrarole[3] / *contrarolador* } controller, inspector	
contrasagel, counter-seal	*sagel*, seal
contraterras, owners of adjoining or opposite lands (?)	*terra*, land

DAVAN-

The Provençal preposition DAVAN-, from the combination of Latin prepositions *de*+*ab*+*ante*, is found used as a prefix in two words, in both of which it has its adverbial force of "before," or that of the English prefix "fore":[4]

davanbarri, outer wall	*barri*, rampart
davancorredor, forerunner	*corredor*, runner

[1] The word is not entirely clear, but its meaning, judging from the examples in Levy, I, 345, seems to be as given above. *Contrafort* seems to have meant originally "strong against" or "equally strong," and it was probably later used substantively. In one of the examples in Levy, it seems to have preserved its adjectival force. See adjectives (p. 482, n.†), below.

[2] The meaning is not thoroughly clear. In the one example given, it evidently has something to do with the working of a clock, and the word may have become confused with *contrapes* (literally counterweight). See Levy, I, 347.

[3] *Contrarole* = *contra rotula*. On *contrarole* were probably formed **contrarolar* and *contrarolador*. *Contrarole*, probably originally denoting a thing, may have been later used to denote a person. Finally *contrarolador* was probably formed by analogy with the other words denoting the agent of an action.

[4] This use seems peculiar to Prov. None of the modern languages use the prefix in compounds, and O. Fr. has only one or two examples of it. Cf. Godefroy. Mod. Fr. uses instead *avant*.

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DENAN-

Another Provençal prefix that may be given here on account of being formed from a similar combination of Latin prepositions (*de*+*in*+*ante*) is the preposition *denan*. As a prefix, however, this appears to be found in only one word:

denansabensa, foreknowledge *sabensa*, knowledge

The meaning of the prefix seems to be "fore" like that of DAVAN-, although in this one example, it refers to time whereas DAVAN- refers to place.[1]

DE-

DE- is found in a few words apparently used as a nominal prefix, but it is very doubtful whether it ever really had this use. Thus *detalh* appears to be a postverbal formation, *degrat* is probably not a Provençal formation, but comes from the Latin **degradus*,[2] and *defortuna*, misfortune, one of the few other possible examples, is nothing but a substitution of DE- for DES-. *Desfortuna*, which is also found, shows the usual prefix.

DES-

DES-, which has been studied as a prefix added to verbs, is also added to nouns, where it is much more regular in meaning than when used with verbs. With nouns, DES- always has negative force, although in some words, as *dezunion* and *dezestansa*, the separative value is also perceptible. The list follows:

dezaize, discomfort		*aize*, ease	
dezamansa	disaffection	*amansa*	love
dezamor		*amor*	

[1] In adjectives, however, the two seem to be used interchangeably. See p. 482, below.

[2] Apparently a popular Lat. form used instead of the classical *gradus*. It was probably due to the existence of the verb *degradare*. Körting, No. 2,824; Diez, 560.

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dezavantatge, disadvantage	*avantatge*, advantage
descapdel, misconduct	*capdel*, leadership, administration
descortezia, discourtesy	*cortezia*, courtesy
desdansa,[1] kind of song	*dansa*, dance-song
dezegaltat, inequality	*egaltat*, equality
dezegansa, disorder	*egansa*, equality
dezestansa, absence	*estansa*, situation
desfornimen, wrong, injury	*fornimen*, equipment, provision
desgrat,[2] ill-will; discontent	*grat*, will, wish, liking
dezorde, disorder	*orde*, order
despoder, powerlessness	*poder*, power
desrazon, injustice	*razon*, reason
desrazonamen, unreason	*razonamen*, reasoning
dessazon, bad weather	*sazon*, season
dezunion, lack of union	*union*, union

EN-

The preposition EN- from the Latin IN- is found in very few words as a nominal prefix, common as it is in forming verbs. There are apparently about twenty formations of this kind, but a closer examination shows the number to be in reality much smaller. Many of the words resembling formations of this kind are really postverbal formations,[3] and others are descendants of words formed in Latin,[4] whereas still others are only adjectives used as nouns.[5]

[1] Here the meaning seems to be that of a song composed in opposition to the songs of certain adversaries, and similar in meaning, therefore, to *descan*, by analogy with which it may have been formed, though this is a postverbal formed on *descantar*.

[2] There is a verb *degradar* sometimes found as *desgradar*, but unconnected with *desgrat*.

[3] Thus, for example, *embosca*, *encombre*, *encorsa*, *englut*, and *escombre*.

[4] Thus *embut*, funnel<**imbutum* from *imbuere*, and *emplecha*, wares<*implicita*. Cf. *esplecha*<*explicita*, also the Fr. *emplette*, originally *empleite*.

[5] Thus, for example, the nouns *endomenjat* and *envers*. *Entrach*, sticking-plaster, may also be placed here. It is probably the past

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In most of the formations on nouns, EN- has its prepositional value, and the formation is of the kind that has been seen in *abandon*, etc., an adverbial phrase gradually becoming used as a noun.[1] In a few words, the prefix shows no force, but it is doubtful whether any of these are real nominal formations with EN-.[2] In *enobediensa* EN- represents the Latin negative prefix IN-, which was common enough in forming adjectives. The *negative* EN-, however, is rare in Provençal even in forming adjectives, and *enobediensa* seems to be the only noun in which it is used. DES- is the usual prefix of negation.

The list of possible nominal formations with EN- is as follows:

embanc, shed	*banc*, bank, bench
enclaustre,[3] cloister	*claustre*, cloister
encorda, string for crossbow (?)	*corda*, cord
endalh, stroke, swath	*dalh*, scythe
endec, fault, defect; disease[4]	*dec*, fault, defect
endiluvi[5] (*endolobi*), flood	*diluvi*, flood

participle of **entraire* used substantively. It is this form that is seen in the Fr. *entrait*, with the same meaning as is seen in the Prov. word. The verb *entraire* is found in O. Fr.

[1] As, for example, in *enfruch*, given in the list.

[2] See the individual note given with each of these words.

[3] *Enclaustre* may be only a postverbal formation on *enclaustrar*, shut in, but the formation by means of the prefix EN- seems, on the whole probable, as some of the certain prefix-formations given above are exactly like it. Cf. the O. Fr. *encloistre*.

[4] From the two examples given in Levy, these seem to be the meanings, although the second example is far from clear. An adjective *endechat*, defective (which would seem to imply a verb **endechar*, a parasynthetic formation on the noun *dec*), is also found. If *endechat* is thus formed, *endec* would be a postverbal formation. But the reverse procedure, the formation of *endechat* on the noun *endec* (EN-+*dec*), would not be impossible. See the suffix AT-, p. 304.

[5] There are a good many forms of this word, most of them, however, having ES- instead of EN-.

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endoloiramen,[1] grief, suffering	*doloiramen*, grief
enfruch, produce, revenue	*fruch*, fruit
enobediensa,[2] disobedience	*obediensa*, obedience
enquestion, question, speech	*question*, question
entorcha,[3] torch	*torcha*, torch
entremoia,† trough	*tremoia*, mill-hopper

ENDE-

Several words with an apparent prefix ENDE- are found in Provençal, but these words are probably all due to the analogy of *endeman*, the next day, in which the prefixes EN- and DE- were added separately, EN- being prefixed to *deman*, tomorrow, in its use as substantive. Now, *endeman* existed beside the simple word *man*, morning, and some such force as "the next" was seen in the compound prefix EN+DE- which was used later as a single prefix attached to words meaning "day" and "morning" with the force of "the next." This use of ENDE- seems almost peculiar to Provençal.[4] The list follows:

endedie, the next day	*dia*, day
endejorn, the next day	*jorn*, day
endeman, the next day	*man*, morning
endematin, the next morning	*matin*, morning

[1] The existence of this word is very doubtful. Its existence in the dictionaries is probably due to a confusion with *emperilhamen* in the following line. See Levy, II, 472, and II, 271.

[2] See introductory remarks on this prefix, p. 471.

[3] *Torc(h)a* probably comes from a Lat. **torca* from *torcere* (Class. Lat. *torquere*). *Entorcha* would therefore be a prefix-formation. This word and *enquestion* seem to be the only fairly certain examples of the forceless use of the prefix EN-. All the other words beginning with a forceless EN- may be explained as having been formed in some other way.

[4] Of course *lendemain* exists in Fr., but there are no analogical formations as in Prov. The *l* of *lendemain*, of course, represents only the agglutination of the article. Raynouard gives *lendeman* for Prov., but Levy (II, 460) corrects it to *endeman*.

† For *endeman*, etc., see ENDE-. It is interesting to observe that most of the formations in the above list exist in Prov. only.

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ENTRE-

The Provençal prefix ENTRE- (INTER-) is used in forming nouns as well as verbs, but with nouns it seems to be much more restricted in meaning. In two words it has real prepositional force, meaning (the space) "between." Thus *entrecilh* and *entreuelh* both mean the space between the eyes. In the other words, ENTRE- shows the loss of force which is so peculiarly noticeable in Provençal prefixes, both verbal and nominal. The other meanings which ENTRE- has when used with verbs are not found among the nominal formations. The complete list follows:

entrecilh,[1] space between the eyes	*cilh*, eyebrow
entrecim, top, summit	*cim*, top
entreforc,[2] crossroad	*forc*, forking, crossroad
entresenh, sign	*senh*, sign
entresospir, sigh	*sospir*, sigh
entreuelh,[3]† space between the eyes	*uelh*, eye

ES-

ES-, like EN-, is rare in Provençal as a nominal prefix. Most of the nouns that begin with ES- are either post-

[1] Compare the Sp. *entrecejo*. The Lat. **intercilium*, though not found in the ordinary dictionaries, is cited in Du Cange as being from Isidore of Seville. This word, like *entreuelh*, denoting a single definite space, is peculiar in meaning.

[2] This is possibly a postverbal formation derived from *entreforcar* in which, from the nature of the verb, the prefix ENTRE- could add but little to the meaning. Some word such as this probably gave rise to *entrecim* and *entresenh*, in which the prefix is without force.

[3] Possibly formed by the analogy of *entrecilh*, described above.

† Other words beginning with ENTRE-, but already formed in Lat., are: *entreval*<*intervallum* and *entrarmas*<*interaneas*. *Enteruscle*, inner bark of a tree (?) may possibly also come from a Lat. **interrusculum*, a diminutive of *interruscum*. *Interrusculum* would give *entreruscle*, which probably became *enteruscle* by dissimilation. See *Romania*, XXXVII, 119.

An apparent formation with ENTRE-, but one in which the prefix

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verbal formations,[1] or else ES- represents the Latin *s* before a consonant plus the prosthetic vowel.[2] Nevertheless, there are a few words in which ES- seems to be a real nominal prefix, and in these it adds nothing in meaning to the simple noun.[3] This use of ES- has been seen in the case of verbs, where, however, ES- had also its original prepositional meaning of "out of," "from." Yet this latter meaning is hardly to be expected in nouns, and in the few words that have any such meaning, the place of ES- was taken by some preposition whose force was more clearly felt.[4] The use of ES- without force may have come about through the existence of substantives derived from verbs, in which ES- had no force, beside simple nouns with almost the same meaning. Yet even so, formations of the kind are rare. The only examples of it seem to be in the following words, and one or two of these are doubtful:

[1] As in *esglai* from *esglaiar*, *esvelh* from *esvelhar*, *escombre* from *escombrar*, and probably *esdec* from **esdegar*. This last word, together with *esdegamen*, is found only in Mod. Béarnais.

[2] Words of this kind are *escalme*, thole<*scalmus*; *escapla*, shoulder(?)<*scapula*; *espoizon*, wager<*sponsionem*. Besides the words of this kind, there are also, of course, words in which the Prov. ES- is from the Lat. EX-, as *escluza*<*exclusa*. The learned use of EX- or ES- to denote "former" (cf. the Fr. *exroi*) does not exist in Prov.

[3] An example of this in O. Fr. may be seen in *escharboncle*.

[4] As FOR- in *forsen*, for example.

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is really EN-, is *entremoia*, trough. (EN-+*tremoia*<*trimodia*). See EN- above. More obscure words are *entrevelh* and *entrevic*. The meaning of *entrevelh* is uncertain. Levy suggests no meaning at all, and Chabaneau substitutes *entrenelh*, which does not help much in translating. The substitution of *entreval*, interval, seems to be much more plausible. *Entrevic*, mesentery, is very hard to explain. Mistral compares its modern form with the Sp. *entresijo*, which has the same meaning, but it would be difficult to find a common etymon for forms so different as *vic* and *sijo*.

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escadafalc,[1] scaffold	*cadafalc*, scaffold
(*escoltivamen*,[2] cultivation	*coltivamen*, cultivation)
(*esdec*,[3] placing of boundary-mark	*dec*, boundary)
esdiluvi, *esdolobi*,[4] etc., flood	*diluvi*, flood
esponcha,[5] sharp pain	*poncha*, point
estraisa,[6] trace, vestige	*traisa*, train, net
estrobador,† poet(?), story-teller(?)	*trobador*, troubadour

FOR-, MES-, PRE-, RE-

The next prefixes[7] used in forming Provençal nouns are, taken in alphabetic order, FOR-, MES-, PER-, PRE-, and RE-, but, with the exception of PER-, none of these seem to be found in more than one example, and therefore, hardly require detailed individual treatment. Thus

[1] Cf. the Fr. *échafaud*, beside which no simple word exists (*catafalque* being a foreign borrowing). Thus we see here again the tendency of the simple word to disappear when existing beside a derived one identical in meaning. Other Fr. examples of this phenomenon as seen in this prefix are *échantillon*, *écharde*, etc.

[2] For *escoltivamen*, see also the suffix AMEN- and the parasyntheta. If *escoltivar* existed, as seems probable, *escoltivamen* would, of course, be a suffix-formation.

[3] The meaning makes it clear that *esdec* is not a prefix-formation. It must be a postverbal noun formed on *esdegar*.

[4] See also *endiluvi* under the prefix EN-.

[5] Possibly a postverbal noun formed on *esponchar*, dull a point.

[6] If this is a prefix-formation, the development in meaning would certainly be unusual. There may have existed a verb **estraisar*, pull out, and if so, *estraisa* would probably be a postverbal noun derived from it. *Estraisar* would be the phonetic development of *extractiare*, from which other Romance verbs of the same meaning come. Instead of *estraisar*, *estrasar* is the form found. This clearly shows some outside influence, probably a confusion with *estrasar*, follow, evidently formed on *trasa*.

[7] BEN- and MAL-, as found in *benestar* and *malestar* and the words derived from them, are not regarded as prefixes but as individual words meaning "well" and "ill," and are, therefore, treated in the chapter on composition. This is also true of *non*. See Part IV, chap. 2.

† More or less obscure words beginning with *es* that does not represent the prefix ES- are, *escafinhon*, light shoe; *esgola* (*f*); *esguiat*, kind of cloth; and *espeluca* (*f*). This last may perhaps come from the Lat. *spelunca*, case. Cf. Mistral, *espelugo*.

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FOR- (Latin FORIS-) is found only in *forsen*, madness, and in nouns derived from it; MES- (Latin MINUS-) is found only in *mescap*,[1] misfortune; PRE- (Latin PRAE-) is found only in *preconoisensa*,[1] foreknowledge; and RE-, although found in several nouns, was probably not used in forming nouns in Provençal.[2]

PER-

PER-, however, is found in more examples than the other prefixes just mentioned, and must be treated separately. As in the cases in which it was used with verbs, it gives an idea of completeness to the noun, as will be seen from the following examples:

percencha, inclosure(?)	*cencha*, girdle
perfil, border (last thread)	*fil*, thread
perfin,[3] very end	*fin*, end
peronction, extreme unction	*onction*, unction
perorde, president[4](?)	*orde*, order
perpal,† lever	*pal*, stake

[1] Possibly a suffix-formation on **preconoiser*<*praecognoscere*. In the same way *mescap* may not be a prefix-formation but a postverbal noun derived from *mescabar*.

[2] Such words, for example, as *reclam*, *retalh*, and *revelh* are postverbal formations, under which head they will be listed. See Part IV, chap. 1.

[3] Found only in the phrase *a la perfin*. Raynouard gives an example of *parfin* as found in this phrase. If it exists, the form may be due to Fr. influence.

[4] The meaning is not thoroughly clear, but the word certainly denotes a person, and the formation is thus somewhat unusual.

† A number of other nouns beginning with PER- are found, but do not appear to belong in this list. *Peroferta*, offering, *perponcha*, doublet, *perpreza*, earth's surface, and *pertrach*, equipment, merchandise, seem to be only the past participles of the verbs *perofrir*, **perponher*, *perprendre*, and *pertraire* used substantively. *Perpar*, offer, and *perport*, conduct, are postverbal nouns formed on *perparar* and *perportar* (see p. 542). *Perozina*, resin, has PER- only in appearance. It is to be found among the compound words in Part IV, p. 559.

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REIRE-

The next prefix used to any extent in the formation of nouns in Provençal is REIRE-, from the Latin RETRO-. In all of the examples, its use is adverbial rather than prepositional. Thus, for example, *reiregarda* means "the guard which is in the rear," and not something behind the guard. REIRE- appears to be used generally in Provençal with words denoting feudal relations and military terms. Thus:

reireacapte, tax to be paid by the sub-tenant on the death of his lord	*acapte*, feudal holding
reireauditor,[1] sub-auditor	*auditor*, auditor
reireconselh, afterthought	*conselh*, counsel, thought
reirefeuzal,[1] under-tenant	*feuzal*, vassal
reiregach, rear-watch	*gach*, watch
reiregarda, rear-guard	*garda*, guard
reiretemps, past	*temps*, time
reirevendas, second tax on a sale	*venda*, sale

Thus REIRE- means literally "behind" in *reiregach* and *reiregarda;* it means "after," in the sense of time, in *reirecoselh;* and it means "under," "of lower rank," in *reireauditor* and *reirefeuzal.*

SOBRE-

SOBRE- is found in a number of nouns in Provençal, where it is used in two different ways: as preposition, and as adverb. As preposition, it is of common occurrence, and generally has the meaning of "beyond" or "over" as in *sobrabondansa* and *sobrefais*, and is sometimes best translated by the adjective "great," as in *sobrafan* and *sobretemor.*

As adverb, SOBRE- is seen in *sobrarbitre, sobreces, sobrecot, sobreden, sobrefren, sobrenom, sobresenhal,* and

[1] Cf. the Engl. "rear-admiral," etc.

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sobresenher,[1] in all of which an ellipsis may be seen: *sobreden* means a tooth (which is) over (another), and *sobresenher*, a lord (who is) over (another). The list of words with the prefix SOBRE- follows:

sobrabondansa, superabundance	*abondansa*, abundance
sobrafan, over-anxiety	*afan*, anxiety
sobrafar, excess of affairs	*afar*, affair
sobrarbitre, super-arbiter	*arbitre*, arbiter
sobreces, additional tax	*ces*, a tax
sobrecot, surcoat	*cot*, coat
sobreden, large irregular tooth	*den*, tooth
sobrefais, overload	*fais*, load, burden
sobrefach,[2] excess	*fach*, deed, fact
sobrefren, double rein	*fren*, rein
sobregabaire, boaster	*gabaire*, mocker
sobregatge, second pledge or mortgage (?)	*gatge*, pledge, mortgage
sobreglatz,[3] frozen thing	*glatz*, ice
sobrelauzor, overpraise	*lauzor*, praise
sobremeravilha, great astonishment	*meravilha*, marvel
sobremezura, excess	*mezura*, moderation
sobrenom, surname	*nom*, name
sobrepinhore, second pledge or mortgage (?)	*pinhora*, pledge
sobresen, extravagance	*sen*, sense
sobresenh, breastplate	*senh*, breast
sobresenhal, plume	*senhal*, sign, standard
sobresenher, overlord	*senher*, lord
sobretemor, great fear	*temor*, fear
sobreven,† great wind	*ven*, wind

[1] All the other words in the list have SOBRE- as preposition.

[2] The verb **sobrefar*, corresponding to the Fr. *surfaire* (from which came the O. Fr. *surfait*), is not found in Prov. It may have existed, but it is unnecessary to assume it. *Sobrefach* is exactly like the other formations on nouns in the above list.

[3] That is, "(a thing which is) on the ice," a prepositional use of the prefix. It would be possible, however, to find the adverbial use of SOBRE- here, with the meaning of "a thing frozen over."

† Also of Lat. origin *sobrecilh*<*supercilium*.

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SOTZ-

The prefix SOTZ-, whose form has been explained under verbs,[1] is used in forming a few nouns, in which it has exactly the meaning of *sub* or "under." The prefix SUBTUS-, the source of SOTZ-, is frequent, under its various forms, in the other Romance languages, where it is very commonly attached to nouns denoting the professions or offices of persons (Italian *sottomaestro*, French *sous-maître*, etc.), as well as to names of things (*sottocoppa*, *soucoupe*, etc.). Provençal has formations of both kinds:

sotz-baile, sub-bailiff	*baile*, bailiff
sotz-cencha,[2] under-girdle	*cencha*, girdle, belt
sotzmayer, sub-mayor	*mayer*, mayor
sotzprior, sub-prior	*prior*, prior
sotzsela,[2] saddle-cloth	*sela*, saddle
sotzsenescalc, sub-seneschal	*senescalc*, seneschal

TRAS-

The prefix TRAS- (Latin TRANS-) is found in very few if any nouns formed in Provençal, although usual enough in verbs. The only possible examples of it appear to be *trasdosa*, *traslutz*, and *trastomba*. This last, meaning "a turn," is probably a postverbal formation drawn from *trastombar*, overturn. *Trasdosa*, meaning probably, "a burden," is more puzzling, as *dors* and not *dosa* is the word for "back," with which this word is evidently connected.[3]

[1] P. 458, above.

[2] *Sotzsela* = the housing or saddle-cloth, i.e. (the thing) under the saddle. *Sotzcencha*, from the example (Raynouard, II, 377), seems to be the same kind of formation—prepositional. The other words all refer to persons, and words of this kind are given by both Meyer-Lübke and Darmesteter as formations in which the first part is an adverb. Nevertheless *sotz-baile*, for example, seems to mean "(the man) under the bailiff", rather than "the bailiff under some other man," and this is true of many of the other words. SOTZ- in these cases seems, therefore, to be prepositional in value.

[3] The little Levy gives *dos* as well as *dors* for "back."

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Du Cange gives *dossa*, but dating only from 1400. *Transdorsa* is also given there, with the meaning of "sitting behind someone on horseback,"[1] but dates only from 1243. From this literal meaning of behind, or on, the back, evidently came the meaning of burden, which the French *endosse*, a postverbal noun formed on *endosser*, has. Provençal has *endosar*, but not *trasdosar*. Could any traces of it be found, *trasdosa* would be easy of explanation. Even so, however, *trasdosa*, (the thing) on the back, or burden, was probably a postverbal noun derived from this **trasdosar*, similar in formation to *endosar*. In *traslutz*, transparency, we seem to have an example of TRAS- as a nominal prefix.

[1] *Post equitem sedens*, Gall. *porté en croupe*.

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CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

Very few of the prefixes that have been discussed in dealing with the formation of nouns were used at all freely in the formation of adjectives. SOBRE- is perhaps most important of all as an adjectival prefix, and DES- is also used with full negative force. EN- is found in a few words of varying structure, and with different meanings, whereas ES- can hardly be said to be found at all. It should be clear, however, that it is only as real adjectival prefixes that these forms are so rare, for DES-, EN-, and ES- are all common in parasynthetic adjectives. In these cases, the suffix that was used in conjunction with the prefix was almost always AT-, borrowed from the past participle of the verb of the first conjugation. Such forms, then, as *desbrasat*, *entemorat*, and, *espeitrinat* will be given under parasyntheta. The various prefixes will now be studied in order:

A-

A- (<AD-) is hardly found as an adjectival prefix. The only possible example appears to be

afrontier,[1] insulting, bold — *frontier*, bold, shameless

in which the prefix has little force.

[1] Even this word is doubtful, however, and should probably be corrected to *frontier*. Cf. also *adrech*, skilful, though this evidently comes from a Lat. **addirectus*, from which came also the Fr. *adroit* and the It. *addritto*. There is also an adverb, *arazonablamen*, in which the prefix contributes no change of meaning.

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CON-

CON- appears to be found as a prefix in two adjectives, in one of which CON- has its original prepositional force of "with":

consaben,[1] privy to — *saben*, knowing

CONTRA-

CONTRA- also is rare as a prefix forming adjectives in Provençal. There are probably only two certain examples of its use in this way. In these words, the simple adjective is not changed much by the prefixing of CONTRA-: it serves simply to bring out a little more clearly the idea of duality, emphasizing somewhat the contrast between the two things considered. Thus there are:

contraengalier, equal to, a match for — *engalier*, equal
contrapar,† equal, similar — *par*, equal, like

DAVAN-, DENAN-

DAVAN-[2] and DENAN-[2] are both used in forming one adjective by being prefixed to the adjective *derrier*, last. In this new word, they are used with exactly the same meaning that they gave to nouns, that of "before" or "next to." Thus:

davanderrier, *denanderrier* } next to the last — *derrier*, last

[1] The other word is *condecen*, fitting, proper, in which CON- has no force. *Decen* is not found in Prov. *Condecen* corresponds to the Lat. *condecens* derived from *decens*.

[2] For the source of these prefixes, see the nominal formations.

† See also *contrafort*, p. 468, n. 1. A translation given for the word in one of the passages in which it occurs is *plus fort que lui*. Even in this example, the word may be a noun, and its apparent use as an adjective only a matter of translation. On the other hand, the word

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DE-

DE- can hardly be said to have been used as an adjectival prefix at all, being even less usual here than in forming nouns. *Derazonat* is found, but DE- here appears to be a substitution for DES-, the usual negative prefix, found in *desrazonat*, existing beside *desrazonar*. One other word with the prefix DE- is *denofezat*, which may be accounted for in several ways. Raynouard gives a verb *nofezar* or *nofegar*,[1] and also a verb *desnofezar*, whose existence, however, he assumes from the adjective *desnofezat*. In *denofezat*, DE- may be a substitution for DES-, or it is possible that the DE- does not belong to the word at all,[2] and that the word which we have here is *nofezat*, simply the past participle of *nofezar*.[3]

DES-

The use of DES- as an adjectival prefix is very simple and regular. As was the case with verbs and nouns, in forming new adjectives DES- is pre-eminently the negative prefix. Thus, added to any adjective already existing, it simply reversed its force. There seems to be only one word in which the prefix shows the lack of force so common in its use with verbs. This is *dezavers*, adverse, inimical, exactly the meaning of the adjective *avers*. Here the lack of force is due probably to the

[1] *Nofegar* probably does not exist. See Levy and Sternbeck.

[2] See the examples in Levy, II, 92. Whichever word (*denofezat* or *desnofezat*) exists, the prefix is practically forceless, as the *no* would have already contributed the force which DES- regularly gives.

[3] Meaning "to be without faith." Its Lat. etymon would be **nonfidare*.

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may here be actually an adjective meaning "equally strong," and having the idea of balance described for CONTRA- when used in forming nouns. See Levy, I, 345, for the passage in which *contrafort* occurs.

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separative idea contained in the adjective itself, just as in the verb *dessebrar*.[1] The other words are all regular in form and meaning. Thus:

descabal, poor	*cabal*, excellent
descarc,[2] unloaded	*carc*, burden
descomunal, excessive	*comunal*, common
desconfes, without confession	*confes*, confessed
desrazonable, unreasonable	*razonable*, reasonable
dezadrech, improperly behaving	*adrech*, straight, upright
dezavers, adverse, inimical	*avers*, adverse
dezazaut,[3] unpleasant (person)	*azaut*, gracious
dezobedien, disobedient	*obedien*, obedient
dezonest,† dishonest	*onest*, honest

EN-

EN- is a little more varied in its use than is DES-, especially, perhaps, on account of being attached both to nouns and adjectives to form adjectives. The possible cases in which EN- was added to nouns are rather rare, however, and EN- was apparently used as a preposition in them, the whole phrase later becoming used as an adjective;[4] in the cases in which EN- was added to adjectives, it shows that absence of force so noticeable in the formation of verbs.

[1] See p. 425, above, and p. 429 †.

[2] This is the only adjective in DES- formed on a noun, yet *descargas* instead of *descargadas* occurs in two examples and beside the simple form *cargadas*. Can it possibly be due to the common expression *tener a carc* = to find burdensome, with the *carc* alone supposed to have adjectival force? The word is difficult to explain otherwise.

[3] A noun as given in the examples in Levy, but it seems to be only an adjective used substantively.

[4] All possible examples of this kind might be considered as postverbal adjectives, the verbs being formed parasynthetically on the simple adjectives. But as the two words given here would be the only examples of postverbal adjectives, this seems unlikely.

† For such words as *dezafiblat*, etc., see the parasyntheta, p. 529.

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The formations on nouns are as follows:

embronc, surly, sullen	*bronc*, harshness
enfrun, greedy, insatiable	**frun* (<*frumen*)[1], throat

Attached to adjectives, EN- is found in:

endomengier, submissive as a vassal; belonging to oneself	*domengier* (noun and adj.), vassal lordly
endur, hard	*dur*, hard
endurable, lasting, eternal	*durable*, lasting
envolontos,† resolute	*volontos*, desirous

ENTRE-

ENTRE- is found in a very few adjectives in Provençal, where it has both the reciprocal force and the absence of force of the verbal prefix. In *entrecamjable* it has reciprocal force; in *entremech*, intermediate, from *mech*, middle, there is little force contributed by the prefix. This is, however, Latin, coming from *intermedius*. A similar formation, probably imitated from *entremech*, is:

entremejan, intermediate	*mejan*, mean

Entrecamjable, mutual, from *camjable*, changeable, is the only word showing any reciprocal force. Words containing ENTRE- denoting unfinished condition, so common in other Romance languages, seem to be lacking in Provençal.[2]

ES-

ES- is exceedingly rare as a prefix forming adjectives. Only one word seems probable as a formation of this kind. This is:

esperjur, perjured	*perjur*, perjured

[1] See Levy, II, 497; also Virgil's *Aeneid*, i. 178 for *frumen*, throat.

[2] Cf. the Fr. *entr'ouvert* and the Sp. *entreabierto*.

† Two other words are to be mentioned here: *ensensible*, insensible, with the Lat. negative adjectival prefix IN- (which was, however, a Lat. formation) and *engres*, impatient, violent, hard, which is a rather obscure

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In the one example, then, the prefix has no force whatever.[1]

PER-

PER- is found as an adjectival prefix in a very few words. Here it has the same idea of completeness which it had when used with verbs and with nouns. It therefore intensifies the adjective and may be translated as "very" or "exceedingly." The list follows:

peravinen, very agreeable	*avinen*, agreeable
perclar,† very clear	*clar*, clear

SOBRE-

The prefix SOBRE- (Latin SUPER-) is perhaps the most important of all the Provençal adjectival prefixes, and this adjectival use is perhaps also the most important use of SOBRE- in Provençal. Verbs and nouns having the various forms descended from SUPER- as prefixes are frequent in most of the Romance languages, but adjectives with this prefix are much rarer.[2] They are not found in Classic Latin, and it is hard to find traces of them even in the vulgar language;[3] yet in Provençal

[1] Words like *escuichat*, *esfrontat*, etc., are common. For these, however, see the parasyntheta, p. 531.

[2] Their almost complete absence from Fr. should be noted. Sp. has a few examples, as *sobreagudo* and *sobrelleno*. In It., words of this kind are more usual.

[3] Some examples are, however, given in Du Cange.

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word, but is apparently formed from **engresar*<*ingressare*, rush in. Cf. Fr. *engresser* (Körting, No. 4,975). For such words as *ensagelat*, *entemorat*, etc., see parasyntheta, pp. 529–31.

† There are several other adjectives beginning with PER-, but these all seem to be derived from verbs beginning with this prefix. Thus by means of the suffix -ABLE the adjectives *perdurable*, everlasting, and *perfazable*, efficacious, are derived from the verbs *perdurar* and *perfaire*. *Pervis(t)*, careful, clever, is the past participle of the verb *perveire* used as an adjective.

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they were exceedingly common. In meaning, SOBRE- had regularly the force of the adverb "very," or of the prefixes "over" or "super" as in "over-sensitive," "supersensuous." The list is as follows:

sobrabundos, superabundant	*abundos*, abundant
sobragut, very sharp	*agut*, sharp
sobranimos, very audacious	*animos*, courageous
sobrardit, very bold	*ardit*, bold
sobravar, very stingy	*avar*, avaricious
sobrebel, very beautiful	*bel*, beautiful
sobrebon, very good	*bon*, good
sobrecabal, very distinguished	*cabal*, distinguished, excellent
sobredelgat,[1] very slender	*delgat*, slender
sobredificil, very hard	*dificil*, hard
sobrefer, very wild	*fer*, wild, savage
sobreferotge, very ferocious	*ferotge*, ferocious
sobreferven, very fervent	*ferven*, fervent
sobrefort, very strong	*fort*, strong
sobrefructuos, very fruitful	*fructuos*, fruitful
sobregai, very gay	*gai*, gay
sobregran, very large	*gran*, large
sobrelonc, very long	*lonc*, long
sobreluminos, very luminous	*luminos*, luminous
sobremal, very bad	*mal*, bad
sobrenamorat, much enamored	*enamorat*, enamored
sobrenoble, very noble	*noble*, noble
sobrenociu, very injurious	*nociu*, injurious
sobreprecios, very precious	*precios*, precious
sobresan, very sound	*san*, sound
sobresubstancial, very substantial	*substancial*, substantial
sobrevil,† very vile	*vil*, vile

There is, however, another meaning that SOBRE- sometimes gives to adjectives in Provençal, though much less usual than the one already cited. This second use is the one that is common in French, and is typified by *surnaturel* which means, not "very natural," but

[1] Given in the vocabulary to Appel's *Chrestomathy*.

† For *sobrestoriat*, see the parasyntheta, p. 531.

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"more than natural," "beyond the natural." Darmesteter explains this as a parasynthetic formation consisting of *sur-nature-el*, the termination -EL being here equivalent in meaning to "that which," and giving rise to other adjectives which from their form cannot possibly be parasyntheta, and yet have the same kind of meaning as *surnaturel*. Of this type is *surhumain*, formed when *surnaturel* was supposed to consist of *sur*+*naturel* and not *sur*+*nature*+*el*. Thus *surhumain* is an adjective with a prefix in form, but it is parasynthetic in meaning. Of this type, we have in Provençal:

sobre(h)uman, superhuman	*uman*, human
sobreforsiu, excessive, extreme	*forsiu*, firm
sobremortal, immortal	*mortal*, mortal

SUB-

The prefix SUB- (Latin SUB-) is found used with several adjectives denoting color. SOTZ-<SUBTUS- is not found. SUB- merely modifies slightly the meaning of the adjective:

subalbenc,[1] whitening slightly	*alba*, dawn
subfalb, a little pale	*falb*, pale
subfalbenc,[1] a little pale	*falbenc*, pale
subrog, a little red	*rog*, red

TRAS-

TRAS-(<TRANS-) appears to exist in only one word, in which it has the force of SOBRE-, that is, it means, "very" and is the opposite of SUB-. The example is:

trasanat, very old	*anat*, old

[1] See also adjectival parasyntheta, p. 529, note 1, and suffix-formations, p. 309.

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CHAPTER IV

DOUBLE PREFIXES

Before leaving prefixes, it will be necessary to discuss the phenomenon of double prefixes, which is very similar to that of double suffixes, treated under suffixes.[1] The question of the prefixes, just as that of the suffixes, is far from clear, particularly as concerns compound prefixes. For the suffixes, it was seen that certain combinations, both from the frequency with which they were found, and from their evident connection with the simple word, were nearly certainly attached to this all at once as one suffix, however distinct the two parts might have been originally. These were called compound suffixes. In the case of prefixes, certain combinations, such as A-RE-, DES-A- (DEZA-), and DES-EN- (DEZEN-) are equally frequent, yet it is extremely doubtful whether these were ever added at the same time, which is all that distinguishes a compound suffix or prefix. The question is thus a fine one and hard to determine. It has been said that the word with its two suffixes or prefixes must show a close connection with the simple word to be supposed to have been a compound combination. Thus *dezagensar*, displease, is surely DES-+*agensar*, please, and not

[1] The double suffixes, it will be remembered, were almost always added to nouns, though examples were given of their addition to adjectives and to verbs, just as single suffixes are used more often in forming nouns, though very common in both adjectives and verbs. The single prefixes, on the other hand, were employed most freely in verbs, although used also to form both nouns and adjectives. It might be assumed, therefore, that the double prefixes would be most commonly used in verbs; but that they should not be found elsewhere, as is the case (with the possible exceptions of DAVAN-, DENAN-, and ENDE- given above under single prefixes, because of very early use together), is an unexpected peculiarity.

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DEZA-+*gensar*, ornament, therefore not a compound prefix; but most of the words beginning with the simple prefixes A- and EN- and RE- have changed the simple word little, which makes it harder to determine their formation. *Dezasaborar*, for example, might equally well be formed on *saborar* by means of DEZA-, or on *asaborar* by means of DES-, both *saborar* and *asaborar* having the same meaning. Yet this very persistence of the word with the single prefix beside the simple word and the one with two in nearly all cases renders doubtful the idea of a compound prefix. Many Latin simple verbs had forms with the prefix A- existing beside them, and any other prefix of real force such as DES- could be attached to the latter to change the meaning, but a prefix DES-A- joined to the simple word seems not to have been thought of either in Latin or later.[1] Instead, it is the simple word which tended to disappear, though it generally has persisted in the Provençal of our period.[2]

A. COMPOUND PREFIXES

The few cases in which, owing to the non-existence of any word with a single prefix, it is possible to see compound prefixes are as follows:

acondormir, put to sleep. The same meaning that *adormir* has. *Condormir* does not exist. — *dormir*, sleep

dezadolorar, soften	*doloirar*, grieve
dezalotjar (*se*), withdraw	*lotjar*, lodge
dezembotonar, unbutton	*botonar*, button

[1] To illustrate this, the Prov. words may be compared with some Sp. ones. Sp. has the three most usual Prov. double prefixes (DES-A-, DES-EN-, and A-RE-), but beside examples of words with double prefixes, we regularly find here corresponding forms with a single prefix. Thus we find *arrollar* beside *desarrollar*, *encargar* beside *desencargar*, and *rebozar* beside *arrebozar*.

[2] Cf. in Mod. Fr. the gradual disappearance of *seoir* before *asseoir* nd in Sp. the disappearance of *rollar* before *arrollar*.

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A very few other examples of this kind occur among the nouns and adjectives, where DAVAN-, DENAN-, and ENDE-, compound prefixes formed in Latin, have already been treated as single prefixes.[1]

B. REAL DOUBLE PREFIXES

This brings us to the real double prefixes, of which a complete list will be given, the word with both prefixes being listed beside the simple word. In every case, the word with a single prefix exists also.

Combinations Beginning with A-

	A-CON-	
aconduire, bring up or near	(*conduire*)	*duire*, lead
aconsegre, pursue	(*consegre*)	*segre*, follow
	A-DE-	
aderdre, raise	(*derdre*)	*erdre*, raise
	AD-RE-	
adremirar,[2] look at	(*remirar*)	*mirar*, look at
	A-FOR-	
aforsenar, go crazy	(*forsenar*)	*senar*, give sense to
	A-RE-	
aregardar, look at	(*regardar*)	*gardar*, look at
aremenar, direct	(*remenar*)	*menar*, lead
arestancar, stop, staunch	(*restancar*)	*estancar*, staunch
aretener, retain	(*retener*)	*tener*, hold
aretraire, retain	(*retraire*)	*traire*, draw

Combinations Beginning with DE-

	DE-RE-	
derevestir, divest, deprive	(*revestir*)	*vestir*, clothe

[1] See single prefixes, pp. 468–69, 472, and 482, above.

[2] This is the only word in which we find AD- as a prefix, although the combination A-RE- occurs in a number of words. *Adremirar* is found only once, and for this case, a correction to *adrechurar* has been suggested, and seems plausible.

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Combinations Beginning with DES-[1]

DES-A-

dezacolhir, reject	(*acolhir*)	*colhir*, collect
dezadordenar, put in disorder	(*adordenar*)	*ordenar*, order
dezafigurar,[2] disfigure (?)	(*afigurar*)	*figurar*, figure
dezagensar, displease	(*agensar*, please)	*gensar*, ornament
dezamonestar, lead astray	(*amonestar*)	*monestar*, warn
dezamparar, leave go of	(*amparar*, protect)	*parar*, prepare
dezapareiser, disappear	(*apareiser*)	*pareiser*, appear
dezaparer, disappear	(*aparer*)	*parer*, appear
dezapauzar, lay aside	(*apauzar*)	*pauzar*, place
dezapoblar, depopulate	(*apoblar*)	*poblar*, people
dezaponher, lower	(*aponher*, join?)	*ponher*, prick
dezaprendre, unlearn	(*aprendre*, learn)	*prendre*, take
dezarengar, disarrange, disturb	(*arengar*)	*rengar*, arrange
dezaribar, derive, originate	(*aribar*)	*ribar*, approach
dezasaborar, change nature of	(*asaborar*)	*saborar*, savor
dezasegurar, disconcert	(*asegurar*)	*segurar*, assure
dezasezer, unseat	(*asezer*)	*sezer*, seat
dezasolar, isolate	(*asolar*)	*solar*, consolidate
dezasotilar, blunt, dull	(*asotilar*)	*sotilar*, subtilize
dezavenir,† disagree	(*avenir*, please)	*venir*, come

DES-EN-

dezencadenar, strip of chains	(*encadenar*)	*cadenar*, chain
dezencargar, unload	(*encargar*, charge)	*cargar*, load
dezencolpar, exculpate	(*encolpar*)	*colpar*, accuse
dezendreisar, put in disorder	(*endreisar*)	*dreisar*, straighten
dezenferrar, unchain	(*enferrar*)	*ferrar*, bind with irons, or chains

Combinations Beginning with EM- *and* EN-

EN-PRO-

emprometre, promise	(*prometre*, promise)	*metre*, put

EN-CON-

encomprendre, inflame	(*comprendre*, inflame)	*prendre*, take

[1] As the second prefix always begins with a vowel, being either A- or EN-, DES- has been written DEZ- in these combinations. Thus DEZA- and DEZEN-.

[2] This word appears to be doubtful.

† A past participle *dezapedit*, abandoned, is found, and would seem to indicate the existence of a verb *dezapedir* which is not found. Cf. however, the Sp. *despedir*, discharge, dismiss.

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EN-DE-

endevenir, happen	(*devenir*, become)	*venir*, come

EN-DES-

endezonrar, dishonor	(*dezonrar*)	*onrar*, honor
endespresar, despise	(*despresar*)	*presar*, prize

EN-RE-

enrevironar, surround	(*revironar*)	*vironar*, surround

EN-TRAS-

entrasgitar, intermingle	(*trasgitar*)	*gitar*, throw

Combinations Beginning with ENTRE-

ENTRE-ES-

entrescridar, call one another	(*escridar*)	*cridar*, cry

Combinations Beginning with ES-

ES-CON-

escombatre, subdue	(*combatre*)	*batre*, beat
escometre, defy	(*cometre*)	*metre*, put
escomprendre, burn	(*comprendre*, burn)	*prendre*, take
esconquerre, gain, obtain	(*conquerre*)	*querre*, seek
esconvenir, suit oneself	(*convenir*, suit)	*venir*, come

ES-DE-

esdemetre, abandon	(*demetre*, leave)	*metre*, put
esdevenir, become	(*devenir*, become)	*venir*, come

ES-FOR-

esforsenar, be crazy	(*forsenar*, be crazy)	*senar*, give sense to

ES-PER-

esperforsar, take pains, strive	(*perforsar*)	*forsar*, force

Combinations Beginning with FOR-

FOR-A-

forametre, free	(*ametre*)	*metre*, put

Combinations Beginning with MES-

MES-A-

mesavenir, happen ill	(*avenir*, happen)	*venir*, come

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Combinations Beginning with RE-[1]

	RE-CON-	
recomandar, recommend	(*comandar*)	*mandar*, order, send
	RE-DE-	
redemandar, ask again	(*demandar*)	*mandar*

Combinations Beginning with REIRE-

	REIRE-TRA-	
reiretrametre, send away	(*trametre*)	*metre*, put

Combinations Beginning with SOBRE-

	SOBRE-A-	
sobr(e)amezurar,[2] overmeasure	(*amezurar*)	*mezurar*, measure
sobr(e)apareiser, appear over	(*apareiser*)	*pareiser*, appear
	SOBRE-DES-	
sobredesvelhar, be awake long	(*desvelhar*)	*velhar*, watch
	SOBRE-EN-	
sobrenardir, be very bold	(*enardir*)	*ardir*, embolden

Combinations Beginning with SOTZ-

	SOTZ-A-	
sotz(a)menar, lead below	(*amenar*)	*menar*, lead

There are a few other words which for convenience may be placed here, as they have the two prefixes seen in the words given above and form verbs. They are not formed on verbs however, a noun (or adjective) being the base of the word. *Deforbanir*, for example, is DE-+ (*for*)*ban*(*ir*). These words might therefore be called parasyntheta with prefixes. The list follows:

deforbanir, free from banishment	(*forbanir*)	*ban*, ban
dezacorar, discourage	(*acorar*)	*cor*, heart
dezafachar, strip, undress	(*afachar*)	*facha*, face

[1] For *reemprenhar*, see p. 495; also the single prefix RE-, p. 453.

[2] This word as well as *sobredesmezurar* are listed in Raynouard, but the examples given show only the adjectives *sobreamezurat* and *sobredesmezurat*, apparently parasyntheta formed on *amezurar* and *desmezurar*.

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dezafilar, blunt, dull	(*afilar*)	*fil*,[1] edge
dezafortir, discourage	(*afortir*)	*fort*,[2] strong
dezaguisar, disturb	(*aguisar*)	*guisa*, guise
dezapoderar, weaken	(*apoderar*)	*poder*, power
dezasaborir, make insipid, cloy	(*asaborir*)	*sabor*, taste
dezencarnar, wean from the flesh	(*encarnar*)	*carn*, flesh
dezencrimar, exculpate	(*encrimar*)	*crim*, crime
dezenflamar, cool off	(*enflamar*)	*flama*, flame
dezengraisar, become thin	(*engraisar*)	*graisa*, grease
enagrandar, increase	(*agrandar*)	*gran(t)*,[2] large
enderocar, overthrow	(*derocar*)	*roca*, rock
esdesleiar, abandon the right	(*desleiar*)	*lei*, law
reemprenhar, reimpregnate	(*emprenhar*)	*prenh*,[2] pregnant
sobrapoderar,† overpower	(*apoderar*)	*poder*, power

[1] *Filar* exists, but only with the meaning of "to spin."

[2] In *dezafortir*, *enagrandar*, and *reemprenhar*, the parasyntheton to which the prefix was added was formed on an adjective.

† All of the words beginning with DES- in the above list are the opposite of the verbal parasyntheta on which they were formed. The prefix EN- brings about no change in such words. RE- gives them the idea of repetition, and SOBRE- the force of "over." The exact meaning of ES- in the one example in which it is found is less certain. Another word which it would be possible to place in the above list is *dezempastrar*, but its existence is uncertain.

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PART III

PARASYNTHETA

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INTRODUCTORY

PARASYNTHETA IN GENERAL

The formation of words by the addition both of suffixes and of prefixes has now been fully treated, but it still remains to discuss another kind of word-formation, and one which is of importance in Provençal—the formation of words by a simultaneous addition of both suffix and prefix. This kind of formation can be well illustrated by an example: *abrasar*, to embrace, is formed very clearly on the noun *bras*, arm. There is no verb *brasar* and no noun *abras*,[1] to which a prefix or a suffix could be added to make it conform to the kinds of formation studied above. Our base-word is *bras*, and from this *abrasar*, having both prefix and suffix, is derived. Words formed in this way will be called parasyntheta.

All three classes of words treated fully above in separate chapters—the nouns, adjectives, and verbs—may be formed parasynthetically just as they may be formed by the use of either suffix or prefix alone, and in the formation of parasyntheta, as in every other kind of formation, one kind of word is of particularly common occurrence. In suffix-formation, nouns, and, after them, adjectives were especially important, although by means of the endings *-ar* and *-ir* verbs were very commonly formed. In prefix-formation, nouns and adjectives both occupy a minor position, and the verbs are to be observed most attentively. It is not surprising, therefore, that the verbs, which in these two kinds of formations taken

[1] In Sp. *abrazo*, and in It. *abbraccio* are found. These are, however, merely postverbal nouns derived from the verbs *abrazar* and *abbracciare*.

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together were most frequent, should be of prime importance in the formation of parasyntheta also. Nouns of this kind are very rare; and adjectives formed in this way can scarcely be said to exist at all, with the exception of those having the participial ending -AT. The verbal parasyntheta, on the other hand, fulfilled a real need of the language, as will be shown. These will be treated in the first chapter.

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CHAPTER I

FORMATION OF VERBS

By the formation of verbal parasyntheta, Provençal was often enabled to express in a single word ideas which, but for this means of expression, would have to be expressed by a phrase. In such words, for example, as *eslengar*, tear out the tongue, suffix and prefix each has its own function—the suffix that of turning the noun *lenga* into a verb, and the prefix ES- its true prepositional force. Most of the prefixes used in forming parasyntheta have this force, although there are prefixes which have little force of any kind. This is particularly true of the prefix A-; and EN- too does not always preserve its prepositional force.[1] It is, therefore, particularly difficult to distinguish true parasyntheta from other kinds of formations. The verbal ending *-ar*, and, to a less extent other verbal endings, were, as has been seen, used to turn nouns into verbs, but changed the meaning of the nouns to which they were joined as little as possible.[2] So much for suffix-formation. Now, as has also been seen, certain prefixes, especially A-, EN-, and RE-, were also used with the verbs thus formed. That, clearly, is prefix-formation. But let us suppose, on the other hand, that a word is found having both prefix and suffix and that no corresponding form without the prefix appears to exist. The

[1] That is to say, this force is not always very apparent, particularly when the suffix used with it is -IR, but such force is generally in the base-word itself and can easily be discovered.

[2] This is similar to the use of a noun as a verb so common in Engl. There we find, for example, the verb "to button" beside the noun "button" and the verb "to cement" beside the noun "cement." In the Prov. words corresponding to these verbs, we find forms both with and without a prefix. Verbs are naturally not found in Romance without the infinitive ending of some conjugation.

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verb would then appear to be a parasyntheton. Yet it is not necessarily such a formation, for it might well be supposed that the verb without the prefix had disappeared after a new and longer word with no difference in meaning had been formed on it by means of the forceless prefix, a phenomenon that is not at all unusual. Another possibility would be that the parasyntheton and a verb with a prefix should have been formed independently of each other, although this is not so probable, and is indeed, improbable where the two words have the same meaning. That the parasyntheton should have been formed first, and the verb without prefix made out of it is equally unlikely, as the fall of a prefix is very rare in Provençal. In consequence of all these obstacles, it is somewhat difficult to make any hard-and-fast division into groups of prefix-formations on the one hand and parasyntheta on the other. A still further difficulty is contributed by the postverbal formations to be studied later. For example, if *entalhar* exists beside *talhar*, *talh*, and *entalh*, can we say at first sight whether *entalhar* is a prefix-formation, a parasyntheton, or a suffix-formation, or indeed, whether it might not be, on the other hand, the base on which the noun *entalh* was formed? This last difficulty is, however, less than would first appear, for from the Latin base-word it is easy to see whether the noun was formed from a verb or the verb from a noun; and there are other means also of ascertaining this. The only serious difficulty, then, in the way of a recognition of the parasyntheta is the possibility of the disappearance of the simple verb on which a prefix-formation might have been made. If there were many such cases, the number of parasyntheta would be materially reduced. In nearly all cases, however, except the words having the prefix

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A-, the prepositional force of the prefix in its relation with the noun reveals parasyntheta. In the cases with A-, and some cases with EN- which have not this force, the problem is more difficult, and, though a comparison with the other languages is often helpful, we cannot always be certain of the formation of words. In view of all these difficulties, words will be placed according to their apparent formation. If beside *abatalhar*, for example, *batalhar* as well as *batalha* exists, the word will be placed under the prefix A-, in the chapter on the formation of verbs, in the Part dealing with prefix-formation. If the simple verb does not exist, or is not found, the verb, derived apparently from a noun, will be given with the parasyntheta, as is the case with *adiar* or *ajornar*, for instance, formed probably on *dia* and on *jorn*. Occasionally, too, where a simple verb does exist, if it has gained from the noun on which it was built an entirely different meaning from that seen in the form of the verb beginning with a prefix, it may be assumed that the latter is a parasyntheton formed on the noun. Such is the case in *afilar*, sharpen, certainly formed on *fil*, edge, instead of on *filar*, which means only "to spin." But omitting such obvious exceptions as this, words will be classified as above stated. Where there is any reason, however, for supposing that the formation may, perhaps, not have taken place according to the way in which the word is classified, the word and its formation will be discussed in the notes.

The verbal parasyntheta will now be given. They will be classified principally according to the suffix in which they end. Each of these divisions will be subdivided into two classes, according as the base-word is a noun or an adjective: The final subdivision will be according to the prefix that begins the word.

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A. SUFFIX -AR

The first case to be treated is that of the words formed by the use of the verbal ending *-ar* together with the different prefixes. Here, as was the case with this suffix when used without a prefix, in a very large majority of the cases the new formation is made on a noun. Yet there are cases, numerous enough to be considered, in which the base-word is an adjective. In these circumstances, the suffix -IR might be expected, and is actually found in a large proportion of the words beside the form in -AR. The question is how these forms built on adjectives came into being, and it seems probable that as -AR was incomparably the most important verbal suffix and formed transitive verbs, it gradually extended its power to the domain of -IR and formed verbs on adjectives, -IR already being used to make transitive verbs in the parasynthetic formations, thus giving a starting-point for possible confusion. At any rate, there are several pairs of verbal parasyntheta ending in *-ar* and in *-ir* and having precisely the same meaning: such are *afortar* and *afortir*, *amortar* and *amortir*. There are also adjectival formations having only *-ar*.[1]

I. FORMATIONS ON NOUNS

The following formations in -AR with the prefix A- are found:

abastardar, debase, corrupt
abauzar, upset, knock down
abelucar, dazzle
abladar, sow, strew
bastart, bastard
baus, abyss, precipice
beluga, flash
blat, grain

[1] The complete list is made up of: *adolent -ar, -ir; adols -ar, -ir; afort -ar, -ir; afran(c) -ar, (qu) -ir; alent -ar, -ir; amort -ar, -ir;* and *aplat -ar, -ir*. These words are interesting as showing uncertainty in the verbal ending to be added at the time of their formation. For all of the corresponding Fr. words, only the ending *-ir* is found. In Mod. It., on the other hand, some of these words have the ending *-are* and others *-ire*, as *addolcire* and *affortire* beside *affrancare* and *allentare*.

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abrasar, embrace	*bras*, arm
acabalar, provide	*cabal*, capital
acampar, bring together	*camp*, field
aclapar, pile up	*clap*, pile
acoatar,[1] join, unite	*coa*, tale
acodar, lean	*code*, elbow
acolar, embrace	*col*, neck
acomjadar, dismiss; *acomjadar (se)*, take leave of	*comjat*, leave
acorar, kill, pierce; encourage	*cor*, heart
acorsar, establish	*cors*, course
acostar, accost	*costa*, side
a(d)escar, allure, entice	*esca*, bait
adiar, become day	*dia*, day
afachar (se), adorn (oneself)	*facha*, face
afaisar, bind up in bundles	*faisa*, bundle
afaisar, wear out	*fais*, burden
afamar, famish	*fam*, hunger
afangar, put into the mud	*fanc*, mud
afilar, sharpen	*fil*, edge
afilhar, adopt	*filh*, son
aflamar, inflame	*flama*, flame
afogar, light, kindle	*foc*, fire
afondar (se), sink	*fon(d)*, bottom
afonsar, sink	*fon(s)*, base
afrontar, attack from in front; insult	*fron(t)*, front
agarsonar, treat like a servant	*garson*, servant
aginhar, reflect, meditate	*ginh*, genius, spirit
ajornar, become day	*jorn*, day
alachar, to milk	*lach*, milk
alezerar, distract	*lezer*, leisure
alinhar, align, adjust	*linha*, line
alugorar, illumine	*lugor*, light
amaestrar, arrange, elaborate	*maestre*, master
amarinar,[2] man a ship	*marina*, shore
amasar, amass	*masa*, mass
amastinar, couple a bitch with a mongrel; then a woman with an unworthy man	*mastin*, mastiff

[1] For the formation of *acoatar*, although it is connected with *coa*, see also the formations on adjectives, p. 515, n. 1, below.

[2] Or possibly formed on the adjective *marin*.

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amongar, make a monk	*mongue*, monk
anientar, annihilate	*nien(t)*, nothing
anochar, be benighted	*noch*, night
a(z)onglar, cling to with the nails	*ongla*, nail
aorfenar, make an orphan	*orfe(n)*, orphan
aparselar, parcel out	*parsela*, parcel
aparsonar, share; endow	*parson*, share
apilar,[1] pile up	*pila*, pile
aplombar,[1] strike to the ground	*plom(b)*, lead
apoderar, subjugate, surpass	*poder*, power
aposturar, adjoin	*postura*, position
apreizonar, imprison	*preizon*, prison
arancar, tear out	*ranc*,[2] rock
arenhar,[1] attach by the bridle	*renh*, rein
arotar, put to rout	*rota*, rout
arozar, water	*ros*, dew
asazonar, come in season	*sazon*, season
asedar, be thirsty	*set*, thirst
asenhorar, dominate	*senhor*, lord
aserar, become late	*sera*, evening
aseljar, sit, besiege	*setje*, seat, siege
atemorar, terrify	*temor*, fear
aterrar,[3] overturn, knock down	*terra*, land
atizar, kindle	*tizon*,[4] firebrand
atrapar, catch in a trap	*trapa*, trap
atropelar, flock together	*tropel*, flock
avalar,[5] lower; descend	*val*, valley
avermar, engender worms	*verm*, worm
avertudar, fortify (?)	*vertut*, virtue
avesprar,[6] become late	*vespre*, evening
avesvar,[6] widow	*veuva*, widow
aviar,† lead, guide	*via*, way

[1] The verbs *pilar*, *primar*, and *renhar* are found, but *apilar*, *aprimar* (see p. 515), and *arenhar* are clearly not derived from them.

[2] Much more probably derived from the adjective *ranc*, crooked, twisted. See formations on adjectives, p. 515.

[3] There is also a verb *aterrir*, or, at least, a form *aterrit*.

[4] The verb is probably formed on the root seen in this word.

[5] *Avalir* and *avesprir* are also found.

[6] Found only in the past participle *avesvada*, for which a correction to *aveusada* has been suggested. Mistral gives a form *aveusa* for Mod. Prov.

† Words of Lat. origin are *aombrar*, shade<*adumbrare* and *agenolhar*, kneel<**aggenuculari* for *aggeniculari*.

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The prefix AB- is found in one Provençal formation:

abivernar, turn from winter	*ivern*, winter

CON- is found in a number of words, but probably in not more than one Provençal formation:[1]

companar, nourish, support	*pan*, bread

CONTRA- appears to form one parasyntheton:

contradentejar, turn the teeth against, bite at	*den(t)*, tooth

DE- is found in the following words:

defonsar, knock out the bottom of a cask	*fons*, bottom
deglaziar, kill	*glazi*, sword
delinhar, deviate	*linha*, line
derancar,[2] tear out	*ranc*, rock, reef
derocar, demolish, overturn	*roc*, rock
devalar, fall, descend	*val*, valley

DEIS- is found in only a few verbs, in all of which it appears to have been prefixed to a simple verb. It is therefore treated only under verbal prefixes.

Under DES- are found:

dezarsonar, unhorse	*arson*, saddle
desbragar, unbreech	*braga*, breeches
desbregar, help, defend	*brega*, quarrel, fight; troop
descabar, lose(?)	*cap*, head
descapdelar, deprive of leader	*capdel*, leader
descaptalar, deprive of one's lord	*captal*, leader, chief
descarnar, strip off flesh; divert from booty	*carn*, flesh
descavilhar, make useless (a war-engine)	*cavilha*, pin, bolt
descazernar, drive away, dispossess	*cazerna*, barracks
descoblar, uncouple	*cobla*, couple

[1] The other words are given under the verbal prefixes. *Confinar* and *confrontar* appear at first sight to be Prov. parasyntheta, but *confrontare* was probably formed in Mediaeval Lat. and *confinare* may have been formed there also. For prefix-formations, see p. 420.

[2] Like *arancar*, probably formed on the adjective *ranc*. For *arancar*, see p. 515.

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descolar, embrace[1]	*col*, neck
descrinar, loose the hair	*crin*, hair
descrocar,[2] spread about	*croc*, hook
desfasar, efface	*fasa*, face
desflorar, deflower	*flor*, flower
desgainar, unsheathe	*gaina*, sheath
desglaiar, kill with the sword	*glai*, sword
desgontar, unhinge	(*gonta*),[3] hinge
desgranar, pick out grains	*gran*, grain
desgravar, clear of sand, clean	*grava*, sand
desgrunar, take away, grain by grain	*grun*, grain
deslatar, lay aside	*lat*, side
desleiar,[4] defame, decry	*lei*, law
desmamar, wean	**mama*,[5] breast(?)
desmuzelar, set free	*muzel*, snout, mouth
desnaturar, distort	*natura*, nature
dezosar, free of bones	*os*, bone
despaizar (*se*), leave one's country	*pais*, country
despenar, throw down	*pena*,[6] rock, gable
despersonar, depopulate	*persona*, person
despiucelar, ravish, deflower	*piucela*, virgin
despoderar, take possession of; cripple	*poder*, power
desrenar, wear out	*ren*, reins, back
desrontar,[7] pour out, let flow	

[1] DES- has rather unusual force here, the meaning being the same as that of *acolar*. The meaning "instruct," which Stichel gives for *descolar*, probably belongs to *escolar*, which is not a parasyntheton at all.

[2] A considerable development in meaning from the idea of "unhook," which we should expect from the formation of the word.

[3] Not found; cf., however, the Fr. *gond*.

[4] Pretty certainly a parasyntheton, although *deslei*, wrong, exists.

[5] Only the derived words *mamel* and *mamela* are found in Prov.

[6] Cf. the Sp. *despeñar* formed on *peña*.

[7] The word is obscure, but it appears to be a parasyntheton. It is probably formed in the same way as the Fr. *dérouter* (on the Prov. development of the Lat. *rupta*). Levy has a note on *desrontar* in which he quotes Lespy as saying that the Bearnese *desrontar* has the same meaning as *derrountar*, which Lespy lists beside *derroutar*. This last word certainly resembles the Fr. *dérouter*. The *n* might be due to confusion with *desrompre*, tear out, the *m* of this word becoming *n* before *t*.

As for the meaning, the O. Fr. *dérouter* meant "break" or "scatter," which last is not so very different from the meaning which the Prov. *desrontar* appears to have.

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destenebrar, stupefy, stun	*tenebras*, darkness
desterrar, drive from the land, exile	*terra*, land
destrapar, break camp	*trap*, tent
destropar, unpack, unfold	*trop*, troop
dezunar, disunite	*un*, one
desviar, deviate	*via*, way

Under EM- and EN- are found:

embacinar, blind (with hot basin ?)	*bacin*, basin
embalsamar, spread with balsam	*balsam*, balsam
embarcar, embark	*barca*, barque, boat
embartar, soil	*bart*, mud, filth
embastonar, arm, equip	*baston*, staff
embatumar, cement	*batum*, cement
embausar, throw down	*baus*, abyss
emborsar, put in the purse	*borsa*, purse
emboscar, put in ambush	*bosc*, woods
embotar,[1] fill a cask	*bota*, tub, vat
embraiar, draw on the stockings	*braia*, stocking
embrasar, embrace	*bras*, arm
embregar,[1] embarrass	*brega*, dispute
embridar, tame, fetter	*brida*, bridle
embrocar,[1] pour out by the pitcher	*broc*, pitcher
embroncar,[1,2] bend, incline	*bronc*, projection
embugar, satiate, drink immoderately	*buga*,[3]
emmaiselar,[4] break the jaws	*maisela*, jaw
empalancar (*se*), barricade oneself[5]	*palanca*, foot-plank, gangway
empenar, feather	*pena*, feather
empenhar, mortgage	*penh*, pledge

[1] The verbs *botar*, *bregar*, *brocar*, and *broncar* all exist, yet the verbs having the prefix EM- are clearly not formed on them, but on the nouns.

[2] There is also a word *embronhar* or *embroignar*, which may really be another form of *embroncar*, but the passage in which it is found is too obscure to be certain of its origin. See Levy, II, 365.

[3] This word is found only with the meaning of "a kind of fish." The base of *embugar*, however, is *buga*, the root of *bugada*, wash, *bugadier*, for washing, etc.

[4] Listed here with two *m*'s, because the prefix ends in *m* and the word itself begins with it.

[5] Cf. the It. *spalancare* and the Sp. *espalancar*.

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empenonar, decorate with flags	*penon*, flag
empinhar,[1] seize	
emplastrar, put on a plaster	*plastre*, plaster
empreisar, press in or on	*preisa*, press
empreizonar, imprison	*preizon*, prison
enagar[2] (*se*), embark	*aga*, water
enalbrar (*se*), *enarbrar* (*se*), stand on one's head	*arbre*, tree
enarcar, bend, curve	*arc*, arch
enarrar, give earnest-money	*arras*, earnest-money
enastar, put on a spit	*asta*, spit
encabasar, put in a basket	*cabas*, basket
encantelar, be inclined to	*cantel*, side
encapar,[3] reach, attain	*cap*, head
encartairar (*encarterar*), quarter	*cartier*, quarter
encastelar, provide with fortifications	*castel*, stronghold
encausar, drive away	(*caus*, sidewalk)?
encensar, let on lease	*cens*, quit-rent
encledar, pen up	*cleda*, screen, hurdle
encoblar, to couple	*cobla*, couple
encoirar, cover with leather	*cuer* (*coire*), leather
encolar, glue	*cola*,[4] glue
enconhar, cut into	*conh*, stamp
enconventar, promise, settle	*conven*(*t*), agreement
encorar, strike in the heart; torture; excite	*cor*, heart
encortinar, hang curtains	*cortina*, curtain
encrimar,[5] accuse	*crim*, crime
endenairar, convert into coin	*denier*, penny
endentelhar, cover with battlements	*dentelh*, battlement

[1] Undoubtedly a variation of *empunhar* or *emponhar* formed on *punh* or *ponh*, fist.

[2] *Inaquare*, from which this might be phonetically descended, is found in Latin, but with a totally different meaning. *Enagar* (*se*) is clearly a parasyntheton formed on the Prov. *aga*.

[3] There is also another verb *encapar* meaning "to repair (?) a millstone."

[4] Not listed in the dictionaries, but may be found in the example given for *encolar* (Levy, II, 444).

[5] The noun *incriminatio* is found in Lat., but *encrimar* appears to be a Prov. formation.

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endeptar, *endeudar* } plunge into debt	*depte*, *deuda* } debt
endiablar, bedevil	*diable*, devil
endosar, put on the back, endorse	*do(r)s*, back
en(n)erviar, cover with sinews	*nerf*, nerve, sinew
enfangar, cover with mud	*fanc*, mud
enfeminar, make effeminate	*femna*, woman
engarrar, wound in the knee[1]	*garra*, leg
enginhar, plot, deceive	*ginh*, trick
engorjar, stuff, cram	*gorja*, throat
engravar, run aground	*grava*, sand
engregar, heap up	*grec*, flock
engrunar, separate, detach	*grun*, grain
enlimairar,[2] soil with mud	*lim*, mud
enmersar, use	*mers*, merchandise
enmortairar,[2] plaster	*mortier*, mortar
enonglar, grip, cling to	*ongla*, nail
enrabiar, enrage	*rabia*, rage
enraizar, enroot	*raiz*, root
enrazinar, put forth roots	*razina*, root
enredar, envelop	*ret*, net
enriostar, provide with braces	**riost* (*riosto* is given in Mistral)
enrozar, moisten, bedew	*ros*, dew
enrudelar,[3] provide (wagon) with a truck	
ensacar, put into a sack	*sac*, sack
ensapar,[4] stumble, sink down	
enselhar, saddle	*selha*, saddle
ensenhalar, signal	*senhal*, signal

[1] Cf. the meaning of *engarramen*, listed under the suffix -AMEN, p. 95, n. 4, above.

[2] *Enlimairar* and *enmortairar* both have the ending *-airar*. In *enmortairar* the *-air* represents a different development of the *-ier* of *mortier*. The same is also true of *endenairar* above. *Limier* is not found, however, and the word appears to be formed on *lim* by means of a verbal double suffix. See p. 403. It was probably influenced in its form by the analogy of *enmortairar*, which had much the same meaning.

[3] Many verbs are given in this list beside which no simple noun is found. Thus there is *enrudelar* beside which *rudela* (with the meaning of "truck") is not found. *Ridelle*, however, is found with this meaning in Fr.

[4] *Sapa* is not found in Prov., but may have existed there also. *Sape*, hole, ditch, is found in Fr., coming from a popular Lat. *sappa*.

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enserpelhar,[1] pack in sackcloth	
ensotzterranhar,[2] put in the cellar	
entaiar,[3] cover with dirt	
entapisar, decorate	*tapis*, carpet, hanging
entavernar, put in a tavern	*taverna* tavern
enterrar, bury, inter	*terra*, land, earth
entestar, affect the head, infatuate	*testa*, head
entorrar, lock up in a tower	*torre*, tower
entreguar, make peace	*tregua*, truce
entrenar, interlace	*trena*, tress, braid
enverinar, poison	*verin*, poison
enviscar, catch with bird-lime	*visc*, bird-lime
envolcar,[4]† wrap up	

Under ENTRE- may perhaps be placed:

entrepachar(se), occupy oneself

Under ES- and EIS-:

eisaurar, rise, soar	*aura*, air
eisaurelhar, cut the ears off	*aurelha*, ear
eiservigar,[5] sprain the neck	
esbastar (*?*), take away the "bast"	*bast*, a dwarf reed
esbrasar, raise the arms	*bras*, arm
esbudelar, disembowel	*budel*, bowels
esbuernar, to obscure	*buerna*, mist
esbuscar, to clear (a ditch) of plants	*busca*, straw, reed

[1] The only noun found is *serpelhiera*, sackcloth (Fr. *serpillière*), whose origin seems doubtful. A form without the suffix -IERA may possibly have existed.

[2] *Sotzterranh* is not found in Prov., nor is even *terranh*. **Sotzterranh* (an imitation of the Lat. *subterraneus* with SOTZ- from SUBTUS substituted for SUB) probably existed, meaning "cellar" (cf. the Fr. *souterrain*), and *ensotzterranhar* may be a parasyntheton formed on it.

[3] Again no simple noun is found. *Entaiar* is, however, apparently, only a variation of *entacar* (see p. 435) from *taca*, spot.

[4] Confusion with *envolopar*? The simple word *volc* means "volcano.'

[5] *Cervigal*, nape of the neck, is found, but not *cervic*.

† A word somewhat obscure in form is *entauscar*, put on a bier. This should apparently be corrected to *entaucar*, which would be formed on *tauc*, bier. *Entalugar* is obscure both in form and meaning. *Encobolar*, prevent, also is obscure in form.

A word of Lat. origin is *encarnar*, incarnate<*incarnare*.

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escabelhar, dishevel (hair)	*cabelh*, hair
escabesar, decapitate	*cabes* (*cabetz*), head
escaisar,[1] break with the teeth	(*cais*, cheek) ?
escampar, spread abroad	*camp*, field
escantelar, strike off corners	*cantel*, corner
escarrasar, card wool, comb coarsely	(*carrasa*,[2] woodpile, vine-prop)
escartairar,[3] divide into four	*cart*(*ier*) quarter
escaudurar, become warm	*caudura*, heat
escogosar,[4] make cuckold	*cogotz*, cuckold
escoisar, tear apart, divide at thighs	*coisa*, thigh, hip
esdesleiar,[5] violate the law	
esfasar, efface	*fasa*, face
esfelar, be angry	*fel*, gall
esfoirar, have diarrhoea	*foire*, diarrhoea
esfredar,[6] confuse, annoy	(Germanic *frida*, peace) ?
esglandar, strike off acorns	*glan*(*t*), acorn
esglaziar, kill	*glazi*, sword
esgolar, make a slit or scollop in clothes	*gola*, throat
esgrul(*h*)*ar*, strip of bark	*gru*(*e*)*la*, bark
esleiar, justify, vindicate	*lei*, law
eslengar, tear out the tongue	*lenga*, tongue
esmerdar, soil	*merda*, dirt, filth
espanar, wean a child	*pan*, bread
espolsar, beat the dust out of	*pols*, dust
esponchar, break the point of	*ponch*, point
espreizonar, take out of prison	*preizon*, prison
estrasar, follow	*trasa*, trace
esvarrar,[7] confuse	(Germanic *wara*) ?

[1] There is also another verb *escaisar* of different formation, meaning "to ridicule."

[2] Probably *escarrasar* is unconnected with this word and the resemblance is accidental. *Escarrasar* appears to be formed on some simple word coming from *cardus*, thistle (the only word found being *cardon*), by means of the prefix ES- and the verbal ending *-asar*. Cf. the It. *scardassare*. See also Körting, No. 1933.

[3] The verbal double suffix -AIRAR may be seen here. See p. 403.

[4] There is also another *escogosar* meaning "to cut down (a tree)."

[5] Treated also under double prefixes, p. 495.

[6] Cf. the O. Fr. *esfreer*.

[7] Found only in the past participle *esvarrat*.

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esventrar, eviscerate	*ventre*, belly
esvertudar, take away one's strength, conquer	*vertut*, virtue
esviar,† set out on the way	*via*, way

Under FOR-:

forlinhar, fall off, degenerate	*linha*, line
forviar, mislead, turn astray	*via*, way, path

Under PER-:

perbocar, roughcast (a wall)	*boca*, mouth
percolar, embrace	*col*, neck
perfogar, suffocate	*foc*, fire
perfondar, precipitate	*fon(d)*, bottom
pertestar, assure	*testa*, head

Under RE-:

recercelar,[1] curl	
recular, recoil	*cul*, back
regorjar, overflow	*gorja*, throat
relinhar, resemble	*linha*, line
remendar, fix up	*menda*, fault; improvement(?)
reposturar, hide	*postura*, position
retrasar,†† retrace	*trasa*, trace

Under REIRE-:

reir(e)olhar, look back	*uelh*, eye

Under TRAS-:

trasbucar (also *trabucar*), stumble	*buc*, stump, trunk
trasdosar, burden	*dos*, back
trasnuechar, be awake all night	*nuech*, night

[1] Probably formed on **cercel* (cf. the Fr. *cerceau*)<Lat. *circellum*, hoop.

† An obscure word is *escarar*, ornament(?) or macerate(?).

†† Other words beginning with RE- that should be observed are *reviscolar*, revive, resuscitate, and *revolinar*, turn about. *Reviscolar* is probably the Prov. development of a parasyntheton already formed in Lat. This Lat. word would be **revisceratio* is found), showing dissimilation in its Prov. development. *Revolinar* is placed here for convenience. *Revolvina*, derived from *revolver*, is found in Prov., and *revolvinar* would be the ordinary verbal derivative of it. *Revolinar* may be due to confusion with *revolare*.

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II. FORMATIONS ON ADJECTIVES

The prefix A- is found in the following words:

acoatar,[1] join, unite	
acoindar, make acquainted	*coinde*, pleasant
acomunalar, divide with	*comunal*, common
adolentar,[2] torment	*dolen(t)*, grievous
adolsar,[2] sweeten, soften	*dolz*, *dols*, sweet,
aermar, devastate	*erm*, barren
afortar,[2] fortify	*fort*, strong
afrancar,[2] free, soften	*franc*, free
agradar, delight, please	*grat*, grateful
alargar, enlarge, open	*larc*, large, broad
aleialar, justify	*leial*, loyal
alentar,[2] delay, slow down	*len(t)*, slow
alongar, lengthen, prolong	*lonc*, long
amenudar, diminish	*menut*, small
amortar,[2] extinguish	*mort*, dead
aplatar,[2] level	*plat*, flat
aprestar, prepare	*prest*, ready
aprimar,[3] make fine or thin	*prim*, first, fine
aprimairar,[4] approach, advance	*prim(ier)*, first
aprivadar, tame	*privat*, private, intimate, tame
arancar,[5] tear out	*ranc*, crooked, twisted
arasar, level, raze	*ras*, level
aredar, stiffen	*rede*, stiff
asabentar,[6] inform, acquaint with	*saben*, wise, knowing
aserenar, be calm	*seren*, calm
atruandar, allure, bewitch (*truandar*)	*truan*, poor, wretched

[1] Possibly formed on **coat*, tailed. The usual form of the word is *caudat*, but *coat* (which might regularly have been formed on *coa*) is found in the compound form *capcoat* beside *capcaudat*. For another example of the kind of formation seen in *acoatar*, see *aprivadar* in the same list. The preservation of the *t* as *t* in *acoatar* may possibly be due to the late formation of the word.

[2] A similar verb in *-ir* also exists. See -IR.

[3] *Primar* exists too, but only with the meaning of "dominate," "surpass," on which *aprimar* cannot be formed.

[4] An example of a possible compound verbal suffix -AIRAR. See p. 403, above.

[5] See also formations on nouns, p. 506.

[6] The little Levy has *asabensar*.

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averar, aver, certify	*ver*, true
avilar, make vile	*vil*, vile
avivar, vivify	*viu*, lively
avolpilhar,† make afraid	*volpilh*, cowardly

Under DES-, we find:

desleialar, disgrace	(*des*)*leial*, (dis)loyal
dezunar,[1] disunite, separate	*un*, one

Under EIS-:

eissopinar, bend backwards	*sopin*, supine
eis(*s*)*ordar*, deafen	*sort*, deaf

Under EM- and EN-:

emmancar, shut in(?)[2]	*manc*, crippled, defective
empirar,[3] become worse	
encabalar, make powerful	*cabal*, powerful
encautar,[4] advise, warn	*caut*, cautious
encertar,[4] make certain	*cert*, certain
engrosar, become stout	*gros*, stout
enraucar,[4]†† become hoarse	*rauc*, hoarse

Under ES-:

esmancar,††† cut off the hand	*manc*, one-handed, crippled

[1] *Disunire* is found in Lat.

[2] Probably the meaning, although the connection with *manc*, which appears to be the base-word, is not very clear. "To clean" has also been suggested as a translation.

[3] The form of the word indicates Fr. influence, and it is, indeed, found in a text which shows traces of this influence. The Prov. form naturally to be expected—*empejorar*—is not found, but a noun *empejoramen* exists.

[4] The adjectives *incautus*, *incertus*, and *irraucus* are found in Lat.

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† For such words as *anualhar*, *apejorar*, *asadolar*, *asotilar* apparently formed on adjectives, see the verbal prefix A-, p. 416.

†† A parasyntheton beginning with EN- that is formed on an adverb instead of an adjective is *encantar*, put a price on. The base-word is *cant*, how much (?).

A word of Lat. origin having the prefix EN- is *emprenhar*, impregnate <*impraegnare*.

††† Words of Lat. origin having the prefix ES- are *escaldar*, heat< *excaldare* and *esclarar*, shine<*exclarare*.

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Under RE-:

recrusar, grow worse	*crutz*,[1] rough, raw
revivar, revive	*viu*, living

III. FORMATIONS ON VERB-STEMS

It seems to be necessary to make this division on account of one word:

abeurar,[2] drench, soak	*beure*, drink

B. SUFFIX IR-

The next, and practically the only other suffix used in forming parasyntheta is -IR, which is, however, of considerable importance. In the chapter on suffix-formation, -IR was shown to have formed many verbs, such as *brunir* and *rogir*, on adjectives, nearly all of these verbs being intransitive. But besides these intransitive verbs, there are other transitive ones; only these verbs are formed by using a prefix as well as a suffix with the adjective, and are therefore real parasyntheta. In these cases, the prefixes have real force, even A- and EN-, just as they did in the parasyntheta in AR-, except that here, the base-word being an adjective instead of a concrete noun, their prepositional force is not so clear. We may say that *abelir* means "to turn (*-ir*) to (*a*) the beautiful (*bel*)," or *enfeblir*, "to turn into the weak," by which rendering the adjective is seen to be used as an abstract noun. The same thing is true of the other parasyntheta in the list.

[1] See Levy, I, 422, under *cru*. For *recrusar*, see also Flamenca, line 3312.

[2] Owing to the number of corresponding forms in the other Romance languages, the Fr. *abreuver*, the It. *abbeverare*, and the Sp. *abrevar*, it seems necessary to suppose an **adbiberare* formed in Latin. *Adbibere* is found, but has left no trace. **Ad-biberare* was probably formed on this word by the addition of -ARE. See Körting, No. 1359, and ALL, I, 250.

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There are also several parasyntheta ending in *-ir* built on nouns, and these are transitive likewise.[1] It is rather surprising to find *-ir* in any formations on nouns, as it was so rare in the verbs formed on nouns without a prefix, but *-ar* being used in formations on adjectives as well as on nouns, and the confusion of verbal endings being seen in certain duplicate forms, *-ir*, possibly by a kind of reflex action, was used to form certain parasyntheta on nouns. *Bastart*, an adjective, but also used as a noun, may have helped also as a starting-point for the formations on nouns. It is to be observed that a very few nouns are at the base of all these formations, *joglar*, *podest* and *senhor*,[2] as well as *bastart*, being each used with two different prefixes.

I. FORMATIONS ON NOUNS

A- is found in:

abastardir, debase, corrupt
aborzezir, become a burgher
ajoglarir (*se*), become a minstrel
anochir, become night
apoderir, overcome, conquer
avalhir, faint, disappear

bastart,[3] bastard
borzes,[4] burgher
joglar, minstrel
noch, *nu(e)ch*, night
poder, power
valh, valley

DES- is found in:

despodestir,[5] renounce; withdraw
dessenhorir, deprive of lordship

senhor, lord

[1] -EZIR, pre-eminently the suffix used in forming intransitive verbs, is the only one which appears to be regularly intransitive in the parasynthetic formations.

[2] All of these are feudal terms, which shows the time of the formation of these words.

[3] Also an adjective. Cf. *abordir* given in the list of formations on adjectives. The simple word *bort* is found only as an adjective, whereas *bastart* was used both as an adjective and as a noun.

[4] Used as adjective and noun. In *aborzezir*, the suffix -EZIR is only apparent.

[5] *Despodestir* and *empodestir* appear to be formed on a noun *podest* that is not found, although *podestat* (<*potestatem*) exists. It is possible,

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EM- and EN- are found in:

embandir, cover with bands or trimmings	*banda*, band
embastardir, debase	*bastart*,[1] bastard
embeguinir, make devout	*beguina*, bigot
embotir, fill, stuff	*bota*, cask
emparatgir, raise, enhance	*paratge*, rank
empodestir,[2] put in possession	
engolir, swallow	*gola*, throat
engranir, plant seeds	*gran*, seed
enjoglarir (*se*), become a minstrel	*joglar*, minstrel
enorgolhir, become proud	*orgolh*, pride
ensenhorir, act as lord	*senhor*, lord
envergonhir, be ashamed	*vergonha*, shame

ES- is found in:

esbair, be amazed	*ba*(*?*) (an exclamation?)

II. FORMATIONS ON ADJECTIVES

Under the prefix A- are found:

abelir, beautify	*bel*, beautiful
abordir,[1] miscarry	*bort*, illegitimate, false
adolentir, grieve, afflict	*dolen*(*t*), painful, lamentable
afeblir, weaken	*feble*, weak
afortir, strengthen	*fort*, strong
afranquir, free	*franc*, free
afrevolir, weaken	*frevol*, weak
agelozir, make jealous	*gelos*, jealous
alentir, slacken, retard	*len*(*t*), slow
amalir, make bad, harm	*mal*, bad
amortir, kill, deaden	*mort*, dead
anoblir, ennoble	*noble*, noble
apaubrir, impoverish	*paubre*, poor
aplanir, level, smooth	*plan*, smooth
aplatir, flatten	*plat*, flat
aredondir, round	*redon*, round

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however, that the ending *-at* may have been taken for a suffix, particularly, perhaps, because of the existence of the word *podestaditz*, apparently having the double suffix -ADITZ.

[1] See note 3, p. 518.

[2] See note 5, p. 518.

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atendrir, touch, make tender	*tendre*, tender
avilanir, make vile, degrade	*vilan*, coarse, rustic
avilir, make vile,	*vil*, vile

Under the prefix EM- (and EN-) we find:

embelhir, beautify	*belh*, beautiful
emblanquir, whiten	*blanc*, white
empaubrir, impoverish	*paubre*, poor
empeguir (*se*), act foolishly	*pec*, foolish
encabalir, make powerful	*cabal*, rich, powerful
encarir, become dear	*car*, dear
encortezir,[1] become courtly	*cortes*, courtly
endruir (*se*),[2] become fat(?)	
endurir, become hard	*dur*, hard
enfadir,[3] disgust(?)	*fat*, silly
enfeblir, weaken	*feble*, weak
enfelonir, make cruel; irritate	*felon*, cruel
enfolatir,[4] drive or go mad	
enfolir, drive mad	*fol*, crazy
enfortir, strengthen	*fort*, strong
enfosquir,[5] darken	*fosc*, dark
enfrevolir, weaken; grow weak	*frevol*, weak
engalhardir, fortify, encourage	*galhart*, gay, bold
engelozir, make jealous	*gelos*, jealous
englotonir, make gluttonous	*gloton*, gluttonous
engordir, fatten	*gort*, fat
engroisir, thicken	*gros*, large, thick
enleconir, covet	*lec*(*on*), greedy
enlenir, soften	*len*, soft

[1] The verbal ending *-ezir* is only apparent, as the meaning of the word shows.

[2] The base-word is apparently the adjective corresponding to the Fr. *dru*, compact, thick, strong. The only simple word given in the dictionaries, however, is the adverb *drut*, hard, fast; but probably this represents nothing but an adverbial use of what was really an adjective, such as is seen in the Fr. *pousser dru*. Cf. also in Mistral *s'endrudi*, become fat.

[3] Cf. *enfadi* in Mistral and the translations of it. Cf. also *enfadezir*.

[4] One of several words formed on **folat*, which probably was derived from *fol* and meant "crazy."

[5] *Infuscare*, found in Lat., would give *enfoscar*. When *enfosquir* was formed on *fosc* according to the usual Prov. process, *enfoscar* may have disappeared.

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enmalautir, become ill	*malaut*, ill
enmalir, become angry; irritate?	*mal*, bad
enmanentir (*se*), become rich	*manen(t)*, rich, powerful
enorgolhozir, make proud	*orgolhos*, proud
enredonir, make round	*redon*, round
enribaudir, lead life of ribaldry	*ribaut*, ribald
enriquir, make rich, powerful	*ric*, rich
ensalvatgir, drive wild	*salvatge*, wild
ensanhtir, sanctify oneself	*sanht*, saintly
ensordir, become deaf	*sort*, deaf
ensuperbir,[1] become proud	
entruandir, live like a vagrant	*truan(t)*, vagrant
envermelhir, become red	*vermelh*, vermilion
envilanir, degrade, insult	*vilan*, rustic, coarse

And under ES- are found:

esbaudir, rejoice, brighten	*baut*, bold, gay
esclarir,[2] brighten	*clar*, bright
esfelnir, become furious	*fel*, *felon*, cruel(?)
esflauir,[3] become soft	*flau*, soft(?)
esfolir, befool, delude	*fol*, foolish
esfortir, strengthen	*fort*, strong
esmanentir, become rich	*manen(t)*, rich
esmortir, extinguish	*mort*, dead
esvilanir,† degrade, outrage	*vilan*, coarse, rustic

And under RE-:

refregir, to cool	*freg*, cold
refresquir, refresh	*fresc*, fresh
rejovenir, rejuvenate	*joven*, young
reverdir, become green again; revive	*vert*, green

[1] *Superb* is not found in Prov. The word looks like a learned formation on the Lat. *superbus*.

[2] *Esclairir* is also found, as well as *esclarar*<*exclarare*, given above, p. 516, n. †††.

[3] See Stichel, 51.

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† An obscure word, *estavanir*, faint (?) or become faint (?), may also be placed here, as it appears to be formed on the adjective *van*, feeble, exhausted. *Esvanir* would, of course, be the regular formation. See *estavani* in Mistral, and *Zeitschrift*, XV, 539.

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C. OTHER SUFFIXES

Other suffixes found in parasyntheta are -EJAR, -EGAR, and -EZIR.

-EJAR

Under the verbal suffix -EJAR, several words of this kind are found, formed both on nouns and on adjectives. When joined to adjectives, -EJAR generally seems to give the force of "to become."

Used together with the prefix A-, we find:

afeblejar (*se*), become weak	*feble*, weak
asoplejar (*se*), bend, incline towards	*sople*, supple
asordejar,[1] become deaf	*sort*, deaf

With COM-:

companejar, prepare or eat food	*pan*, bread

With DES-:

dezunejar, disunite	*un*, one

With EN-:

enmalejar, anger?	*mal*, bad, evil
ensenhorejar, become mighty	*senhor*, lord

With ES-:

esbaudejar,† rejoice	*baut*, bold, gay

-EGAR

-EGAR also is found in three words, two formed on nouns and one on an adjective.

[1] The simple verb *sordejar* also exists but with a different kind of meaning.

† Another verb rather obscure in formation may be mentioned here because of the apparent prefix DE-. This is *denejar*, clean, purify, and its form seems to be due to a metathesis in *nedejar*. In this case, there is no prefix, and, consequently, no parasyntheton. The prefix DE- can be part of the word only if we suppose some shortening to have taken place in a verb **denedejar*. For *nedejar*, see p. 361.

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It is found together with the prefix A- in:

afamegar, starve	*fam*, hunger (noun)
amolegar, soften	*mol(h)*, soft (adjective)

With the prefix DE- in:

dementegar, *forget*	*men(t)*, mind

which may be compared with the parasynthetic adjective *esmentegat*.

-EZIR

Under the suffix -EZIR, there is a fairly long list of parasyntheta, formed, with very few exceptions, on adjectives, and mostly intransitive.

Derived in connection with the prefix A- we find:

abonezir, improve	*bon*, good
afranquezir, free	*franc*, free
afrevolezir,[1] weaken	*frevol*, weak
amolhezir, soften	*molh*, soft
amortezir,[2] deaden	*mort*, dead

In connection with EM- are found:

embelhezir, beautify	*bel(h)*, beautiful
emblanquezir, whiten	*blanc*, white
empalezir, become pale	*pale*, pale

With EN- are:

encarzezir,[3] make dear	*car*, dear
endurzezir,[3] harden	*dur*, hard
enfadezir, play the fool	*fat*, fool, foolish
enfolezir, drive crazy	*fol*, crazy, foolish
enfreulezir, put out of power	*frevol*, weak
engrandezir, glorify	*gran(t)*, great
engrogezir, become yellow	*groc*, yellow
enlagezir, become dirty	*lag*, *laid*, ugly

[1] Cf. also *afrevolzir*, as well as *afrevolar* and *afrevolir*.

[2] For the formation on a past participle, cf. also *tortezir* under verbal suffixes, p. 366.

[3] These two verbs are peculiar in form. The forms *carzir* and *endurzir*, in which the suffix is once represented, are also found. It seems just possible that in these words -ZIR may have been taken for -IR (i.e., *carzir* for *cars* +-IR), and the longer -EZIR substituted for it.

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enregezir, stiffen	*rege*, stiff
enriquezir, enrich	*ric*, rich
enrogezir, redden	*rog*, red
enteunezir, weaken	*teune*, weak, thin
entristezir, sadden	*trist*, sad

Formed in conjunction with ES- we find:

esgaizir, become glad, cheer up	*gai*, gay

In contrast with all of these formations on adjectives, very few formations are made on other words. On nouns we find:

With EM-:

empeirezir, petrify	*peira*, stone
empolsezir, soil, darken	*pols*, dust

With EN-:

enfuguezir, kindle	*fuc*, fire

There are also words apparently formed on verb-stems:

engemezir,[1] sigh	*gemir*, groan, lament
entorsezir, twist, wrench	*torser*, twist

[1] *Ingemiscere* is found in Lat.

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CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF NOUNS

The nouns formed by the simultaneous addition of suffix and prefix to some simple word are very few in number. This simple word may be either a noun or a verb-stem, just as in the formation of verbal parasyntheta it might be either noun or adjective. Nouns based on adjectives are, however, rare. The reasons for the formation of nouns of this class are the same as those which aid in bringing about the formation of verbs—there was a real need for them in the language. This has been illustrated in the case of the verb *eslengar;* and it is easy to imagine a further step forward by which *eslengamen* might be formed. In fact, it is the natural thing to form abstracts by adding the suffix -AMEN to the stem of verbs in *-ar*. *Eslengamen* in this case would of course be only a suffix-formation on *eslengar;* but such words might give a starting-point for the formation of nominal parasyntheta, for *lenga* instead of *eslengar* might be understood as the base-word, or, to take an actual case, *setje* instead of *asetjar* might be supposed to be the base-word in *asetjamen*. Yet the proximity of the verb and the regularity with which -AMEN had come to be added to verb-stems would prevent any such confusion from becoming great. Formations based on nouns may have come about as described, whereas the formations on verbs are simpler, being exactly the same as that of the verbal parasyntheta studied above. That is, *denombramen,* bill, is formed by DE-+*nombr*(*ar*)+-AMEN, *nombrar* being the base-word. *Denombrar* is not found and may not exist, but a need for the noun was felt, and it was

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probably formed on the analogy of verbs beginning with DE- and taking the suffix -AMEN. Here again, as in other cases, the abstract *denombramen* may be a suffix-formation on **denombrar*, but it is unnecessary to assume the existence of such a word. Nominal parasyntheta as well as verbal ones could be formed when needed.

The use of -AMEN with a kind of collective force has already been mentioned. This is a meaning that may have developed out of the abstract use,[1] but it is particularly common in the parasyntheta in connection with the vague prefix EM- (EN-).[2]

A. FORMED BY THE USE OF SUFFIXES GENERALLY ADDED TO VERBS

The parasyntheta formed by means of suffixes regularly added to verbs will be given first. The suffixes of this kind found in forming nominal parasyntheta are -ADA, -ADOR, -AMEN, and -AT, and, in single examples, -ATGE and -AZON.

-ADA is found in:

contraselada[3] (for *contracelada*?) feint (?), avoidance (?)	*celar*, conceal (?)
escambada[4] } stride	*camba*, leg
trascambada[4] }	

-ADOR is found in:

escoltivador,[5] cultivator	*coltivar*, cultivate
pervalador, ditch-digger	*valat*, ditch

[1] See the other abstract suffixes, such as -ATGE, etc.

[2] Cf. the Engl. word "embankment."

[3] A dancing term? (see Flamenca, line 1275).

[4] Cf. the Fr. formation with EN- (*enjambée*) instead of ES- or TRAS-.

[5] *Escoltivar* is not found, but its existence is made probable by the appearance of other possible derivatives, as *escoltivamen* and *escoltivat*. It is hardly probable that so many parasynthetic formations would be made on one word.

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-AMEN is found in:

acujamen,[1] idea	*cujar*, believe
decostamen, defrayal	*costar*, cost
defasamen, disfigurement	*fasa*, face
denombramen, specification, bill	*nombrar*, name
desmemoriamen, forgetting	*memoria*, memory
empoestamen,[2] authority	
empontamen, scaffold, stage	*pon(t)*, bridge
enartamen,[3] dexterity	*art*, art
enfachamen,[4] conceit, whim (?)	*facha*, face
ensolhamen, foundations of sill	*sol(h)*, threshold
entaulamen, beams, timberwork	*taula*, table
escoltivamen,[5] cultivation	*coltivar*, cultivate

Also apparently formed on an adjective:

enviliamen, cheapness	*vil(h)*, vile

-AT is found in:

encrivelhat, a religious sect (?)	(*crivelar*, sift through?)
ensabatat, a religious sect	*sabat*, shoe
escodat, stripped skin of animal	*coa*, tail
esponhat,† one-armed man	*ponh*, fist

all of these words being only adjectives used substantively. *Ensabatat* seems to be a variation of *sabatat*, but formed independently on *sabat*.

[1] As *cujamen* exists also, this may be a prefix-formation, though this kind of formation is unlikely.

[2] This word is puzzling, and is probably not a parasyntheton at all. It may be a suffix-formation on *empodestir*, put in possession, with -AMEN instead of -IMEN, due to the analogy of the *a* of the apparent suffix in *empoestados*, *empoestadit*.

[3] *Enartar* exists, but has a rather different meaning from that seen in the noun.

[4] The meaning is not at all clear.

[5] For the formation, see the note on *escoltivador*, p. 526.

† For all of the words in -AT, see also the nominal suffix -AT. Another word in -AT is *arquidiquenat*, archdeaconry. *Diquenat* is not found in Prov., but undoubtedly existed, coming from the Lat. *diaconatus*. In this case, *arquidiquenat*, if not entirely formed in Lat., might be taken as a kind of prefix-formation. It cannot, of course, be a Prov. parasyntheton, as the word for "deacon" is *diacre*.

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-ATGE is found only in:

engrunatge,[1] a tax on beans	*grun*, grain

-AZON (-IZON) is found only in:

envenizon,[2] coming	*venir*, come

B. FORMED BY THE USE OF SUFFIXES GENERALLY ADDED TO NOUNS

Next come the few formations by means of suffixes generally added to nouns, of which the most important is -IER. In these words, both suffix and prefix generally have real force.

-IER is found in:

concalongier, disputant	*calonja*, slander
escabesiera, head of a bed	*cabes*, head of a bed
estestier, butcher who sells heads	*testa*, head

-INA is found in:

aplevina,[3] security, pledge	*plevir*, pledge

-OL is found in:

arestol,[4] rest for the lance	*resta*, rest, fork

-URA is found in:

tra(n)sluchura, crevice	*lutz*, light

A suffix of the kind regularly added to adjectives, -EZA, is found in one example:

imperdurableza	*perdurable*, everlasting

[1] *Engrunar* exists, but with a different meaning. *Engrunatge* appears to be directly formed on *grun*, although it may have been influenced in its form by the verb. The simple **grunatge* would have the same meaning.

[2] There is no evidence for the existence of *envenir*. *Envenizon* seems to mean "coming" in a special sense. It is found only in a work on geomancy. The Lat. *invenire* seems to have left no traces in Romance.

A general observation that may be made about the nominal parasyntheta as yet studied is that suffixes which have been seen to be added almost exclusively to verbs are here very generally added to nouns.

[3] This word may not exist. One of the manuscripts has *plevina*, which would be a normal formation on *plevir*.

[4] The verbs *restar* and *arestar* both are found, and *arestol* might be a formation on the latter except for the fact that the suffix -OL seems always to have been added to nouns. For a description of the *arestol*, see Schultz, *Höfische Leben*, II, 24.

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CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

The formation of adjectives of this kind is similar to that of the nouns, but it is even more limited in extent. Indeed, the only certain adjective parasyntheta are formed by means of the participial suffixes -AT, -IT, and -UT.[1] The way these formations were evolved has been mentioned in dealing with the adjective suffix -AT.

I. FORMATIONS ON VERB-STEMS

The list of parasyntheta probably formed on verb-stems follows.

Under -AT, there are:

de (or *des*)*fortunat*,[2] unfortunate	*fortunar* (*fortuna*), make happy
derazonat, unreasonable	*razonar* (*razon*), reason
dezafiblat, uncloaked	*afiblar*, clasp, wrap up
emparlat, eloquent	*parlar*, speak
enfastigat, satiated	*fastigar* (*fastic*), feel disgust for
enfazendat, busy, occupied	*fazendar*, make
enmeravilhat, astonished	*meravilhar* (*meravilha*), marvel
ensagelat, sealed	*sagelar* (*sagel*), seal
prenomnat, previously mentioned	*nomnar*, name
sobr(*e*)*amezurat*, *sobredesmezurat* } immoderate	*amezurar*, measure; *desmezurar*, go beyond measure

[1] There are, however, a few words ending in other suffixes that should be mentioned here. *Benastruc* and *malastruc*, for example, are listed by Meyer-Lübke under the parasyntheta. They are, indeed, formed on *astre*, star, but as *astruc* (and its derivative *astrugueza*) is also found, they cannot well be placed here. They may be compared with the Fr. *bienheureux* and *malheureux*, which are certainly not parasyntheta. Both Fr. and Prov. forms are compound words, under which head the Prov. words will be given. Other apparent parasyntheta are *subalbenc* and *subfalbenc*. These might be taken to be formed on *alb* and *falb*, yet both *falbenc* and *subfalb* are found. *Subfalbenc* might, therefore, be taken either as prefix- or suffix-formation. *Subalbenc* is probably formed on the analogy of *subfalbenc*. See pp. 309 and 488 above.

[2] *Fortunat* is not found in Prov., although similar forms are in most of the other languages.

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Under -IT, there is found:

dezapedit, abandoned (See adjective suffix -IT)	*apedir*, long for, desire.
oltrasalhit, overweening	*salhir*, dart out

And under -UT, there is:

dezaperceubut, unprepared (?)	*apercebre*, perceive

II. FORMATIONS ON NOUNS

Next, parasynthetic adjectives formed directly on nouns are seen. The nouns that existed beside nearly all the simple verbs given in the list above may be the starting-point for this. Such adjectives in -AT are:

denofezat,[1] unbelieving	*fe*, faith
desbrasat, without arms	*bras*, arm
embagat, wearing rings	
empaginat,[2] dull, surly	*pagina*, page
empebrat, peppery	*pebre*, pepper
enaibat,[3] deformed	*aip*, good quality
enarnescat, equipped	*arnesc*, equipment
encanonat, reed-shaped	*canon*, reed
encarat (preceded by *mal*) = with dark face	*cara*, face
encopenat or *entopinat* ?,[4] plumed (?)	

[1] A peculiar formation, as *nofezat*, which also exists, expresses this idea sufficiently well, in addition to its meaning of "disloyal." The DE- of *denofezat* appears to have no force, therefore. The word may have been formed, however, by the addition of -AT to the phrase *de no fe*, and the *z* due to the analogy of *nofezat*.

[2] A queer development of meaning. The form seems to indicate the mood of one always poring over the pages of a book.

[3] EN- here would appear to be the negative particle sometimes prefixed to adjectives. *Aibat*, however, does not appear to exist, though *aibit* is found. See note on *endechat* (p. 531, below).

[4] If the word in question is *entopinat*, it would seem to be formed on *topina*, saucepan, and, indeed, *entoupina*, put in the pot, wrap up, etc., is found in Mistral. But even if the word should be corrected to *entopinat*, there is no clear connection in meaning with *topina*, saucepan, as the meaning "plumed" seems to fit the passage in which the word is found. Could not the root be, rather, that found in the Fr. *toupet* (and *toupie* ?) ? Possibly there may have existed a Prov. **topin* with the meaning of *toupet*, or "tuft." The word is very obscure, however.

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endechat,[1] full of good qualities	*decha*, fault
endemoniat, demoniacal	*demoni*, demon
enlatinat, learned, versed in languages	*latin*, Latin
ensolfrat, sulphured	*solfre*, sulphur
ensucat, wounded in the head	*suc*, head
entemorat, god-fearing	*temor*, fear
escuichat, hipped, hipshot	*cuicha*, hip
esdentat, toothless	*den(t)*, tooth
esfosat, dug(?), or containing graves (?)	*fosa*, grave
esfrontat, bold, daring	*fron(t)*, forehead
espeitrinat, with bared breast	*peitrina*, breast
nofezat, faithless	*fe*, faith
sobrestoriat,† overadorned, overlabored	*estoria*, history

An adjective of this kind ending in -IT is:

aterrit, worn out, infirm	*terra*, earth

III. IRREGULAR ADJECTIVAL PARASYNTHETA

A few words appear to be of even more complicated formation, however. These appear to have, besides the prefix and suffix such as are seen in the preceding list joined to the simple noun, another syllable interpolated between this noun and the suffix. Such words are *esmentegat*, *espezotat*, and *engratonat*.

Esmentegat, crazy, appears to be the past participle of a verb **esmentegar*. This is derived by Stichel[2] from

[1] *Endechat* is formed in the same way as *enaibat*, in which the EN- has negative force. There is a verb *dechar* which seems to mean "to sin," and *endechat* may be formed of EN- and *dechat*, the past participle of *dechar*. Even in such a case, however, the existence of the noun *decha* would give a starting-point for the formation of *enaibat* on a noun.

[2] P. 52.

† *Ajostat* probably formed on *josta*, near; *apoderat* probably formed on *poder*, power; *descorat* probably formed on *cor*, heart; and *encolpat* probably formed on *colpa*, sin, guilt, should be mentioned here with the parasyntheta, although, as the verb with the prefix exists, they have already been given as suffix-formations.

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EX-+*mente*+-ICARE and compared with the Spanish *mentecato*. This etymology seems to be correct, making the word a parasyntheton with the suffix -ICARE. **Esmentegar* may be compared with *dementegar*, forget, which is found.

Espezotat, with broken foot, appears to be the same kind of formation, although the source of the *-ot-* is not entirely clear. Mistral lists a word *espezouta*.

Engratonat, wrinkled, appears to be formed on a noun **graton* derived from the verb *gratar*, scratch. Mistral has a verb *gratouna*, scratch slightly.

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PART IV

OTHER METHODS OF WORD-FORMATION

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INTRODUCTORY

WORDS FORMED WITHOUT THE USE OF SUFFIX OR PREFIX

As a convenient as well as logical system for the classification of the different kinds of word-formation found, the addition of suffix or prefix has been adopted and followed hitherto. Words have been regarded as formed by the addition of either one of these, or of both of them at the same time, and classified accordingly. It is, moreover, possible to continue on the same basis by styling all the other ordinary methods of word-formation "Words formed without the use of either suffix or prefix."

This classification, or grouping-together of all the words formed by other methods than the addition of suffix or prefix contains two very distinct kinds of formations. There are the words formed by composition, or the union of two individual words, to be treated later, and there is also another type of word, peculiar to the Romance languages and particularly common in French and Provençal, in which there is an apparent dropping of a suffix. These are the words which have been generally known as *postverbal nouns*. Here, however, they will be given the broader title of "nouns formed from verbs." They will be treated first.

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CHAPTER I

NOUNS FORMED FROM VERBS

These words, generally known as postverbal nouns, as stated above, are, in appearance, never anything but the stem itself of the verb from which they are formed. There has been some discussion of this class of words and of the name that should be given them. Egger, who was one of the first to treat this kind of nouns, called them nouns formed by the apocopation of the infinitive,[1] and Lené, who has treated the formation of these words in French more recently,[2] while giving the words their usual name of postverbal nouns,[3] has adopted Egger's view of their formation.

However words of this kind may have come to be formed in French or in Provençal, their origin is described by Lené in what he calls a "proportional formation." To illustrate: From the past participle *cantus* of the ancient verb *canere*, to sing, was formed the frequentative verb *cantare*. Now *cantus*, like many other past participles, was used substantively, meaning "song," and when *canere* later disappeared and *cantare* persisted,[4] the appearance is that of a noun formed on a verb by dropping some ending. Such, at least, is the appearance of the words in French and Provençal, where we find the nouns

[1] "*Les substantifs verbaux formés par apocope de l'infinitif*," *Rev. l lang. rom.*, VI, 333–60.

[2] *Les substantifs postverbaux dans la langue française*, Upsala, 1899.

[3] This name is criticized in a review of Lené's work by Paris in *Romania*, XXIX, 440. The name *substantifs déverbaux* is there suggested.

[4] This disappearance of the simpler form is in harmony with the principles of word-formation in Vulgar Lat. and in Romance.

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chant and *can(t)* existing beside the verbs *chanter* and *cantar*. The proportion is between *cantus*, denoting the action of the verb—and *cantare*, the verb itself. When this proportion happened to become frequent, as it did in later Latin, new nouns on this model were formed, and as the original method of formation had been forgotten, they were formed according to appearances, by using nothing but the stem of the verb. The question whether it is the stem of the infinitive or that of the present which appears in these words has been much discussed. For Provençal, it is the infinitive stem that is seen in every word, so that from all appearances these words might easily be called "substantives formed by apocopation of the infinitive." But it is doubtful whether any ending of any particular form was ever really dropped.[1]

A. POSTVERBAL NOUNS

There are, in Provençal, three classes of postverbal nouns: (1) those showing only the stem of the verb; (2) those ending in *-e;* (3) those ending in *-a*. The second class is really only a subdivision of the first one, as the *-e* is probably never anything but the supporting vowel after a difficult combination of consonants. The case is simpler, therefore, than in French, where *-e* appears as a feminine ending as well as a supporting vowel. Aside from the forms in *-e*, there are, then, only two classes of words: the masculine, or verb-stem forms, and the feminine forms in *-a*.[2] A very large proportion of the words in both the lists is abstract, and it is impossible

[1] *Romania*, XXIX, 443.

[2] Names of male persons in *-a*, however (as *guia* and *gacha*), are masculine.

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to find any rule for their choice of gender, as Lené declares.[1] In the Provençal of our period, there was apparently a good deal of hesitation as to the gender of these words, since for the same word there is frequently a form in *-a* and a form without it.[2] The masculines are more numerous, however, and seem to have been the original form.

VERB-STEM FORMS

First will be given the masculine or verb-stem forms. Of these the list is rather large.

abric, shelter, refuge	*abricar*, shelter
aclap, piling up, pile	*aclapar*, pile up
acort, peace, union	*acordar*, agree
acus, ground for complaint	*acuzar*, accuse
adop, arrangement	*adobar*, equip
afan, labor	*afanar*, work
afic, attachment, effort	*aficar(se)*, support, attach oneself
agach,[3] ambush, trap	*agachar*, watch
agart, waiting, expectation	*agardar*, guard, watch
agrat, will, wish	*agradar*, please
aïr,[4] anger	*aïrar*, irritate
ajost, collection, assembly	*ajostar*, adjust
amas, pile, heap	*amasar*, amass
apel, appeal	*apelar*, call, appeal
aprest, preparation	*aprestar*, prepare

[1] P. 43.

[2] Cf. the following pairs of words:

coman and *comanda*	*enquest* and *enquesta*
consult and *consulta*	*enten* and *ententa*
deman and *demanda*	*esclat* and *esclata*
demor and *demora*	*esper* and *espera*
destric and *destriga*	*estors* and *estorsa*
empach and *empacha*	*jur* and *jura*
endres and *endresa*	*soan* and *soana*

In Fr., in almost all of the cases in which one of these words or of any other pair has persisted to the present, it is under the feminine form. These probably became popular later than the period studied here through their closer resemblance to the verb-stem.

[3] The word has also personal force, meaning "a watchman."

[4] See also *azir*, below, another form of the word.

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aquit,[1] acquisition, purchase	*aquitar*, acquit, pay off
arap, tearing	*arapar*, snatch away
arazon, reason	*arazonar*, demand, require
arest, arrest, stop	*arestar*, arrest, stop
asolt, forgiveness, gift	*asoltar*, give over
atur, application	*aturar*, fix
autorc, permission	*autorgar*, grant
autrei, permission	*autrejar*, grant
azir, anger, hate	*azirar*, anger
blastim, blame	*blastimar*, blame
burc, push	*burcar*, push
caquet, chatter	*caquetar*, chatter
castei, remonstrance	*castejar* (*-igar*), warn
clam, complaint	*clamar*, complain
coman(t), command	*comandar*, command
compas, compass, measure	*compasar*, measure
comport, conduct	*comportar*, behave
concort, unanimity	*concordar*, agree
confort, comfort	*confortar*, comfort
conjur, supplication	*conjurar*, implore; conspire
conort, encouragement	*conortar*, encourage
consir, chagrin, care	*consirar*, seek, long for
consult, consultation	*consultar*, consult
contest, reply, objection	*contestar*, reply
contrapes,[2] counterweight	*contrapezar*, counterbalance
contrast, contrast	*contrastar*, resist
creban(t), shock	*crebantar*, overwhelm
crit, cry	*cridar*, cry
cug (*cuit*), thought	*cujar* (*-cuidar*), think
debais, decay, ruin	*debaisar*, debase
declin, decline	*declinar*, decline
defit, challenge	*defidar*, challenge
delech, delight	*delechar*, delight
deman(t), demand	*demandar*, demand
demor, dwelling	*demorar*, dwell, remain
denec, denial	*denegar*, deny
deport, amusement	*deportar*, amuse
deroc, mischance, trouble	*derocar*, upset
descan(t), mocking song	*descantar*, ridicule
descarc, discharge, release	*descargar*, discharge

[1] Also found in the phrase *d'un aquit* with adjective force, meaning "similar."

[2] See also p. 468.

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desconort,[1] name of kind of poetry	*desconortar*, trouble
descort, discord	*descordar*, disagree
descug, negligence	*descujar* (*-cuidar*), be careless
desdenh, disdain	*desdenhar*, disdain
desfis, challenge	*desfizar*, challenge
desgrat,[2] ill-will	*degradar* or *desgradar*
deslaus, blame	*deslauzar*, disapprove
deslei, wrong	*desleiar*(*se*), neglect one's duty
desman(*t*), counter-order	*desmandar*, countermand
despens, expense	*despensar*, spend
desprezi, scorn	*despreziar*, depreciate
dessenh, unreasonableness	*dessenar*, drive crazy
destric, embarrassment	*destrigar*, delay
devetz, forbiddance	*devedar*, forbid
devis, discourse	*devizar*, tell, relate
dezir,[3] desire	*dezirar*, desire
domnei, courtesy	*domnejar*, court
egot, gutter	*egotar*, drain
eisec, equal division (of cattle)	*eisegar*, arrange, order
embarc, obstacle	*embargar*, embarrass
empach, prevention	*empachar*, prevent
empelt (*empeut*), graft	*empeltar*, graft
encaus, pursuit	*encausar*, drive away
endres, leading, guidance	*endresar*, set up
enforc,[4] crossways	*enforcar*, become forked
enget, assignment	*engetar*, assign
englut, paste, coating	*engludar*, glue
ensert, tree newly grafted	*ensertar*, graft
entalh, notch, gash	*entalhar*, notch
entreforc,[5] crossroad	*entreforcar*, interfork
entrepaus, joining, insertion	*entrepauzar*, join, insert
enueg,[6] annoyance	*enojar*, annoy
envit,[6] invitation	*envidar*, invite
escamp (*d'abelhas*), beehive	*escampar*, pour { away / out }
esclat, heavy fall; uproar	*esclatar*, burst forth

[1] This is the probable formation, but as *conort* exists, it would be possible to see in the word a prefix-formation.

[2] See prefix-formation, p. 470.

[3] For a discussion of this word, see Lenê, 78.

[4] Or a possible prefix-formation in EN- as given on p. 472, above.

[5] See also nominal prefixes, p. 473, above.

[6] See Lenê, 81–82.

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escoll, hiding-place for listening	*escoltar*, listen
esgar, *esgart*, look	*esgarar*, *esgardar*, look at
esglai, terror	*esglaiar*, terrify
esgot, drainage, flowing off	*esgotar*, drain
eslais, start, outburst	*eslaisar*, dart forth
eslei, justification	*esleiar*, justify, clear
esmai, trouble, emotion	*esmaiar*, trouble, disturb
esparpalh, scattering, dispersal	*esparpalhar*, scatter about
espaut, failing, fault	*espautar*, trouble
espaven, terror	*espaventar*, terrify
esper, hope	*esperar*, hope
espurc, rubbish, sweepings?	*espurgar*, purge
esvelh (in *estar en e.*, pay attention)	*esvelhar* (*se*), awake
evoc,[1] revocation	
fastic, disgust	*fastigar*, feel disgust for
favel, talk	*favelar*, talk
fomen(t), nourishment	*fomentar*, foment, excite
foragiet, advancement	*foragitar*, throw forth
frois, rumpling, bruising	*froisar*, bruise, rumple
gach, watch	*gachar*, watch
gaimen(t), groaning	*gaimentar*, lament
galop, galop	*galopar*, galop
gap, mocking, joke	*gabar*, mock
gazanh, gain	*gazanhar*, gain
govern, guidance, government	*governar*, govern
gragel, noise, uproar	*gragelar*, murmur
grazilh, tickling	*grazilhar*, tickle
graŭs, complaint?	*graŭzar*, complain
grondilh, murmur	*grondilhar*, murmur
guinh, leer, peep	*guinhar*, peep
guit,[2] guide	*guidar*, guide
jangluelh, slander	*janglolhar*, slander
jur, oath	*jurar*, swear
malavech, illness; hardship	*malavejar*, be ill
man, order	*mandar*, order
manleu,[3] borrowing	*manlevar*, borrow

[1] *Evocar* is not found in Prov., although it undoubtedly existed, coming from a Lat. *evocare*. *Evoc* has the meaning that **revoc* (which would be derived from *revocare*) would be expected to have. Thus there is confusion between the two sets of words. *Evocar* disappeared and *evoc* acquired the idea seen in the longer verb. **Revoc* n ay not have existed.

[2] One of the very few formations of this kind denoting a person.

[3] See note at the end of the list of words ending in *-a*, p. 548.

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mescap, mischief, harm	*mescabar*, lack
mespec, negligence	*mespecar*, be negligent
mespretz, scorn	*mesprezar*, scorn, despise
nec, denial, refusal	*negar*, deny
oblic, pledging, pawning	*obligar*, pledge, pawn
oblit, forgetfulness	*oblidar*, forget
pantais, exhaustion	*pantaisar*, swoon
percas, *percatz*, striving	*percasar*, strive
perfors, striving	*perforsar*, strive
permut, exchange	*permudar*, exchange
perpar, offer, presentation	*perparar*, offer, present
perport, behavior	*perportar* (*se*), behave
pertus, hole	*pertusar*, pierce
pesi, breaking? (*pesi de nau* = shipwreck)	*pesiar*, break to pieces
plor, tear	*plorar*, weep
port, bearing	*portar*, bear
prepaus, resolution, design	*prepauzar*, resolve
prest, loan	*prestar*, lend
prezic, preaching	*prezicar*, preach
quil, piercing cry	*quilar*, shriek
reclam, claim, demand	*reclamar*, claim
relais, relaxation	*relaisar*, relax
renom,[1] renown	*renomnar*, name again
renou, usury	*renovar*, renew
repropch, reproach	*repropchar*, reproach
retalh, cutting	*retalhar*, cut
revelh, awakening	*revelhar*, awake
rozilh, rust, rusting	*rozilhar*, rust
soan, scorn	*soanar*, disdain
talh, cutting	*talhar*, cut, trim
tast, trace	*tastar*, try, touch
toc, touch	*tocar*, touch
torn, turn	*tornar*, turn
tornei, tourney	*tornejar*, turn about
trebol,[2] trouble	*trebolar*, trouble
tremol, trembling	*tremolar*, tremble

[1] Not a certain postverbal formation, although the Fr. *renom* is classed as such by Lenê (p. 92). For the Prov. *renom*, as well as for the derived *renomada*, we should expect an infinitive **renomar* instead of *renomnar*. The Prov. words, may, however, have been influenced by the Fr. *renom* and *renommé*. See *renomada*, under -ADA, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Fr. *trouble*, Lenê, 97.

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trep, dance	*trepar*, stamp
tric, trickery	*tricar*, trick, cheat
tron, thunder	*tronar*, thunder
trot, trot	*trotar*, trot
vet, forbiddance	*vedar*, forbid
vol, flight	*volar*, fly

Formations of this kind among verbs ending in *-er* are as follows:

captenh,[1] conduct	*captener(se)*, behave
complanh, complaint	*complanher*, complain
descreis, decrease	*descreiser*, decrease
estors, distortion, dislocation	*estorser*, twist
jatz,[2] lodging	*jazer*, lie
mantenh,[1] maintenance	*mantener*, maintain
resort,[3] spring	
tenh, tint	*tenher*, dye, tint
val, value	*valer*, be worth
vol, wish	*voler*, wish

Several nouns drawn from verbs in *-re* are also found:

aten(t), waiting	*atendre*, wait
destolh, detour	*destolre*, take off
enders, elevation	*enderdre* } raise *enderzer* }
enten(t), waiting,[4] intention, design	*entendre*, hear, intend
esbat, play, sport	*esbatre*, rejoice; take pains (?)

There are also many nouns drawn from the conjugation in *-ir:*

crois, crackling	*croisir*, crush, crackle
defuch, see *defucha*	
depart, departure	*departir*, depart

[1] See note at the end of the lists of the words ending in *-a*, p. 548.

[2] See note at the end of the lists of verb-stem formations.

[3] The only verb found is *resorzer* from *resurgere*. The simple verb *sortir* exists, however, and *resortir* may possibly be assumed, giving the postverbal noun *resort* just as in Fr. *ressort*. The Prov. word, as well as the Fr. one, has also the legal meaning of "jurisdiction."

[4] *Enten* seems to have, therefore, in one example the meaning of *aten*.

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escarn, mockery, derision	*escarnir*, mock
escop, spittle	*escopir*, spit
escrois, thunderclap	*escroisir*, crack, crush
glat, yelling	*glatir*, yell
gronh, growling; snout	*gronhir*, growl
reten(t), tinkling	*retentir*, resound

NOTE.—In the above lists, although the greater part of the words is purely abstract, many of them tend toward concrete force, especially with the meaning of something made or formed by the action of the verb.[1] From this meaning may have been developed the idea of place seen in some words,[2] and a kind of collective force seen in others.[3] Instrumental force is seen in some words,[4] and the idea of the agent in a very few others.[5]

FORMS ENDING IN *-e*

Besides all those words which are in form purely and simply the stems of verbs, there are the words ending in *-e* and the ones ending in *-a*. Of the former there are not many examples, and in all of them except *esclaire* and *repaire*,[6] the *-e* may be explained as the vowel of support for the combination of consonants which precedes it. The list follows:[7]

atempre, proportion, moderation	*atemprar*, moderate
camje, change	*camjar*, change

[1] For example, *descan*, *desconort*, *embarc*, *encastre* (see following list), *enforc*, *ensert*, *entreforc*, *pertus*, *trauc*.

[2] As *repaire*, from such a starting-point as found in *enforc* and *entreforc*.

[3] Such as *escombre* (see following list) and *espurc*.

[4] *Escop* and *gronh*.

[5] As in *guit*. *Escamp* is hard to classify.

[6] The *-e* in these two words is rather more difficult to explain. It may have been due to the influence of the Fr. forms *éclaire* (existing beside *éclair*) and *repaire*. It is worthy of note, however, that *-air* never stands at the end of words in Prov. We find, for example, *doaire* and *eiviaire*, in which the *-aire* comes from -ARIUM. It may, therefore, be unnecessary to assume Fr. influence.

[7] For *enclaustre*, a possible postverbal formation on *enclaustrar*, see the nominal prefix EN-, p. 471.

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caple,[1] blow	*caplar*, cut into, strike
dopte, doubt	*doptar*, doubt
encastre, window-frame; pyx	*encastrar*, inlay
encombre, hindrance, obstacle	*encombrar*, hinder, encumber
encontre, encounter	*encontrar*, encounter
esclaire, brightening	*esclairar*, brighten
escombre, cleanings, rubbish	*escombrar*, clean
escomenge, excommunication	*escomenjar*, excommunicate
mescomte, miscount, mistake	*mescomtar*, miscount
repaire, abode	*repairar*, return, repair
selge, seat	*seljar*, seat
tempre, tempering	*temprar*, temper

There is only one word formed on a verb not ending in *-ar*. This is:

murtre, murder	*murtrir*, murder

FORMS ENDING IN *-a*

Next should come the words ending in *-a*. These, as might be expected from the ending, are feminine.[2] In many cases, which will be given below, both a masculine (or verb-stem form) and a feminine form in *-a* exist. The list of words in *-a* follows, the words formed from verbs in *-ar* coming first.

acensa, assessment	*acensar* (*acesar*), assess
ajuda, aid	*ajudar*, aid, help
arqueja, arrow	*arquejar*, bend like a bow (also shoot [with bow[3] ?])
atainа, care, trouble	*atainar* (*se*), trouble oneself
comanda, command	*comandar*, command
compra, purchase	*comprar*, buy

[1] Levy gives *chaple*, but *caple* seems more in accordance with the spelling adopted both here and in his dictionary. There is also another word, *caplei*, having real abstract force, meaning "a cutting down," or "slaughter." It is evidently connected in some way with *caplar*, but the ending *-ei* is not thoroughly clear. It seems as though **caplejar* must have existed, possibly formed by the analogy of *castejar* (<*castigare*). *Caplei* would then be an ordinarily formed postverbal noun.

[2] Except the words denoting male persons.

[3] Cf. O. Fr. *archoiier* as given in Levy I, 85.

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consulta, advice	*consultar*, advise
demanda, demand	*demandar*, ask, demand
demora, dwelling	*demorar*, dwell
desferra, remains	*desferrar*, take iron off
desmezura, excess	*desmezurar*, go to excess
destriga, hindrance	*destrigar*, hinder
disputa, dispute	*disputar*, dispute
embosca, ambush	*emboscar*, put in ambush
empacha, prevention	*empachar*, prevent
empensa, undertaking, design	*empensar*, plan
encorsa, incurrence of penalty, confiscation	*encorsar*, confiscate, sequestrate
emplega, purchase	*emplegar*, purchase
endresa, guidance	*endresar*, straighten, set right
endura, suffering	*endurar*, endure
engana, deceit	*enganar*, deceive
enterva, question	*entervar*, question
enversa, deceit, fraud	*enversar*, turn around, over
esclata, lineage	*esclatar*, burst forth
escolta, place for listening	*escoltar*, listen
espaventa, scarecrow	*espaventar*, terrify
espera, waiting	*esperar*, wait, hope
espia, spy	*espiar*, spy out
esproa, test, proof	*esproar*, prove, test
estima, estimation	*estimar*, estimate
exonia, exoneration	*exoniar*, exonerate
gacha, sentinel	*gachar*, watch
gauja, gauge	*gaujar*, gauge
gratuza, grater	*gratuzar*, scratch, scrape
grauza, dispute, controversy	*grauzar*, complain
guida, guide	*guidar*, guide
jangla, slander	*janglar*, rail at, mock
josta, joust, tourney	*jostar*, joust
jura, oath	*jurar*, swear
laisa, testament	*laisar*, leave
lanha, groan	*lanhar*, groan
mescla, mixture	*mesclar*, mix
mostra, sign, proof, play	*mostrar*, show, display
muda, change, retreat; space of time	*mudar*, change
muza, vain waiting	*muzar*, loiter, dawdle
paga, pay	*pagar*, pay
peca, fault, sin	*pecar*, sin

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permuta, exchange	*permutar*, exchange
pesca, fishing	*pescar*, fish
protesta, protest	*protestar*, protest
soana, repulse, rejection	*soanar*, disdain
sobra, excess, remainder	*sobrar*, exceed
taina, delay	*tainar*, defer
talha, cutting	*talhar*, cut
toca, touch	*tocar*, touch
torna, return	*tornar*, turn
trastomba, gymnastic art	*trastombar*, fall, tumble; upset
tresca, dance	*trescar*, dance
tria, sorting	*tria*, sort
uca, crier	*ucar*, cry, call
veda†, forbiddance	*vedar*, forbid

Among the words in *-a*, as well as among those formed of verb-stems alone, there are a few formations on verbs other than those in *-ar*. Those formed on verbs in *-er* are as follows:

estorsa, tearing away	*estorser*, twist, tear away
seza, seat	*sezer*, seat, sit

Those formed on verbs in *-re* are:

carvenda,[1] high price	*carvendre*, sell dearly
descenda, humiliation	*descendre*, lower
esperda, loss	*esperdre*, lose completely
venda, sale	*vendre* sell

And on verbs in *-ir*, there are:

defalha, default	*defalhir*, fail, be missing
deviza, division	*devizir*, divide

[1] See note at the end of the lists of words ending in *-a*, p. 548.

†Another word resembling a postverbal is *amola*, a small bottle, but it seems impossible to connect it with *amolar*, sharpen, formed on *mola*, millstone.

It will be observed that not all of these words are pure abstracts, and that many of the non-abstract words denote the instrument with which the action was performed. Words of this kind are *arqueja*, *espaventa*, *gauja*, *gratuza*, *laisa*, and *seza*. Other words denote persons—the agent of an action. Such words are *crida*, *espia*, *gacha*, *guida*, and *uca*, three of which are of Germ. origin. The only word denoting place is *escolta*, for which cf. the Fr. *écoute*, which has not, however, the same meaning. See Lenć, pp. 28, 33, and 115.

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esquerna, mockery	*esquernir*, mock
falha, fault	*falhir*, fail
ofra,† offer	*ofrir*, offer

NOTE.—The words *captenh*, *carvenda*, *manleu*, and *mantenh* have been listed in their proper places above. Such words are postverbal nouns formed from compound verbs.

B. VERB-FORMS USED AS NOUNS

Under the general heading of nouns formed from verbs, the use as nouns of certain forms of the verb with no change in form may be included. The verb-forms used in this way are the infinitive, the present participle, and the past participle.

Infinitives in *-ar* and *-er* are found used as nouns. Those in *-ar* are:

cantar, song
felenar, anger
gostar, lunch

Those in *-er* are:

maner, manor
plazer, pleasure
poder, power
saber, knowledge
voler, desire††

The present participles of the verbs ending in *-ar* and *-er* are also used as nouns.

Present participles of verbs in *-ar* are seen in:

auzulan,[1] flatterer	
demoran, remainder	*demorar*, remain

[1] *Auzular* is not found, but undoubtedly existed. Another formation on this same hypothetical verb is *auzulador*, given under the suffix -ADOR. **Auzular* would come from the Lat. *adulare*, though **azular* would be the regular form coming from this verb.

† Another word that resembles a postverbal noun derived from a verb in *ir-* is *defucha*, flight, evasion, but it is probably formed by the analogy of *conducha*, a past participle used as a noun. This use is common and should be carefully distinguished from the postverbal formation. For this and other examples of past participles used as nouns, see p. 549.

†† All of these words have the same use in Fr.

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levan, rise; East[1]	*levar*, raise
marejan, sailor	*marejar*, sail
montan, increase	*montar*, mount
parlan, place for speaking	*parlar*, speak
pezan, weight	*pezar*, weigh
poblan, inhabitant	*poblar*, inhabit

Present participles of verbs in *-er* are seen in:

fenhen, idler	*fenher*, feign, pretend
jazen, woman in childbed	*jazer*, lie
manan,[2] inhabitant	*maner*, stay, remain
ponen, West[1]	*poner*, put, set

The use of the past participle as a noun is much more usual than that of either infinitive or present participle. Nouns having the usual endings for this form—*-at*, *-it*, and *-ut*—have, however, already been treated under the suffix -AT.[3] There are, nevertheless, a few examples of irregular past participles used as nouns which should be mentioned here. Such are:

bendich, fine speech, eulogy	*bendir*, praise, bless
conducha, conduct	*conduire*, conduct
confich, preserve	*confire*, preserve
defacha, flight; subterfuge	*defaire*, undo, ruin
defrach, division (of property)	*defranher*, break, lack
defucha, subterfuge	*defugir*, flee
destorta, wrong, error, perversity	*destorser*, untwist, turn aside
endich, tax, duty	*endire*, impose
enduch, plastering, coating	*enduire*, coat, cover over
entrach,[4] sticking-plaster	
opresa, oppression	*opremir*, oppress
profes, one who has made a profession	*proferre*, proffer, pronounce
promesa,† promise	*prometre*, promise

[1] The meanings of *levan* and *ponen* are due to their use in the phrases *sol levan* and *sol ponen*.

[2] *Manan* instead of *manen* appears to indicate Fr. influence. Cf. the Fr. *manant*.

[3] Part I, chap. i, p. 149, above.

[4] No Prov. verb is found, and the word probably comes from a Lat. *intractus* from *intrahere*.

† Many of the words in this list come from Lat. past participles, some of which were already used as nouns. In this kind of formation, Prov. has little that is new.

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CHAPTER II

COMPOUND WORDS

The last of the regular methods of word-formation to be treated is that of composition. All of the methods thus far described may be classed under the general heading of derivation, for hitherto the suffix and the prefix have been the distinguishing marks in the formation of words, which have been shown to be formed by the addition—or, as in the case of postverbals, the removal—of one or both of them. In the case of composition, however, there is neither suffix nor prefix to consider: the component parts are individual words, recognized as such, and welded together by different processes, which will form the subject-matter of this chapter.

An exhaustive study of composition in French has been made by Darmesteter, who divides his compounds of French origin into three main divisions which he calls "juxtaposition," "composition by particles," and "composition proper," each of which main headings has its particular subdivisions. Darmesteter's scheme cannot be followed closely here, however, since his second division—the composition by particles—has already been fully treated under the title of prefix-formation. If composition be the formation of words from two or more other words recognized as such, this process does not belong here, but is, instead, rather one of derivation. There remain, then, the other two processes called by Darmesteter "juxtaposition" and "composition proper." The difference between these two processes is explained by Darmesteter in his introduction. The essential feature of a compound word, according to him, is ellipsis. In the

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French *timbre-poste* or the Provençal *aiganeu*, some preposition, probably *de*, although not expressed, is to be understood. This is the simplest case; in other true compounds the ellipsis is not, perhaps, so obvious, but it is present in every case in one form or another. Words formed by juxtaposition, on the other hand, contain no ellipsis. They are formed of an adjective and a noun used together, which, through constant association, have become one word. The adjective consequently agrees with the noun, and this agreement sometimes is the distinguishing mark of juxtaposed words as opposed to the compound proper. Darmesteter divides his chapter on juxtaposition into several sections, as "Formations by Co-ordination," "Formations by Subordination," etc., but for Provençal it seems unnecessary to make any such subdivisions. In the Provençal formations by juxtaposition, practically all the nouns, which, of all the parts of speech treated, have the most complicated methods of formation, are of the adjective-noun or the noun-adjective type above mentioned; and the type of which *chef-d'œuvre* is an example for French, the type with the preposition appearing in the compound, is scarcely to be found in Provençal. In the cases in which there is a subordination of one noun to another, the preposition is only understood and not expressed, wherefore there is an ellipsis, and the word would be classed by Darmesteter as a compound proper. What Darmesteter calls "composition by synecdoche" can be found at most, also, in a very few words. It is clear, therefore, that the words formed by juxtaposition, being all of one type, can best be treated together as one section under the general heading of compound words. In the case of nouns, which, as has been said, are the most complex of the parts of speech treated, juxtaposed words

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are simply those formed of a noun and an adjective, (or adverb) as opposed to two different cases in which the component parts are two nouns, and one in which they are a verb and a noun.

Instead, therefore, of the main divisions of "juxtaposition," "composition by particles," and "composition proper," in accordance with the plan pursued throughout this work the principal divisions will be made according to the kind of word formed, and will consequently be: "Nouns," "Adjectives," and "Verbs." Under these headings, the different methods of formation will be studied independently for each part of speech.

A. NOUNS

I. FORMED OF AN ADJECTIVE AND A NOUN

The first case to be treated is that of the noun formed of an adjective and a noun, which, as has already been stated, is the type of the formations by juxtaposition, and is probably the only example of this process in Provençal. The question as to which of the two parts of the compound precedes the other is a delicate one, and seems to be connected with the whole subject of the position of adjectives. This is a rather broad subject, as there are so many things which may influence an adjective's position, such as considerations of style, emphasis, etc. Nevertheless, the modern Romance languages are similar enough in regard to position to show certain underlying principles which must have prevailed in the earliest times. Certain adjectives, as those for "good," "bad," "saint," or "holy," and numerals regularly precede their nouns, and other adjectives, as for example the one for "new" (Latin *novus*), depend on their precise meaning for their position in respect to the nouns they modify. The evidence of the

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Romance languages would tend to show also that certain kinds of adjectives, as those of color, shape, adjectives derived from proper names, and past participles must always have followed their nouns,[1] uninfluenced by considerations of style. These are, in fact, the only rules which can possibly govern the position of the adjective and noun in words formed by juxtaposition. To be welded together in a single word, the adjective and the noun must have been used together often in the form in which we find them.

The above rules are borne out by the examples we find in Provençal of the formations by juxtaposition. Darmesteter states that in French, the determinant (here, adjective) precedes in a large majority of the examples.[2] This is in accordance with what Meyer-Lübke says of the usual position of the adjective in post-Classic Latin.[3] In Provençal, the number of examples of the two types of words is still more more evenly divided; yet both lists are too small to prove anything but a submission to the main rules mentioned above.

a) In the following cases, the adjective precedes the noun:

belacara,[4] good cheer; table-service, place at table
belagarda,[5]
bonaur, good fortune
falsarenha, nearhand rein

[1] Yet even these must have depended to some extent on the time and place of their formation. Thus in *albaspina* (Fr. *aubépine*) we have the adjective of color preceding.

[2] *Mots Composés*, 23. [3] III, 814.

[4] From *bela*, fine, and *cara*, face. This last is, however, of the same origin as the Engl. "cheer," which in the phrase "good cheer" has often come to mean "food and drink" or "entertainment," thus not differing much in meaning from the Prov. word.

[5] Not listed in Raynouard or Levy, but given in the example placed under *cautpres* as another illustration of a compound word. It would appear from its formation to mean "fair guardian." See Levy, I, 230.

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malacordansa, quarrel
malaize, discomfort
malapaga,[1] debtor's prison
malavezina, engine of war
malcor, anger
malprofech, dishonest gains (?)
megdia, noon
megfraire, half-brother
megjorn, noon
megloc, middle
megpe,[2] (?)
mejaseror, half-sister
midons, my lady
milfolh, milfoil, yarrow
milgrana, pomegranate
mossenhor, my lord
orremal, epilepsy
prim-caresme, Ash Wednesday
primver, Spring
salvagarda,† safeguard

[1] Another word ending in *paga* is *mortapaga*, meaning "a company of 12,000 infantry." It would appear to be formed of *morta*, dead, and *paga*, pay, and the order of words would be unusual.

[2] The precise meaning is not made clear by the example.

† Also probably of Lat. origin are *albespina*, hawthorn, and *auriban*, gold banner, *auriflama*, oriflamme, *auriflor*, banner with a flower of gold, and *auripel* or *aurpel*, tinsel. The use of *auri* from *aureus* in these last words indicates Lat. origin. *Auriflor* is, indeed, found in the texts as *auria flor*. Cf. also the Fr. *oriflamme* and *oripeau*. In the *Mots Composés*, this last word is listed under another kind of formation. More or less obscure words belonging here are *plenega*, ewer, watering-pot, and *princol*, wine that comes from the press before the grapes have been pressed. *Plevega* has been suggested as a correction for *plenega*, in which case the word would be formed of a verb and noun, the verb being *pleure*, rain. But unless the meaning is only "watering-pot," this formation is hardly probable. On the other hand, *plenega* would have to be formed of *plen*, full, and *ega*, water, and as "ewer" would indicate a formation of "full of water" rather than "full water," there would seem to be a case relation between the two words, which indicates formation in the Lat. period. *Princol* seems to be formed of *prim*, first, and *col*, flow. *Col* with the meaning of "flow" is not found. It would seem to be a postverbal noun formed on *colar*.

It may be observed that in almost all the words in this list the adjective is one meaning "good," "fine," "bad," "half," or a numeral or possessive adjective.

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b) In the following cases, the adjective is placed after the noun:

annou, New Year
arcvoltut, arch, niche, embrasure
(*campoliera*,[1] olive-grove)
capvan, a kind of verse
corpmarin, cormorant
facabela, fair face?[2]
favafracha[3] (also *faufrach*), broken bean
festanal, yearly festival
jurverl, verjuice
malafacha[3] (also *malfach*), misdeed;
damage done to fields
manmesa,[4] seizure, execution
mantersa,[5] towel
margras, Shrove-Tuesday
ormier, pure gold; also gold ornament
pasaaguda, bitter grape(?)
pedrech, pier, upright
pelegata,[6] soft flesh

[1] Apparently formed of *camp* and *oliera*, olive-bearing, the word is instead probably formed of two nouns. For fuller treatment see the nouns formed of two nouns, p. 558, n. 2, below.

[2] Apparently the name of a horse, the original form of the first part possibly being *faça*. The position of *bela* after the noun instead of before it, as in *belacara* which originally had the same meaning, is to be observed.

[3] *Favafracha* and *malafacha*, as may be seen from the list, are found also as *faufrach* and *malfach*, or in other words, a masc. and fem. form exist side by side in these two cases. *Faufrach* and *malafacha* appear to be only analogical forms, however. The former is possibly due to the analogy of *naufrach* (Lat. *naufragium*). *Malfach* is from the Lat. *malefactum*, an adverb-noun combination.

[4] From *man*, hand, +*mes*(*a*), placed. A similar formation, *manumissio*, exists in Lat., but *manmesa* is independent of it, as may be seen both in its form and in its meaning.

[5] From *man*, hand, +*tersa*, smooth, polished? *Ters* is not in Raynouard, and the little Levy gives only the translation *denué* under the heading of the verb *terzer*. *Ters* is, however, of the same origin as the Sp. *terso*, and would seem to have a similar meaning.

[6] This word is very puzzling and may not belong here, as it is possible that it is of Lat. origin, coming from some such form as **pellicata*. If a Prov. formation, it may be a combination of *pel*, skin, and the past

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penegre, blackfoot (a kind of bird)
pevermelh, a kind of bird
pretzfach, forfeit
ratapenada, bat
terramajor,† Holy Land

II. FORMED OF AN ADVERB AND A NOUN

Another kind of formation similar to the one just described is that in which the component parts are an adverb (instead of an adjective) and a noun. Almost the only adverbs used in this way, however, are *ben*, *mal*, and *non*, and the nouns used with *ben* and *mal* are ones derived from verbs. The relation in such cases between the two parts of the compound is again, therefore, simply one of juxtaposition, as above described.

There are not very many examples of this type of formation:

benplazemén,[1] pleasure, satisfaction
benvenguda, welcome
maisvalensa, greater value, advantage

---

participle of *legar*, to melt or soften. The form should then be *pelegada*. The difficulties are further increased by the existence of a word *pelegantier*, skin-dealer—which thus has an *n* to be accounted for—and a form *peleganto* in Mistral.

[1] The formation of this word appears to be *ben* + *plazemen*, although *plazemen* is not found. Neither is there found, on the other hand, a verb *benplazer* on which the noun might have been formed by means of the suffix -EMEN. Yet a parasynthetic formation with *ben* as prefix seems least probable of all, as nominal parasyntheta even with the commonest prefixes are unusual. See also hybrids, p. 578.

† Compound words of this type of Lat. origin are *aurfres*, orphrey< *aurum phrygium*, later *phrysium*; *austarda*, bustard<*avis tarda*; *avestruz*, ostrich<*avis struthio*; *estafizagria*, stavesacre<*estafiz agria*; and *naufrach*, shipwreck<*naufragium*.

In the above list, many of the adjectives are past participles, as in *arcvoltut*, *favafracha*, *malafacha*, *manmesa*, *mantersa*, *pretzfrach*, and *ratapenada*; some are adjectives of color, as seen in *jurvert*, *penegre*, and *pevermelh*, and the others are all descriptive adjectives, which seem to have had in O. Prov., as in the Romance languages of today, the position after the noun.

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mensvalensa, smaller value
noncura, indifference
nonfe, infidelity
nongarda, negligence
nonre(n), nothing
nonsen, nonsense
nonsenhor,† unlawful possessor

To this list should be added a few other words in which the second part of the compound has the form of a verb. It is, indeed, in all cases, the infinitive used as a noun. The examples are:

benestar, well-being
malestar, discomfort
malsaber, dissatisfaction
nonpoder, impotence
nonsaber, ignorance
nonvaler, lack of value

III. FORMED OF TWO NOUNS

This is the kind of formation which is called composition proper by Darmesteter as distinguished from the formations by juxtaposition above treated. Not that all French nouns composed of two nouns would necessarily be placed by him under that heading, but if the distinguishing mark of a compound proper is an ellipsis, then for Provençal, a compound proper and a noun formed of two nouns are practically synonymous.[1]

The most obvious case of ellipsis among the words formed of two nouns is that in which one of the two appears to be in the genitive case. In other words, the preposition *de*, or occasionally some other preposition, is

[1] The only certain examples of words formed of two nouns with no ellipsis, but having a preposition between them, appear to be *coragola* (one with) his heart in his mouth, and *capafoc*, andiron.

† All of the words beginning with *non* have as their second part a simple noun. In the other cases, the second part is a noun derived from a verb. In the second list, this part is a simple verb-form used as a noun.

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understood, but not expressed. Here again, sometimes the modified word (*déterminé*), and sometimes the modifying word (*déterminant*) precedes. In this case, however, it seems impossible to discover any rule of order.

a) In the following examples, the principal or modified word precedes:

aiganeu, snow-water
aigaros(a), rose-water
arcs. marti(n), rainbow (literally bow [of] St. Martin)
barbajohan,[1] horned owl
campoliera,[2] olive-grove
dialus, Monday (*dibes*, Friday, etc.) (literally day [of] Moon, etc.)
fumterra, fumitory (a plant) (literally smoke [of] earth. Cf. Engl. "earth-smoke")
intrat-caresme, Shrovetide (literally entrance [of] Lent)
lachuscla, wolf's milk
monjoia, war-cry of the French[3]
palagrilh,[4] a kind of implement (literally handle [for] gridiron)
palfer, iron lever

[1] Found also in Fr. and written by Darmesteter, in *Mots Composés*, *barbe-à-Jean* as well as *barbajan*.

[2] *Campoliera* is decidedly peculiar in form, but the fem. ending of *-oliera* makes it impossible for this word to be an adjective, since in the formations by juxtaposition, as has been seen above, there is agreement between the two parts. If the second part of this compound is a noun, however, *-oliviera* instead of *-oliera* would be the proper form. The form we find appears to be due to some confusion, possibly with the adjective *olier*, oil-producing. The words for "oil" and "olive" are, indeed, badly confused in Prov. Levy gives an example of *oliu* instead of *olivier*, meaning "olive-tree"; also an example of *oliviera* instead of *oliera*, meaning "oil-can."

[3] The Fr. *monjoie*, probably for *mont-(de)-joie*, hence listed here. See Körting, No. 6275; also *Romania*, XXXI, 416.

[4] Formed of *pala* (stick or handle) +*grilh* (gridiron). With this meaning, however, only *grilha* and not *grilh* is found. Yet *grilh* probably had this meaning too. Cf. the Fr. *gril*.

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peirafuga,[1] flint (literally stone [for] fire. Cf. English "fire-stone")
rampalm,† Palm-Sunday (literally branch [of] palm, English "palm-branch")

b) The modifying word precedes in the examples in the following list:

capmalh, head-armor
cordolor, pity, compassion
dendolor, toothache
formicaleon,[2] ant-catcher
galcan, galcantar, cockcrow
pelpartidura, part in the hair
perozina, resin
terragarda,[3] keeping up of standing crop
terratremol,†† earthquake

[1] *Peirafuga* is peculiar in form in that it is clearly made up of *peira*, stone, and *fuc*, fire, probably connected by the preposition *a*—just like the Fr. *pierre-à-feu*—and yet has the change of *fuc* to *fuga*. Just why *fuc* should have taken a feminine ending is not clear, and Thomas, who first lists the word, offers no explanation of it (see *Romania*, XXXIV, 200). The only possible one seems to be that the preposition was lost sight of owing to confusion with the feminine ending of *peira*, and that then *fuc*, from its use as an adjective, came finally to be taken for one and made to agree as the adjectives in the formations by juxtaposition did. A case in which the second noun appears to have two forms is *aigaros, aigarosa*.

[2] Possibly Lat. Cf. the Fr. *fourmi-lion*.

[3] Possibly a postverbal formation on *terragardar*.

† There are also to be mentioned a few formations of this kind, but whose parts were joined in Lat. times. Such are *barbajolh*, house leek; *cabiscol*, choir-director; and *vavasor*, vassal of a vassal. Forms corresponding to *barbajolh* and *vavasor* exist in Fr., only in the first case, the Fr. *joubarbe*, the order of the two parts is reversed. The Lat. sources are the phrases *barba jovis* and *vassus vassorum*. The source of *cabiscol* appears to be *caput scholae*. Both this phrase and the compound *capischolus* are found in Du Cange with the meaning which *cabiscol* has.

†† There are also some words of this kind that are not Prov. formations. Of these *cabrefolh*, honeysuckle (<*caprifolium*) and *cordolh*, grief, sorrow (<*cordolium*), are descended from Lat. formations. *Estocfich*, stockfish, appears to be a borrowing of Germ. origin. Other words

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c) There is also a second kind of composition by which compound nouns are formed of two single nouns, called by Darmesteter composition by apposition. In the words formed in this way, neither noun serves to modify the other by any case-relation as was true of those in List *a*. The idea of two distinct objects is conceived at the same time, and the two are used together to describe some single object. This necessarily gives a kind of adjective force to one of the nouns, which is often best rendered in English by an adjective. Thus, for example, *ramfuel* (leaf+branch) may be translated "leafy branch." There are not a great many compounds of this kind in Provençal.[1] The list follows:

arquibanc, bench serving also as a chest
capcazal, chief country-house
cornamuza,[2] bagpipe

[1] Cf. with this brief list the great development this kind of formation has taken in the Romance languages of today, particularly Fr. Observe for example the words denoting the railway conveniences: *wagon-lit*, *wagon-restaurant*, *wagon-cuisine*, *wagon-imprimeur*, etc. In Engl., on the contrary, it is by the preceding process that these and most other words are formed.

[2] A word found in several of the Romance languages, as in Fr., Sp., and It., as well as Prov., thus indicating a probable Lat. origin. Du Cange, indeed, does give *cornamusa*, but only in very late examples, and the other forms are probably all borrowings from Fr. instead of coming from Lat. The first part of the word is clearly *corna*, horn, and the second a **muse* which is found now only in its diminutives *museau* and *musette*. This last word has now the meaning which *muse* must originally have had in the compound.

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almost certainly of Lat. origin, though no Lat. etymon is found, are *pancogola* and *pancosier*, baker (which seem to come from **panicocula* and **panicociarius*) and *masapan*, a small box, apparently for carrying either letters or candy. For *pancogola* and *pancosier*, see *Essais*, 343–44. *Masapan* is of the same origin as the Fr. *massepain*, the Sp. *mazapan*, the It. *marzapane*, and the Engl. "marchpane," though the precise source of the series appears uncertain. The meaning of the Prov. word, however, is different from that of most of the other words, which is "a kind of paste made of almonds and sugar."

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esquilgacha,[1] watch, sentinel
foldat-saber, mixture of folly and wisdom
merdafer,[2] scrap-iron
porc-espin,[3] porcupine
portafenestra, window extending to the level of the floor
ramfuel, leafy branch
terramaire,† Mother Earth

IV. FORMED OF A VERB AND A NOUN

The only remaining kind of compound nouns consists of those formed of a verb and a noun.[4] Almost all of the words of this class denote concrete objects or instruments, although a few denote persons. In other words, they denote the thing or the person performing the special function described by the compound. Thus, for example, *bufa-foc* (blower) means "that which blows the fire" and *bufa-tizon* "the person who blows a firebrand." There is apparently, therefore, an ellipsis of "that which" or of "the one who," and it might easily be supposed that the verb in the compound was in the indicative. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Darmesteter has very clearly shown that this kind of ellipsis would be incredible, and that, whatever tense may seem obvious

[1] From *esquila*, bell, and *gacha*, watch? Both these words are of Germ. origin, and the compound may have been a Germ. formation borrowed in Prov. like *estocfich* above, which might possibly be placed in this list.

[2] For this word, see *Romania*, XXXIV, 196.

[3] Cf. the Fr. *porc-épic* and similar forms in other languages.

[4] Aside from the possible case of a word formed of two imperatives, the only example of which appears to be *can-plor* (gully-hole; water-pot) also written *cantaplora*, probably under the influence of the Fr. *chantepleure*.

† A formation similar to those in the list, but certainly of Lat. origin is *domerdeu*, Lord God<*dominus deus*.

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when these forms are analyzed, when the words were formed, nevertheless, not the indicative but the imperative was used. The indicative was supposed to be present in the forms when they were examined later on, and consequently appears in new analogical formations. But the simple people who made the first forms, being more imaginative, personified inanimate objects, and addressed them and made them speak. Hence the use of the imperative.

If inanimate objects, therefore, be personified, they may speak or be spoken to, as well as be spoken of, and Darmesteter gives examples of each type for French. For Provençal, however, all of the words are of the type of *bufa-foc* and *bufa-tizon*, in which the object as well as the person may be supposed to be addressed. Thus: "You [object], blow the fire!" and "You [person], blow the firebrand!" The other classes are lacking in Provençal.

In the two examples given above, the verb has a direct object as its complement, which is the case in the great majority of examples. There is, however, one case at least, in which the object is not direct but is connected with the verb by means of a preposition, and several probable cases of a verb accompanied not by a direct object, but by a noun in the vocative. In other words, the verb in these cases is intransitive, and the noun forming part of the compound is the one addressed. The lists follow.

a) The verb is accompanied by a direct object in

bufafoc, blower
bufa-tizon, one who blows a firebrand
cachapech, parapet
calcatrepa, star-thistle (cover-trap)
cercapotz,[1] a hooked stick used in cleaning wells

[1] The word is given by Thomas (*Romania*, XXXIV, 180).

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cobricap, veil for covering the head
cocha-disnar, cook
cornavin, the one who gives the signal for wine-drinking
crebacor, a heart-rending thing
crebamostier, one who breaks into a monastery
destrui-cortezia, one who disturbs court-etiquette
ensuma-man, towel
escalfalech, bed-warmer
gachafoc, andiron
gachaporta, sentinel
gardabratz, armlet; splint
gardacors, long shirt (*garda*, protect+*cors*, body)
gardamanjar, pantry, larder
gardatasas, one in charge of cups, etc.
lavamans, towel
liabratz, sling
liacamba, garter
liapel, head-dress
mactafelon, whip used in flogging sailors (*macta*, kill+*felon*, rascal)
mandagach, one who calls the watch together
matagilos, lance (killer of jealous men)
nega-barnatge, destroyer of nobility
parabanda, parapet, balustrade (*para*, protect+*banda*, side)
parafol,[1] scantling
parapech, parapet (*para*, protect+*pech*, breast)
paraven, screen (*para*, protect [from]+*ven*, wind)

[1] *Fol* is found for the second part, but it probably should be corrected to *-folh*, meaning "plank." *Parafolha* is also found meaning "garret"(?).

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pasabarrador,[1] a kind of metal (?) (for heavy barring?)
pasalimalha, sieve for iron filings
pasataulada, a kind of nail (*pasa*, pass through + *taulada*, plank
pasatemps, pastime
picaplach, seeker of lawsuits
portaescusel, shield-bearer
portafais, porter
portaletras, letter-carrier
portapanier, basket-carrier
portapesa, punch (*porta*, carry [away] + *pesa*, piece)
talhapena,† pencutter

b) The verb is accompanied by an indirect complement. The only example appears to be:

crop-en-camin, coward (one who cowers on the way)

[1] *Barrador* is found both in the phrase *clavel barrador* and in the phrase *clavel de barrador*, and, in the same passage with the latter, is the phrase *clavel de pasabarrador*. Thus *barrador* is used first as an adjective, then as a noun; but the phrases *de barrador* and *de pasabarrador* are adjective phrases modifying *clavel*. *De barrador* seems to mean "for barring" and *de pasabarrador* would appear from this to mean "for heavy barring," *pasa* here having the intensive force that it has in *pasagran*, etc.

† Several other words whose formation is uncertain should be mentioned here, although, in some cases, the formation of the words is so obscure that they may not belong to this list at all. The less obscure ones, which probably belong here, will be treated first.

Such words are *machacol*, *machaferre*, and *picape*. Of these, *picape*, if it exists, should give no difficulty. It denotes a kind of weapon, and would be formed of *pica* (imperative of *picar*, to prick), + *pe*, foot: but Levy questions the form. *Machaferre*, slag, dross, seems to be composed of the same first part that is in *machacol*, and *fer*(*re*), iron. *Machacol*, machicolation, is a most difficult word to explain because of the other forms found in Prov. and in Fr. It appears to be formed of *machar*, bruise, crush (a dialect form of *macar*?), and *col*, neck, the machicolation being an opening in the floor of a balcony through which missiles were cast on the heads of the enemy. No corresponding simple form is found in O. Fr., but a verb *machecoller* appears. Now, by supposing the existence of a similar verb **machacolar* in Prov., the remaining verbal derivatives *machacolada*, *machacoladura*, and *machacolamen* (see hybrids)

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c) The verb is accompanied by a noun in the vocative. The only examples appear to be:

giraflor, sunflower
grataboisa,[1] scratch-brush
malh-moton, battering-ram
marcape, step (on carriages)

d) Besides all the words denoting persons or concrete things, such as are given above, there are a few words abstract in force, which may be given separately. In three of the four words[2] found, the noun appears to be in the vocative, as in List *c*), whereas in the other word, it is the object of the verb with which it is used. In *baticor* and *fenimon*, the *i* of the verb may be explained as due to the influence of the Italian *batticuore* and *finimondo*, of which the Provençal forms appear to be imitations. The other two words have regular imperative forms:

baticor, beating of the heart
botacais, swelling of the cheeks
fenimon, end of the world
fai-mi-drech, jurisdiction

[1] The usual form of the word for "brush" is *brosa*. Cf., however, the Fr. *gratte-boesse* in which the word for brush is represented by a dialect form.

[2] *Baticor*, *botacais*, and *fenimon*.

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may be explained, as well as the Engl. "machicolation," from the verb "to machicolate." The worst difficulty occurs in attempting to explain the Fr. *machecoulis* or *machicoulis*, which appears as *machecoleis* in O. Fr. (see Godefroy, supplement), and seems to indicate some association with the verb *couler*, to flow. This verb (in Prov. *colar*) may be the real source of the second part of the Fr. and Prov. words both, but the existence of the Prov. *machacol* (and the Engl. "machecole"), as well as the meaning, seems to make *col*, neck, as the source of the second part of the word, more probable, and the appearance of the verb for "to flow" in the Fr. forms due to a later association.

The more obscure words are *picompan*, a kind of dance, and *pitafle*, armorial bearings. This last word appears thoroughly obscure. *Picompan* seems to be formed of *picar*, to strike, and some other word, possibly *plan*, market-place, tournament-field. *Matafiloza*, anis, which resembles in form some of the words in the above list, is not a compound at all.

A word of Lat. origin is *cobresel*, lid<*coopercellum*.

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e) There is one more class of nouns formed of a verb and a noun differing slightly from the preceding words, but represented by very few examples. Here the noun precedes, and the form of the verb is clearly the present participle. In *benstenen* and *logatenen*, the formation is a simple juxtaposition, and the combination forms the adjectives meaning property-holding and place-holding. The nouns of this class are simply adjectives used substantively:

benstenen, heir
logatenen, deputy
mantenen, balustrade
viandan, wayfarer

B. ADJECTIVES

I. FORMED OF A NOUN AND AN ADJECTIVE (OR PARTICIPLE)

There are some words composed of a noun and an adjective that are difficult to classify. Most of these words are translated by Levy as adjectives, but in the examples that he gives of them, they are apparently nouns with a specialized meaning. These nouns, however, always designating certain kinds of verse, could hardly have been formed as nouns for this purpose, particularly as adjectives of precisely the same formation and containing the noun *cap*, which occurs in most of the nouns, exist beside them.[1] These words seem, on the contrary, to have been used before this as adjectives with certain words indicating verse, as *vers*, *cobla*,[2] etc. Then, as was

[1] It would be possible to assume that certain of these names of verse-forms were used originally as nouns, as, for example, *captrencat*, in describing a kind of verse with a part lacking, but this seems improbable. In *capenclin* we see the same kind of formation appearing only as adjective, and most of the other words beginning with *cap-* appear both as noun and adjective. See the list below.

[2] The phrases *coblas capcaudadas* and *coblas capfinidas* are actually found beside the noun *capcaudat* and form the best argument for the previous use as adjectives of all the nouns beginning with *cap*.

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so often the case, the adjective was used alone, the noun first being understood, and later became a noun, pure and simple.

These words, found as adjectives, therefore, at once suggest a comparison with the other words formed of a noun and an adjective—namely the nouns formed by juxtaposition. In accordance with that class of words, *bocafort*, for example, should mean "strong mouth" instead of "strong-mouthed," which it actually does mean. Possibly "strong mouth" was its original meaning, and a bodily characteristic being described, an attempt would naturally follow to apply it to some particular person, thus making it an adjective.[1] Possibly, on the other hand, the first step may be omitted, and the adjective *bocafort* have been created spontaneously to satisfy a linguistic need.[2] At any rate, there is a number of adjectives of similar formation, whereas the words containing *cap* have gone one step farther, and are once more nouns, though with the specialized sense above described.

The nouns in these compounds of noun and adjective call for no comment. In the case of the adjectives, however, it is worthy of note that with the exception of *auran*, *fort*, and *van* in *capauran*, *bocafort*, and *capvan*, all of the

[1] This is equivalent to saying that we have here an ellipsis, and that *bocafort* means "(the one with the) strong mouth."

[2] It is to be observed that there exists in Prov. no way of forming adjectives by means of an adjective and a noun with a participial suffix attached to it, as in the Engl. "strong-mouthed," "blue-eyed," etc. Nor is there much trace either of the kind of formation consisting of a noun modified in form and an adjective, so common in Sp., in *barbiespeso*, *boquiduro*, etc., which seem to be only imitations of Lat. forms (*ignicomus*, etc.). The only Prov. examples appear to be *colilonc*, long-necked—which may be compared with the Sp. *cuellilargo*—and *nazitort*, garden-cress, a noun, but certainly originally an adjective similar in formation to the ones just mentioned, and probably meaning "hook-nosed."

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adjectives are participles of verbs. *Alapens*[1] is the only example of a possible present participle; all the other words show past participles either of actual Provençal verbs, as in *capcubert* and *capdescubert*, or are descendants of Latin past participles,[2] understood now only as adjectives. All may, however, be treated together as adjectives. The complete list follows:

alapens, with hanging wings
bocafort, hard-mouthed
bocatort, wry-mouthed
capauran, with head in the air(?); also a verse-form
capcaudat (*coblas capcaudas*), a verse-form
capclin, with bent head; also a verse-form
capcorp, with bowed head; also a verse-form
capcubert, with covered head
capdescubert, with uncovered head; also a verse-form
capdrech, with head erect; also a verse-form
capenclin, with head inclined
capfinit (*coblas capfinidas*), a verse-form
capras, with shorn head
captondut, with shorn head; also a verse-form
captrencat, with head struck off
capvan, a verse-form
fementit, disloyal, unfaithful
fervestit,[3] iron-clad
golabadat, open-mouthed
lengaforbit, smooth-tongued
mafach, hand-made

[1] It seems to be connected with *pendre*, hang, whose present participle should be, however, *penden(s)*.

[2] As *clin*, *enclin*, and *drech* in the formations with *cap*.

[3] The verb *fervestir* is found in O. Fr. For reference, see *Mots Composés*, 162.

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II. FORMED OF AN ADVERB (OR ADJECTIVE) AND AN ADJECTIVE (OR PARTICIPLE)

It will be at once observed that the second part of each word of this list is the same as that of the words of the preceding one. Most of the words in List I contained participial adjectives, and it was there pointed out that some of those in which a Provençal past participle was not to be found contained words derived from Latin ones. The same thing is true of the words belonging to the following list. Either a present or a past participle is clear in all of the words except *maladrech*, in which *adrech* comes from a Latin instead of a Provençal past participle, and means "skilled."

It is in the first part of each word that this list differs from the preceding one. Whereas, in List I we have a noun which the following adjective modifies, in the present list the first part is always an adverb, or adjective used as such, modifying the following adjective. The words of the first list, being modified nouns, might be expected to form nouns,[1] but those of the present one, which are regularly modified adjectives, can become only adjectives. There are, however, very few words of this kind. The list follows:[2]

benastruc, fortunate, blessed
cautpres,[3] caught in the act (warmly taken)

[1] Possibly their original use, as explained above.

[2] The words beginning with *ben*, *mal*, and *non* will be given here rather than under prefixes, as in Darmesteter, since these forms are still individual words, being common adverbs.

[3] *Caut* in this example seems to be the adjective meaning "warm" used as an adverb. A somewhat similar expression in Engl., in which, however, the whole phrase is used adverbially, is "hot-foot." There is also a noun *caut*, meaning "heat," and corresponding to the Fr. *chaude*. This is apparently the part of speech that Levy sees in the *caut* of *cautpres*, as he cites from Mistral a phrase *pres sus la caudo*, which, however, is not to be found under *caudo* there.

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maladobat, stupid, awkward
maladrech,[1] awkward
malapert,[1] impertinent
malapres,[1] ill-bred
malastruc, unfortunate
malazaut, displeasing, impolite
malsabe, disagreeable
malsan,[1] unhealthy
megmort, half-dead
megviu, half-alive
nonapropiable, inaccessible
nonauzidor,[2] unheard of
nonbatejat, unbaptized, heathen
noncomprendable, incomprehensible
nonconvenivol, improper
noncrezable, incredulous
noncrezedor, incredible
noncrezen, incredulous
noncrezevol,[2] incredulous
noncurat, indifferent
nondefinit,[2] undetermined
nondepartible, indivisible
nondestenhable,[2] inextinguishable
nonesclavable, impenetrable
nonmortal,[2] immortal
nonnocejat, unmarried
nonnombral,[2] innumerable
nonnozen,[2] innocent
nonpar,[2] uneven
nonpoderos, impossible
nonprofechos, useless
nonrecomtable, unspeakable
nonsanable, incurable
nonvezen, sightless, blind
nonvezible,[2] invisible

[1] In the case of *mal*, corresponding forms in Fr. should be noted; as *maladroit*, *malappris*, *malsain*, and also one form in Engl., "malapert."

[2] For many of the forms beginning with *non* there are similar forms in Lat., but having, instead, the prefix IN-, which are the forms that have come down into the other Romance languages. The Prov. words show a recomposition, and sometimes other changes, as in *nonauzidor* (Lat. *inauditus*) and *nondestenhable* (Lat. *inextinguibilis*). Possibly *nonauzidor* should be corrected to *nonauzit*.

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plenisonan,[1] full-sounding
poisnat,[2] younger
utrisonan,[1]† with two sounds

C. VERBS

I. FORMED OF AN ADVERB AND A VERB

This kind of formation presents little difficulty. The only adverbs found are *ben* and *mal* and *non*, which, as has been explained, are treated here rather than under prefixes. There are also two adjectives—*car* and *vil*—which will be treated with the adverbs, on account of their use as adverbs in the compounds. The list is, therefore, as follows:

bendir, bless
carvendre, sell dear
maldire, curse
malmenar, abuse
malmerir, be undeserving
malmesclar, compromise, slander
malmetre, disturb, displease
maltrachar, *maltraire* } maltreat
noncaler, not to care
viltener,†† scorn, hold vile

II. FORMED OF A NOUN AND A VERB

Another type of compound verb is that formed of a noun and a verb. In the words of this kind, the noun is never the object of the verb as it was in the *nouns*

[1] *Plenisonan* and *utrisonan* are probably imitations of the Lat. *semisonans*, giving *semisonan* in Prov. *Pleni* (Lat. *plenus*) and *utri* (Lat. *uter*) are found in no other words.

[2] Cf. the Fr. *puiné*, Engl. "puny."

† Another word that would probably belong here if its existence were certain, is *amaridous*, bitterly sweet (?). See *Zeitschrift*, XIV, 166. *Malsaben*, displeased, and *noncalen*, careless, might also be mentioned, though they are simply present participles of verbs. *Malsaber* is found, however, only in its use as a noun.

†† For *benestar*, *malestar*, and *nonsaber*, see nouns, List 2, p. 557.

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composed of these two parts. There is, on the contrary, an ellipsis just as there was in one of the classes of compound nouns formed of two nouns.[1] In Latin, there were many verbs, such as *manumittere*, formed of a noun and a verb, in which the noun was in the ablative, and the origin of the Provençal words may be sought in expressions of this kind. There is generally, therefore, in the Provençal words, an ellipsis which can be made clear by supplying *a* or *con*. It is probable that most of these words go back to expressions existing in Latin as juxtaposed words, even if not already fused into single words, although a few words may have been formed in Provençal in imitation of these words when finally made into one. In two Provençal words, we find a preposition actually expressed. These are *amantener* and *amentaver*, and they exist beside the forms without it, *mantener* and *mentaver*. This would seem to indicate that the ablative force of the nouns in the compounds had been forgotten, and that for this reason *a-* was prefixed; but it may be merely another example of the meaningless use of *a-* as prefix, already seen under prefix-formation and parasyntheta. The list follows:

calpisar, trample under foot
capvirar,[2] turn the head(?)
manlevar, borrow; bail
mansaizir, deliver (something) to (someone)
mantener, maintain
marfondre, chill
mentaver[3] (*mentaure*), have in mind

[1] Pp. 558–59.

[2] This word is given in the *Mots Composés*, 263, but is listed neither in Raynouard nor in Levy. Cf. the Fr. *chavirer*.

[3] *Amentevoir* in Fr. is found further strengthened by the use of another prefix in *ramentevoir*.

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prestlevar, lend, borrow
salpicar, sprinkle (with salt)
vianar,† travel

D. ADVERBS

Compound adverbs are found also, but the forms composed simply of two ordinary words are extremely rare.[1]

They are seen in:

capval, downward
hueimais, henceforth
part-ier, day before yesterday

Other more complicated forms are:

nescalre, even, in the same way	=*ne es cal re*(?)
nomencal (in *a nomencal*), carelessly	=*no me en cal*
nonpercan } nevertheless	=*non per can*
nonpertan } nevertheless	=*non per tan*
ondacom, somewhere	=*on*(*de*)[2] *com*

[1] There are, however, forms composed of two words+the regular adverbial suffix *-ment*. See p. 582.

[2] *Onde* or *onda* is not found in Prov., although besides the ordinary form *on*, where, there is a form *onte*. The *onda* in *ondacom* seems certainly to represent the Lat. *unde*.

† Another word belonging here, if it exists, is *cambaterrar*, dismount. Though listed in Raynouard, it is found, however, only in the past participle *cambaterrat*. A word which belongs here only in appearance is *solombrar*, shade, as the *sol-* probably represents a Lat. *sub-* and not *sol-*.

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PART V

HYBRIDS

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CHAPTER I

WORDS FORMED BY ATTACHING A SUFFIX TO COMPOUND WORDS (METHODS OF PARTS I AND IV COMBINED)

The formation of words by the addition of suffixes has already been fully treated in Part I, yet there is one process of derivation which it seemed improper to treat so early, namely, the addition of suffixes to compound words, even though the treatment of the suffixes, their use, and their meaning is the same as when added to simple words. The reason that these words have been reserved for later treatment is that two distinct processes of word-formation are at work—first composition, or the making of the compound, and, later, derivation, or the modifying of its meaning.[1] It seemed best, therefore, to postpone the treatment of the words to be studied here until the formation of the various kinds of compound words should have been fully explained. Since, as has been stated, two kinds of word-formation are involved in these cases, these words will be treated under the title of hybrids.

Even including everything, there are not many formations of this kind in Old Provençal, such words being generally of later formation.[2] The words that are found

[1] The main process in the formation of hybrids, is, of course, derivation. The words beginning with *non* give some difficulty, however. *Non* has throughout this work been treated as an individual word rather than as a prefix. Yet in some of the examples studied farther on, *non* seems to be prefixed to a word already possessing a suffix, as *nonsavieza*, and, in some others, *non* and the suffix seem to have been added at the same time, which, in the case of an ordinary prefix, would make up a parasyntheton.

[2] Cf. the lists of words in O. and in Mod. Prov. given in the *Essais*, beginning on pp. 65 and 67.

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are very largely nouns, although there are a few adjectives formed by means of -AT and -OS. Perhaps the commonest type of noun is that derived from a compound verb, as, for example, *mantenemen*, *mantenensa*, and *mantenedor* from *mantener*, or *captenemen* and *captenensa* from *captener*, but there are also many nouns derived from compound nouns. Most of the derived words are abstracts, as the preponderance of the suffixes -AMEN, -ANSA, -EZA, -IA, and -TAT would clearly show; the few remaining words generally denote the agent of an action.

In these hybrid formations, the usual method of dividing the examples into nouns, adjectives, and verbs will be followed. These are the main divisions; and as the suffix is the part that gave the word its final form, each one of these groups will be subdivided according to the suffix employed.

A. NOUNS

Words in -ADOR, -EDOR, -IDOR:

cornamuzador,[1] bagpiper	*cornamuza*, bagpipe
maldizedor, slanderer	*maldire*, slander
malfazedor and *malfazeiritz*, evil-doer	*malfar*, do evil
malvoledor, ill-wisher	*mal voler*, wish ill
manlevador, borrower	*manlevar*, borrow
mantenedor, one who aids	*mantener*, maintain

Words in -AMEN, -EMEN, -IMEN:

benplazemen, pleasure, satisfaction	*ben plazer*,[2] please
captenemen, procedure	*captener*, maintain
machacolamen, machicolation	
malazautimen, insulting speech	*malazaut*, impolite

[1] This word, both as regards its usual ending in -AIRE and its formation on a noun, has been treated above under the suffix -ADOR.

[2] *Benplazer* is not found written as one word, but possibly may have been so written. Cf. *be(n)fazer* below. See also under compound words, p. 556.

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malmenamen, ill-treatment	*malmenar*, ill-treat
mantenemen, maintenance	*mantener*, maintain
morfondemen, glanders	*morfondre*, chill
noncuramen, indifference	*non curar*,[1] not to care

Words in -ANSA, -ENSA: The examples here are rather numerous. For some reason, -ANSA seems to have been preferred to -AMEN in these longer formations.

befazensa, well-doing	*befazer*, do good
benauransa,[2] happiness	*benaurar*, make happy
benestansa, comfort	*benestar*,[3] comfort
captenensa, conduct	*captener*, retain
cartenensa, esteem	*car tener*,[4] hold dear
desmantenensa, abandonment	*desmantener*, abandon
loctenensa, lieutenancy	*loctenen*,[5] lieutenant
malanansa, illness	*malanan*,[5] ill
malvalensa, depreciation	*mal valer*, depreciate
malestansa, discomfort	*malestar*,[3] discomfort
malvolensa, ill-will	*mal voler*, wish ill
mantenensa, maintenance	*mantener*, maintain
noncalensa, nonchalance	*noncaler*, not to care
noncrezensa, disbelief	*non crezer*,[6] not to believe
nonsabensa, ignorance	*nonsaber*, not to know
nonsofertansa, incapacity for suffering	*non sofertar*, not to suffer
versemblansa, probability	*ver semblar*, seem true
viltenensa, contempt	*viltener*, hold vile

Words in -ARIA:

forsenaria, madness	*forsenar*, rave
loctenensaria, lieutenancy	*loctenensa*, lieutenancy

[1] *Noncurar* as one word is not found, but may have been formed on the analogy of *noncaler*.

[2] Found also as *bonauransa*.

[3] *Benestar* and *malestar* are nouns, but probably were originally verbs.

[4] *Cartener* as one word was probably formed on the analogy of *viltener*. See *Essais*, p. 66.

[5] *Loctener* and *malanar* are not found except in these participial forms, *loctenen* being used as a noun.

[6] *Noncrezer* as a single word is not found, but may have been formed on the analogy of *nonsaber*.

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Words in -ELA:

quincanela, delay of five years granted to a debtor who can explain his failure to pay	*quincan*, five years

Words in -EZA:

malastrugueza, misfortune	*malastruc*, unfortunate
noncertaneza, uncertainty	*non certan*,[1] uncertain
nonsavieza, folly	*non savi*,[1] unwise

Words in -IA:

bonomia, good-nature	*bon ome*[2]
prodomia, probity	*prodome*, honest man
profemnia, probity	*profemna*, honest woman

Words in -IER:

manobrier, workman, overseer	*man(a)obra*, manoeuvre
milgranier,† pomegranate-tree	*milgrana*, pomegranate

Words in -IL:

capmazil, small main house	*capmas*, main house

Words in -OR:

pretzfachor, task-worker	*pretzfach*, forfeit

Words in -TAT:

bonauretat, good fortune	*bonaur*, good fortune
debonairitat, kindheartedness	*de bon aire*,[3] goodhearted?
noncorrompabletat,[4] incorruptibility	*non corrompable*, incorruptible
nonmortaletat, immortality	*nonmortal*, immortal

[1] *Noncertaneza* and *nonsavieza* may, of course, be made up of *non* used as prefix and the nouns **certaneza* and *savieza*. *Certaneza* is not found, however, and the formation would be more likely to be a parasyntheton made by attaching *non* and -EZA at the same time to *certan*. *Savieza* exists, however.

[2] **Bonome* probably existed as a single word, though not found. Cf. the Fr. *bonhomme*, also the Prov. *prodome* in the list.

[3] Not found as one word. The phrase itself may be a borrowing from Fr.

[4] The formation may be a parasyntheton, as suggested for *noncertaneza* above. *Nonmortaletat* was probably formed, however, on *nonmortal*, which is found, and *noncorrompabletat* seems to be just like it, and possibly an imitation of it.

† Other words ending in -IER are *cairavelhier* and *lauzimanier*, but the formation of both is too obscure to warrant placing them in the above list. Both words are obscure in meaning also.

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B. ADJECTIVES

Leaving out of consideration the adjectives beginning with *non*, in which cases the *non* is placed, exactly like a prefix, before some adjective already fully formed, there are few cases that it would be possible to treat here. The suffix -AT is the one most commonly attached to compound adjectives.

-ADOR is found in:

mentavedor, to be mentioned	*mentaver*, mention

-AN is found in:

catredian, of four days	*catre dias*, four days
meglogan, middle	*meglog*, middle
mesacantan, mass-saying	*mesa cantar*, say mass

-AT is in:

aurpelat, covered with tinsel	*aurpel*, tinsel
bonaurat, happy, fortunate	*bonaur*, good fortune
cambaterrat,[1] dismounted	
malaurat, unfortunate	*malaur*, misfortune

-IER in:

capcazalier, belonging to the main house	*capcazal*, main house
malparlier, slanderous	*mal parlar*, slander
megloguier, belonging to the middle class	*megloc*, middle

-IU in:

malgratiu, improper	*mal grat*, ill-will
malmescliu, slanderous	*malmesclar*, embroil

And -OS in:

bonauros, fortunate, happy	*bonaur*, good fortune
malauros, unfortunate	*malaur*, misfortune

[1] *Cambaterrat* appears to be only a past participle of *cambaterrar*, which, however, is not found. *Bonaurat* may have been formed in the same way.

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C. VERBS

There are very few verbs formed in this way. The following are examples:

malcorar, become angry	*malcor*, anger
man(a)obrar,† manoeuvre	*man(a)obra*, manoeuvre

D. ADVERBS

There are several interesting examples of adverbs formed by adding the usual suffix -MEN(T) to peculiar combinations of words:

mantenenmen, now	*mantenen*, now
mentagudamen,[1] especially	
prodomialmen, with probity	*prodomia*, probity
senmartialmen, on every St. Martin's day	*San Martin*, St. Martin

[1] From a combination of *ment agut*, held in mind?

† Another word that might be placed here is *auranoar*, lunch, which Thomas (*Essais*, p. 65) derives from *hora nona* + *ar*.

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[1] In this list, each Prov. form is given separately. Thus the three forms -AMEN, -EMEN, and -IMEN, all from the Lat. MENTUM, are listed separately in their proper alphabetical positions, and the reference to the page where each word-list begins. The double suffixes also are listed alphabetically here. In the final table, on the other hand, such suffixes as the group -AMEN, -EMEN, and -IMEN, because treated together in the book, and the reference is to the page where they are studied for the first time. There the double suffixes form a separate list.

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